Coptic Women, Muslim Women and the Makings of a Social Movement in Egypt

Is it possible for Coptic and Muslim women in Egypt to organize a social movement together to improve conditions for women in Egypt? This question is significant because the literature is limited on the discussion of the role and importance of Coptic women in the feminist movement. Coptic and Muslim women have more in common than they do differences thus making it possible to mobilize a social movement.

I look at literature on the feminist movement from 1939-1952. The movement evolved from the gentlewomen of the revolution through presidents Nasser, Sadat and Mubarak. Coptic and Muslim women expressed their goals alongside one another through the use of various methods from protests to publications. There were obstacles meet along the way that were exclusive to Muslim women that also had a secondary effect on Coptic women (e.g. the veil). Religious fundamentalism has been a major obstacle for the women’s efforts and affects the state’s support for the movement. I turn to Sharia Law and its interpretation and application in society. Most importantly, Sharia Law has a great deal of influence on Constitutional Law, which applies to all citizens regardless of their religious identity. Other barriers include the state supervision of organized groups, the assimilation of religious and Constitutional Law and its application in society, as well as the state’s refusal to approve or abide by international agreements regarding women’s issues. I also review human rights violations against both groups of women and focus specifically on its effect on Coptic women (e.g. female genital mutilation). In order to assess the possibility of a social movement under current President Mubarak and future governments, I look at decisive variables in other countries where Muslim and other minority women have achieved a successful social movement that do not exist in Egypt. The countries I analyze are the Women in Black in Israel and Palestine and the Muslim and Orthodox women in Serbia and Kosovo.

The concern over the rights of women in the Middle East is crucial at this point in the world’s political history. Alongside these women are other minority women, which have a strong presence. From religion to law to gender, women face challenges that are better overcome with unity. Understanding the dynamics of these groups and their challenges allows for a broader understanding of the future of the Middle East and its assimilation or isolation from the West and the rest of the world. The question is important for this conference because it falls into politics, history, society and religion in the Middle East and can reference movements in other parts of the region.
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The position of women in the Arab world is often criticized in terms of stereotypes. The women are viewed as being at the mercy of their husbands, bias religion, and a government that neglects them. Although Arab countries differ in their practice of Islam, both Sharia Law and the Quran make the rights and obligations of women clear. Egypt is an Arab country which practices Islam differently as it chooses to accentuate the elements of the religion most congenial to their way of life (Badran 1995, 23). In the midst of the focus on Arab women, there is another minority of women that are totally overlooked in Egypt and those are the Coptic Christian women. Coptic women are directly affected by the laws of a government that borderlines theocracy. One would almost be inclined to believe that these women could have ever had the opportunity to voice their oppositions or needs. In fact Egypt has seen a feminist movement that has fluctuated in strength, number and form over several decades. The movement has involved both the Coptic as well as Muslim women. Even though Coptic women are not subjected to the same rules at the level of their home or church, they share a common goal as women in a repressive society. Although Coptic women were involved in the movement, their participation varied and many times posed a challenge to the movement. This paper will look at whether or not it is possible for Coptic and Muslim women in Egypt to organize a social movement now to improve conditions for women in Egypt. I posit that these women have more in common than they do differences therefore making it possible to mobilize a social movement.

The women’s movement, as is the case in many other countries, was subsumed under the Egyptian nationalist movement. “According to Mervat Hatem, the result of the debate in Egypt was a patriarchal alliance between middle and upper class men and
women, beginning at the turn of the century and continuing until the present day, whereby change for women has been incumbent upon changes introduced from the top by men.” (Russell 1992, 127) The nexus between the women’s movement and the nationalist movement was based on the social construct that the family unit forms the basis of society. The woman’s role was idealized as being the center of that unit thus glorifying her role as one of necessity for the progression and success of the future of the nation. Advocates of women’s emancipation such as Qasim Amin, (1865-1908) stressed the need to educate and liberate women in order for them to raise children who are also educated and could participate and promote a free and progressive society. Although Qasim Amin did argue for the equality of women on the basis that they are human beings as men are, he did not argue that women’s education should lead her into a life outside the traditional realm and into a public profession. Women who could not marry could take up professions, otherwise, women were to remain in the home. (Philipp 1978, 286) The views of these protagonists boosted the position of middle and upper class women but could not affect the lower class as they had no choice, economically, but to work.

1919 REVOLUTION

In order to begin a discussion of the feminist movement, we must go back to the revolution in 1919 when women first stepped onto the political scene. Prior to 1919, the women’s movement lacked political involvement or patriotism. Publications, whether literary or historical, focused on issues such as the home and marriage. “The Egyptian revolution of 1919 is pointed out as the occasion at which the feminist movement showed its first tangible results. For the first time in Egyptian history, women participated actively in political demonstrations.” (Philipp 1978, 278) Women from all classes
protested the British occupation in the streets. They waved national banners and shouted cries for independence. Stories of these demonstrations went as far as England. Muslim and Coptic women met in a Coptic church to draw-up protests against actions by the British government. Badran writes, “veiled women in procession carried flags with crescents and crosses, brandishing the national unity of Muslims and Copts in the face of colonial “divide and rule” (1995, 75).

The wives of the political elite of the Wafd Party, an Egyptian nationalist group formed in 1918, organized strikes, demonstrations, boycott of British goods and wrote petitions to foreign embassies protesting British actions in Egypt. Their demands, though, were not for the rights of women but their goal was the same as that of the men, national independence. On the other hand this can be seen as one of the first times that both Muslim and Coptic women came together for the sake of a cause. They were able to communicate and organize themselves if only for the improvement of their nation which in turn would affect them, their husbands and their homes. The “gentlewomen” as they were referred to because they belonged to the upper class, were not only involved in grassroots politics but began their own social movement. They unveiled, rejected traditional norms such as the harem and organized social services for women and the poor.

Unfortunately, after the revolution and in the wake of forming a constitution, the issue of women’s rights and equality was mostly ignored but there were those that held differing opinions on the issue. Muslim reformists argued the position of women had suffered as a result of the misinterpretation and distortion of the Quran. Issues such as education and marriage were among the many that were addressed in the discussion of
the emancipation of women. “The limits to any improvements were set by the concept that conceived of woman as only a functional part of the whole society and not as a human individual with the same innate rights and capacities as the man.” (Philipp 1978, 287)

After the revolution, the women continued to play a public role, specifically with regards to establishing charitable organizations. Several organizations were formed in the late to early twentieth centuries. Most of these women were from the upper class and could afford to do unpaid public work. They incorporated religious traditions such as almsgiving. “Most were local or regional endeavors formed along religious lines.” (Baron 1994, 171) Each religious community established an organization to advance their own goals. Many women were social activists and their work did not face opposition from the government. Such women as Hidiya Barakat, organized hospitals, ministered to the sick, established orphanages, childcare centers, and trade schools for young girls. (Marsot 1978, 215) Many women attended openings and fundraisers and gave grants to universities. Wealthy women gave their land property in trust to organizations. Some charities mobilized in an effort to help in international and national crises by sending clothes and starting schools in their homes to teach nursing. (Baron 1994, 174)

Butrus Ghali helped Coptic women to establish organizations such as the Coptic Charitable Organization. Coptic organizations were strongly connected with or established through the church diocese. Once again Muslim and Coptic women joined efforts and became public servants. “Social assistance came to be understood as not solely a religious obligation but also a civic and national responsibility for Muslims and Christians to shoulder together as Egyptians. Thus Egyptian women created a space for
themselves in the public arena in which to perform collective roles as citizens rather than as members of separate religious communities.” (Badran 1995, 51)

THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT

By the early 1920s, Muslim and non-Muslim women started unveiling in public. Egypt began to go through economic and cultural change. Religious and ethnic affiliations started to take precedence over class. For non-Muslim women veiling was considered Islamic and therefore they were not bound to uphold these practices. This was important for Coptic women because Copts were involved in the business of trade and commerce with Europeans and wanted to take on a more modern stance. At the time Coptic and Syrian Christian women had benefited more from school education than Muslim women and thus had more “incentive to innovate” (Badran 1995, 47).

On the other hand, in the early twentieth century, it was Muslim women that had the advantage of leading the feminist movement. “Minority women (Christians and Syrians, as well as non-Arab minorities-Greeks, Jews, and Armenians), although freer to innovate, and thus set precedents, could not confer legitimacy; Muslim women were more constrained, but only they could lend cultural legitimacy to new behaviors. Although middle-class Syrian Christians led in discarding the accoutrements and practice of domestic incarceration, paradoxically they also led in creating a new cult of domesticity. Middle and upper-class Muslim women who were slow to remove their veils and break with conventions of gender segregation were at the forefront in articulating a feminist ideology” (Badran 1995, 48).

The feminist movement was generally nationalist and secular, made up of middle and upper class women. These women made it part of their agenda to help the poor and
lower class women. It was made up of Christians and Muslims that respected one another’s religions and would not allow their movement to be torn by these differences. “Egyptian secular feminism situated itself within the parameters of religion, appropriating the discourse of Islamic modernism in a general way to legitimize its overall agenda and most specifically its campaign to reform the religiously based Muslim personal status code. Christian feminists, however, abstained from involvement in the drive to reform the Muslim code and never endeavored to change their own personal status codes” (Badran 1995, 95). Badran argues that this was keeping in line with their approach of “innovation without proclamation” (1995, 69). Muslim women first made feminist demands in 1911 at the Egyptian National Congress. They demanded reform in marriage and divorce provisions. Copts on the other hand, waited until 1936 at the Coptic National Congress, to present feminist demands.

In the early 1920s, Huda Sha’rawi, the recognized leader of the feminist movement, organized the Egyptian Feminist Union which became the leading and most recognized women’s organization. Her founding members were both Christian and Muslim. The EFU did not associate themselves with any political party, did not wear veils, referred to themselves as feminists and associated themselves with the international women’s movement, attending conferences in other countries. They appealed to Egypt’s early history when women enjoyed equal rights with men but, they argued, foreign intrusion as well as misinterpreted Islam had stripped women of these rights. Their agenda was feminist and the goal was to advance women in Egyptian society. Their demands were economic and social in nature, from employment to education to social services.
It was not until 1935 that the Egyptian feminist movement demanded for the political rights of women. (Philipp 1978, 291) In 1944 the EFU made a formal demand at the Arab Feminist Congress in Cairo for political rights such as voting and participation in elections. Women received the right to vote and to be elected in 1956. The EFU struggled for Muslim Personal Status Code reform, against poverty, prostitution, advocated the education of girls and fought along side men in nationalist efforts against outside intrusion. They were philanthropists, politicians and suffrage activists recognized abroad. By the 1940s, three feminist organizations actively promoting women’s political rights had grown out of the EFU. The Arab Feminist Union was formed in 1945. “However, while women could form a broad coalition in nationalist struggles against colonialism and against internal suppression of democracy, they were unable to achieve the same unity in a struggle for their own political rights. Women were unable to transcend differences of class and associational allegiances. Their leaders found it difficult to unite” (Badran, 217).

Post-World War II in Egypt saw a growth of Islamic fundamentalism, communism, a broad-based feminism, and nationalist resurgence. More radical, Leftist women’s groups emerged in the 1940s such as the League of Women Students and Graduates from the University and Egyptian Institutes. “In Egypt, progressive women did not work through existing women’s organizations largely because of ideological differences which were too serious to bridge: while radical women advocated social transformation of Egyptian society, mainstream feminists supported more limited emancipation” (Botman 1999, 21).
In the 1940s and early 1950s, many women, mostly young and upper class, were involved in the underground Communist movement, although it was predominantly male. The movement was small and lead by the Jewish Egyptian minority. “In the Marxist-feminist paradigm social reproduction, the family, and gender are analyzed in connection with the capitalist state which is viewed as acting in the interests of the dominant class. The family is seen as institutionally reproducing labor power and maintaining existing social relations” (Botman 1999, 69). The women were involved in demonstrations and served on committees. The Communist movement came to an end with the rule of Nasser.

By 1951 a wave of conservatism remerged in the country. Islamic leaders made statements that granting women political rights was contrary to Islam and the constitution. “In the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, the everyday lives of middle and upper class women in Cairo and Alexandria generally stood apart as freer than the lives of their counterparts in Beirut, Damascus, Jerusalem and Baghdad” (Badran 1995, 236). Unfortunately, with the new revolutionary regime, the efforts of feminists came to an end.

**NASSER: 1954-1970**

Gamal Abdel-Nasser took power after the revolution in 1952 and consolidated state power. In his efforts at national development, Nasser gave Coptic Christians as well as Muslims, economic predominance. Opportunities were extended to religious minorities equally with those of Muslims. The popular nationalist slogan reemerged under Nasser, “the nation for everyone and religion for God.” Some women consider that great advancements were made for women under Nasser. Botman cites Mervat Hatem
“that while the state used feminist ideology to catalyze national and international support it was still patriarchal at its core” (1999, 63).

Under Nasser, women gained the right to vote and compete in elections. In the 1960s Egypt elected the first woman government minister to the position of Minister of Social Affairs. A position still held today by a woman, as well as the position of Minister of Environment (Ammar1999, 153). Women also participated in government organizations and were employed into government positions. “Feminists were neither brought into decision-making positions nor consulted about the needs of female constituents. Since women did not serve in the military, they were not part of the revolutionaries’ inner circle. Men continued to reserve for themselves the exclusive right to construct the categories of social and political behavior” (Botman 1999, 52). The constitution was amended to declare all Egyptians equal before the law, endorse the fair treatment of all those in the work force and promised to support women in reconciling their public and private responsibilities.

Women’s enrollment in schools and higher education dramatically increased along with literacy rates. Nasser guaranteed male and female university graduates jobs in the state bureaucracy. Lower and middle class families began to depend on the income of women just as much as men. Women’s health services improved with the new free public health care system. Clinics were established in rural and urban areas. Family Planning was established along with better access to birth control. Ultimately, the regime did not advance women in their own right. “Herein lay the fundamental contradiction in society: state-sponsored “feminism” created a new system of public gender relations while the old forms of private patriarchy in the family were maintained” (Botman 1999, 74).
In 1956 the state forced the EFU along with all other independent organizations, to dissolve. The regime felt these organizations threatened their attempts at consolidation. The EFU became the Huda Sha’rawi Association dedicated strictly to social service under government control. (Badran 1995, 219) The consolidation of state systems required women’s groups to be heavily monitored by the state. They were required to register with the state Ministry of Social Affairs which gave them a stipend and monitored them; Arab Feminist Union members had to obtain entry and exit visas in order to attend meetings abroad; women had to receive formal permission from husbands, fathers or nearest male guardians to travel; and, the state decided which groups would represent women and which would become part of the state’s political organizations. “What had been born out of independent feminist activism in the mid-1940s had come by the 1950s and 1960s to be harnessed by states to serve their purposes” (Badran 1995, 250).

**BRAIN DRAIN**

Unfortunately, Egypt experienced a severe brain drain after 1965. This was largely due in part to the government’s solution for a saturated labor market by sending its students to study abroad. Statistics from the INS shows that approximately forty-three percent of the immigrants to the United States were women between the ages of 20-29 and 30-39. The motivations for remaining in the US varied from students studying in America finding jobs to marital ties. On the other hand, the motivations for leaving Egypt had to do with the government as much as they did with individual reasons. The government, prior to the sixties, had made it difficult for individuals to obtain exit visas and passports. Students that studied in the US with government scholarships were
required to return to work in Egypt upon completion of their studies. In the mid-sixties the United States abolished national-origin quotas thus making it easier for Egyptians to immigrate to the country.

On an individual level, the reasons varied from personal to professional to socio-economic. (Russell 1992, 131) “Flocks of Christian Egyptians started moving to the United States beginning in the 60’s. Most did not come to the United States for better opportunity or a better life, but simply to stay alive” due to the severe persecution they endured under Islam. (Soliman 2002, 2) In the eighties, half a million Copts left Egypt for America and Canada. Included in this immigration were a large number of University professors, professionals and wealthy businessmen. (Soliman 2002, 3) Many of the educated that returned to Egypt found the country’s condition to have deteriorated in terms of low salaries and poor educational facilities. Many universities did not have the resources to serve the number of students enrolling in higher education. The teacher-student ratios increased and as a result the quality of the students lowered.

The affect on the government of the immigration of so many Egyptian females to the United States is multiple. “The most serious of the female brain drain is in the social sphere of development. The nineteenth century intellectuals who argued that the education of the woman spreads education to the nation were absolutely correct in their assessment. The educated woman, in her reproductive capacities, both her own knowledge and her high estimation of education to her children; and Egypt’s future course of development depends on the development of these human resources.” (Russell 1992, 137)

The situation for Copts took a different turn under the Anwar Sadat regime than it had under the Nasser regime. During Sadat’s rule, Islamic fundamentalists had a major impact on the debates over women’s rights and minorities. Although Sadat made efforts to distance himself from Nasser by enforcing a “corrective revolution”, he built on Nasser’s legacy of promoting women’s rights. Anwar and Jihan Sadat were major proponents of women’s rights. At the same time this was countered by an increase in tension between Muslims and Copts, which created an obstacle for Coptic women. Sadat exiled the Coptic pope, put priests and bishops under house arrest, and censored the Coptic press. He also jailed Milad Hanna, a nationalist and spokesperson for the Coptic community because he believed that Hanna stimulated sectarian strife (Al-Ali 2000, 43).

Sadat made attempts at building a relationship with Islamics in order to avoid conflict. A major setback for women under his regime was the revised constitution in 1971 that made Sharia Law the primary source of law for the country. The gender equality law established under Nasser became limited by Sharia Law. Literal readings and conservative interpretations of Islamic texts had negative effects on the rights Nasser had established for women in the work place and politics. He established mandatory quotas for women in the electoral system and created a pension program for widows. “His government acknowledged women’s independent right to work without the consent of husbands, sanctioned equal pay for equal work, and in a controlled way ensured a minimum level of middle-class female representation in parliament” (Botman 1999, 87). He managed to amend the personal status laws for women but unfortunately, after his death, these were overturned by the Courts that were under fundamentalist influence.
In 1976 the constitution was amended again to make Islam the principle source of law-making. In an effort to appear progressive to his new allies in the West, the United States and Israel, Sadat permitted women to establish their own organizations including the Arab Women’s Solidarity Association in 1984, which was dissolved by the state in the late 1990s. Jihan Sadat aggressively promoted women’s rights. This eventually had a negative effect on feminism. To its detriment, the feminist movement became associated with the regime. She was involved in charitable activities and found financing for social services from outside countries. She promoted higher education for women by getting a master’s degree from the American University in Cairo. She was condemned by religious conservatives as “Western-oriented and un-Islamic” (Botman 1999, 82). He managed to amend the personal status laws for women but unfortunately, after his death, these were overturned by the Courts that were under fundamentalist influence.

Under Sadat, Muslim women thought they had made progress in their empowerment but the Court stepped in once again. Sadat revoked the House of Obedience Law in 1976 that required women be returned home to their husbands by the police if they attempted to flee. A woman could appeal to the courts if her husband forced her to return. In 1979 he enacted the Personal Status Law which requires a man to provide his wife with notice of divorce and a notarized certificate of divorce. It permitted women to divorce on specific grounds and also extended the age at which the mother must return a child to their father. The custody of children belongs to the man under Egyptian law. Unfortunately, the Supreme Court struck down the law as unconstitutional.

MUBARAK: 1981-PRESENT
Husni Mubarak is now in his fourth term as president. He has been in power since 1981 when Sadat was assassinated by fundamentalists. It is Mubarak who rescinded the Coptic pope’s exile. Mubarak faces many challenges including major economic crisis, poverty and unemployment. Religious fundamentalists disregard his regime and cause him hardship. Mubarak is caught between the push and pull of Islamic fundamentalists and the pro-democracy movement (Russell 1992, 32).

Fundamentalists have a powerful influence on the government. They have used this influence to force women out of the labor force and back into the home. They ignore the fact that due to the economic state of the country, many households rely on the income of both the husband and wife. Botman reported that “although it is against the law, newspapers have recently begun publishing job advertisements discouraging female applications” (1999, 90). The women are burdened with both the responsibilities of the home and the work-place and find no support from the government as Nasser had promised in the revision of the Constitution. The division of labor by gender reinforces the subordination of women. Egypt has fewer females in the labor force than other developing societies in the economic south (Botman 1999, 99).

The two major advances made by Sadat for the progression of women were reversed under Mubarak due to Islamic influence. The system of free education and public health that were established under Nasser were dismantled under Mubarak. The legislative quotas set in 1979 were reversed by Mubarak in 1986. The changes in personal status codes were overturned by the Courts on procedural grounds that Sadat over extended his authority. Mubarak has made efforts to make peace with Islamics and at the same time distance himself from the Sadat regime and its pro-feminist efforts.
Mubarak endorses more traditional public activity for women such as the work of social service organizations. He forced the Arab Women’s Solidarity Association to dissolve. Islamic fundamentalists found the group’s publications to be anti-Islamic and opposed to the laws of Sharia. “But Mubarak’s government prevents women (and men) from, organizing independently. As a result, women have been relegated to the sidelines of important decisions and deliberately shut out of the political mainstream” (Botman 1999, 92). In the wave of the Islamic revival, women from all walks of society have reverted to wearing the veil, with the exception of Coptic women. Religious women accept and espouse the traditional views of Islam for women with regards to motherhood and the family.

Tension with Islamics also raises the debate as to whether or not Copts constitute a minority in Egypt. “Despite widespread Coptic involvement in nationalist politics and anti-imperialist struggles, and despite the common rhetoric on harmony and national unity, Copts have been continuously identified with foreign and alien powers and threats” (Al-Ali 2000, 95). While some theorize that religious tension flares only in times of social, political or economic crisis, others believe that “in recent years, in light of growing Islamist activism, widespread economic discontent, the perception of western cultural and political infiltration, increased Muslim-Coptic sectarian strife and regional politics (especially the Gulf war, Palestinian-Israeli politics and the debate on a Middle East market), the issue of Egypt’s cultural and political identity has been revived” (Al-Ali 2000, 43).

Among activist women, there are some that will recognize the additional forms of discrimination that Coptic women suffer due to their minority status while others deny
that any differences exist. Coptic women activists have a particular stake in the debates about secularism. One Coptic activist has said, “Public figures in the Coptic community argue from a political religious context. It is not that I want to assert myself as a Copt, but if the whole society only sees you in this frame, you have two options: either you denounce it, or you say ‘yes, so what’. But I never say ‘I am Copt first’, I say ‘I am Egyptian.’ When suddenly in the seventies a religious identity replaced a national identity, I still made the choice that I am Egyptian first and then a Copt. This is against the general trend though. I still feel that the only salvation of this country is to go back to the 1919 revolution slogan: ‘Religion is for God, and the nation for its citizens.’ I believe in a secular state where being Egyptian means to be a citizen. In an Islamic state citizenship is based upon a particular religious denomination. That automatically discriminates against non-Muslims” (Al-Ali 2000, 145).

**PUBLISHING**

The printing press has always functioned as an outlet for women to express their issues, concerns and demands. There were many articles and books published about women’s issues. Such publications were not always considered a threat by the government. Early on women invoked nationalism as a tool and justification for their writing. It reflected their cooperation and desire to help in the struggle for independence. Women also claimed that writing facilitated communication with other women and combated isolation and loneliness at home. (Baron 1994, 41) Before World War I, there were approximately fifteen magazines in Arabic, founded and edited by women, on the subject of women’s issues. (Philipp 1978, 280) Only one of the magazines was founded
and edited by a Coptic woman, two others by Jewish women, half belonged to Syrian Christian women and the rest belonged to Muslim women.

Writers targeted urban middle and upper class women. (Baron 1994, 116) The women had a unified voice in terms of speaking on behalf of women of all economic, religious and cultural backgrounds. Unfortunately, “women writers did not speak in a unified voice in part because they did not agree on the proper solution-or even the exact nature-of the problem.” (Baron, 120) The women did agree that expressing their views and writing were crucial especially in opposition to ideals. In turn their plight was not to struggle against men but to better their position. The women did not ask for economic freedom or ask for the same jobs as men. They were clear on and agreed that their role was different than that of the men but that it needed to improve – separate but equal.

There were common positions that were taken up by the intellectuals but the one most appealing to religious minorities such as the Copts and Syrians was that of restricting religion to private life while emphasizing education and domesticity. (Baron 1994, 121) Coptic and Syrian women, even though they may have been from liberal families or had husbands that were in the industry of publishing, emphasized domestic roles. These minority Christian women did so because they were also under constraint and did not want their ideas to appear threatening thus risking rejection of their innovations by the public majority on such sensitive issues as unveiling in the early twentieth century. (Badran 1995, 62)

Coptic women were practicing veiling and segregation up until the beginning of the twentieth century. On the other side, Coptic women still tended to be more socially conservative than their Syrian sisters. There were a few Coptic writers that accused the
Arabs for the introducing such practices that undermined the woman’s position in society. (Baron 1994, 109) There were efforts to overcome the religious differences between the Arabs and the Copts. On the other hand, there was a publication by a Christian woman, Malaka Sa’d, who was one of the Syrian Christian editors before World War I that sparked suspicion. She indirectly attacked Islam as the cause of the deterioration of the woman’s position in society. She outlined the esteemed status of women from Pharaonic times through the Roman and Byzantine periods but the position of women had become low. “Implicitly, Islam was made responsible for the downfall of women in society. This line of thought was bound to alienate most Egyptian nationalist, who at the time had only rarely cut all strings of loyalty to the Islamic past and heritage of Egypt.” (Philipp 1978, 282)

At the end of the nineteenth century, women writers started to address more contemporary issues but the most common was education. The discussion of education was to be the remedy for the question of women’s issues. The women campaigned for education on the grounds that it was necessary for women in order to help strengthen the homes and thereby their country. “The women’s education issue was part of the larger women’s question which in turn was part of the Islamic reform movement. (Russell 1992, 126) Muslims and Christians had to maintain separate schools. Coptic mothers protested instruction of the Quran and not the Bible. Some women feared young girls being instructed by Christian foreigners would raise Christian children thereby creating a Christian nation. Najiya Rashid is quoted as having said that ignorance is preferable to such an education. (Baron 1994, 140)
“In calling for girls’ education, advocates never suggested that girls enter male institutions, in spite of the fact that some girls had previously studied with boys in kuttabs. When considering girls’ education on a much larger scale, a parallel system—not integration—was their goal. This was an important point, for Muslims had to be convinced that girl’s education was not a Christian idea.” (Baron 1994, 125) Copts opened their own private schools in the 1890’s, the result of these schools and other non-Muslim schools was “the percentage of literate female Copts far surpassed the percentage of literate female Muslims in the early 1900s.” (Baron 1994, 134)

Writers hoped to raise the status of women by professionalizing the role in the home and raising awareness of the importance of maternal responsibilities. They maintained that marriage should be monogamous and spoke of the atrocities, such as suicide, that resulted from forced marriages and easy divorces.

In the late 1930s through 1940, the EFU published two internationally distributed journals L’Egyptienne and Al-Misriyah. Both journals had contributions from Christian and Muslim women alike. The second editor of Al-Misriyah was a Coptic woman, Eva Habib al-Masri, who was also the first Egyptian woman to graduate from the American University in Cairo. There were times when the publication attempted to make feminism compatible with Islam which marginalized the Coptic women but they continued to participate in the EFU. The journal addressed issues regarding the economy, the poor and women’s family roles. The EFU stopped publishing these journals at the wake of World War II.
SHARIA LAW & THE CONSTITUTION

The major issue with Islam is that it does not make a distinction between community practices and Sharia Law, nor between state and religion, therefore creating an environment where religion serves as a disguise for political and fundamentalist agendas. Religious laws and beliefs are mixed with political agendas making it difficult for the people to understand even their religion in its purest form. “While conservative groups may be manipulating the doctrine of Islam to create an illusion of religious resistance to female empowerment, Egypt's discriminatory laws, cultural norms, and sexual standards represent genuine and formidable obstacles to the achievement of equality.” (Jewett 1996, 9) One of the many obstacles that Egyptian women face is that of Sharia Law. In order for there to be advancement in the rights of women, there have to be several changes. The first is new interpretations of Sharia Law which is possible under the rules of Islam. “Islamic scholars disagree as to the appropriate way to analyze the Quran, sunna and ijma in order to discover the rules of sharia.” (Lombardi 1998, 4) There is also a gap between the laws set out by a country according to Sharia and the actual practices of the community with regards to these laws. This loophole gives further room for interpretation of Islamic Law. Indeed, in some regions, such as Egypt, politics have become Islamic even when the state structures have not”. (Nielsen 2002, 4)

The education of women in their religion is a key factor in the effort to create change. It is often the case that women are ignorant of what the Quran actually means when it comes to the guidelines it sets out for women. They need to be educated in their religion and its interpretation. Unfortunately, many of the Islamically literate elite were lost to professions and specialties associated modernization introduced by the rise of
European economic and political power in the nineteenth century. The result was superficial comprehension of the rules of Sharia, ignorance of its subtleties and its scope for flexibility in interpretation. (Nielsen 2002, 2) Finally the Egyptian Constitution needs to be amended to protect women and their rights. As it stands, Coptic women are subject to the same inheritance and property laws as Muslim women. Inheritance rights under Islamic law applies to both Muslim and Coptic women.

Sharia is traditional Islamic law. “Muslims consider obedience to the sharia to be a crucial religious duty” (Lombardi 1998, 5). Islam draws no distinction between religious and secular life. Hence Sharia covers not only religious rituals, but many aspects of day-to-day life and has roots in social customs (al-urf). The main sources of Islamic law are the Quran and the Hadith. Qiyas, reasoning by analogy, was used by the law scholars (Mujtahidun) to deal with situations where the sources provided no concrete rules. Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) is divided into two parts: the study of the sources and methodology (usul al-fiqh - roots of the law) and the practical rules (furu’ al-fiqh - branches of the law). (Online Encyclopedia)

Egypt is a leader in Islamic jurisprudence and is home to one of the oldest and most renowned Islamic schools in the Arab world, Al-Azhar. Many aspects of Muslim life including their views of women and family are based on medieval Islamic jurisprudence which was based on religious and cultural components. The cultural components gave rise to political and social assumptions, which became so imbedded in Islamic jurisprudence that many Muslims are not aware of their non-religious origins. (al-Hibri 1997, 3)
Egypt does not claim to have an Islamic constitution, as do Iran, Saudi Arabia and a few other Arab countries. The current constitution of Egypt was adopted in 1971. At the time, Egypt was dominated by a secularist party that did not feel the need to reflect traditional Islamic values in the law and the Article could not be interpreted in such a way by the courts. Egyptian laws were not required to conform to Sharia Law. In 1980 Article 2 of the Egyptian Constitution was amended to read, “Islamic sharia will be the principle source of Egyptian legislation.”

The Constitution is also the supreme source of law in the country. The Supreme Constitutional Court of Egypt has the authority to interpret the Constitution as is permitted by Islamic Law. Islamic Law permits scholars to interpret the law when the Quran and hadith are unclear on an issue. Any laws that contradict sharia would have to be struck down by the courts. Legislation cannot even contradict the spirit of sharia. (Lombardi 1998, 12) The Court has defined sharia to consist of all laws which conform to the broad legal principles that were laid down in the Quran and which have been accepted by all Muslim jurists over the years (Lombardi 1998, 4).

The Constitution contains articles that promote the equality of women but within the boundaries of their traditional roles. Article 8 guarantees equality of opportunity to citizens. On the other hand, Article 11 states, “the State shall guarantee the proper coordination between the duties of woman towards the family and her work in the society, considering her equal with man in the fields of political, social, cultural and economic life without violation of the rules of Islamic jurisprudence.” Women may only progress to the extent that they do not violate Islamic rules. The Court distinguishes between the principles and the rules of Islamic law. Reasoning based on first principles or
“ijtihad” is forbidden as to the principles of Islamic Law. This poses an obstacle for Egyptian women because interpretations in their favor maybe considered unconstitutional if the Court finds that the interpretation violates a principle of Islamic Law.

One of the major problems in Islam is the use of religion by traditionalists and extremists to justify civil and human rights abuses especially with regards to women. For example in 1996 the Minister of Education handed down an administrative banning veiling using a niqab from schools. The case came before the Supreme Constitutional Court which found the ban unconstitutional. After an appeals process the holding was overturned because the Court could not find a clear order in the Quran or sunna with regards to veiling. In another case they found that the Quran does not permit schoolgirls to wear skirts above the ankle. The Court did not give any explanation for their finding. “Although none of the parties to the suit were Copts, it is clear that while the courts refused to impose an excessive dress code on all Egyptian school girls, Copts are subjected to the dress code issued by the Minister of Education as he implements the sharia. (Brown 2000, 16).

The fact that it is not only difficult to define sharia, but to interpret it, creates the concern that it could be hit or miss for women with the Court. According to the Court, “Article 2 commands the Egyptian government to obey principles that advance certain noble social goals. Any number of laws could then be said to conform to sharia”. (Lombardi 1998, 15) The Court has the power to define sharia in such a way as to progress the position of women if such progression could be considered a “noble social goal” by Islamists.
Discrimination against women can also be found in the civil and criminal laws. “Unfortunately, Egypt has adopted numerous discriminatory laws which, along with the gender roles perpetuated by Egypt’s male-dominated society, create a substantial barrier to the empowerment of women” (Jewett 1996, 7). The Egyptian courts have drafted civil and criminal laws that subordinate women to men; these include “crimes against honor”. Under the penal code, women face harsher sentences than men for the same crimes as adultery and murder. “It is important to note that, according to one scholar, these laws do not derive from Islamic Law but rather from nineteenth century French Penal Code. Therefore these laws are a misinterpretation of the sharia and an example of cultural norms overriding religious norms.” (Jewett 1996, 8)

Sherman Jackson, a professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the University of Michigan, suggests that “not every opinion recorded in the authoritative manuals of classical Islamic law is necessarily binding in a modern context. On the contrary, there is always a need to separate what is factual from what is legal, and to restrict the authority of the law books and the jurists to strictly legal domain. This opens the possibility, indeed the necessity, for significant change, even in areas where the legal deductions of the classical jurists are deemed to be correct” (2003, 6). On the other hand, some interpretations of Sharia Law could be problematic for Coptic women while liberating for Muslim women. He offers the hypothetical change to divorce laws. Divorce is permissible according to Islamic law but prohibited in Coptic Christianity. Hypothetically, if an Islamic state were to recognize divorce and a Coptic woman petitioned for divorce, the State would grant her request based on the principle of equality. The State would then put itself at odds with the authority of the Coptic Church.
The Coptic Church would have a rightful claim that the State was favoring Muslims. If the State denied the Coptic woman’s petition, she could then argue that the State had violated the principle of equality because she was denied a right extended to Muslims. He suggests that to avoid this problem, the government takes on a stance of “equality of respect.” It could authorize Muslim and Christian communities to define certain rights and obligations exclusive to their communities. (Jackson 2003, 7)

Muslim women, as opposed to Christian women, also have to deal with polygamy. The Coptic Church does not permit men or women to have more than one spouse and prohibits divorce. Sharia permits men to marry up to four women and divorce a woman without justification. Some scholars claim that polygamy is a misinterpretation of the Quran and that the saying (ayah) actually means that since it is difficult for a man to take care of more than one wife equally, it is better for him to keep only one.

“According to the conventional interpretation of Islam, and of Christianity, wives were under the authority of their husbands” (Badran 1995, 124). For some Coptic women, Sharia penetrates into their home life. Coptic men use Sharia Law to get their way at home. For example, a Coptic woman wanted a divorce. Under the Coptic Church she must convert to Greek Orthodoxy in order to request the divorce, as Sharia will permit the divorce if the spouses are from different religions. Her husband tried to stop the divorce by seeking bayt al’ta’a to keep her from leaving the country and would not give her permission to travel (Al-Ali 2000, 103).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Lombardi notes that “for the past twenty years, Egypt has been in a state of near-civil war with secularists, who include most members of the government party, and
Islamists, who enjoy considerable support among the Egyptian people. The government of Egypt agreed to the amendment of Article 2 in 1980 as a concession to Islamists” (1998, 13). The compromise was guaranteeing an Islamic nature to the law and flexibility of the law for secularists. The government and Court are in a difficult position trying to keep the Islamists satisfied and at the same time trying to progress the country. Nielsen argues that ultimately, the political environment and laws depend on the local political situation, the degree to which the regime is under pressure from Islamist groups, as well as the balance of power between different Islamist trends. (2002, 7)

Jewett suggestion for reform is “advocates of women’s rights must encourage Islamic leaders to acknowledge that the ideas of gender equality, respect, and individual freedom are not alien western conceptions but are compatible with Islamic law and the visions of the Prophet Mohammed” (1996, 10). Activists and reformists must also be careful in demanding sweeping reforms as that will cause fundamentalists and traditionalists to react defensively. Islamic leaders must be convinced that reform is consistent with Islamic law. Activists must enlist the help of religious leaders, women’s groups and women in their efforts for reform.

Middle and lower class women must be educated as to their religion and the scope of it in terms of their rights and freedoms. Women have to be convinced that the new interpretations of Islamic Law promote their fundamental interests. Traditional norms still govern the rights of rural women who are the majority. Article 16 of the Constitution guarantees the services to citizens in villages in order to raise their standards of living. Al-Hibri points out “the majority of Muslim women who are attached to their religion will not be liberated through the use of a secular approach imposed from the outside by
international bodies or from above by undemocratic governments. The only way to resolve the conflicts of these women and remove their fear of pursuing rich and fruitful lives is to build a solid Muslim feminist jurisprudential basis which clearly shows that Islam not only does not deprive them of their rights, but in fact demands these rights for them.” (1997, 2) Early Muslim women were involved and contributed to Islamic jurisprudence as well as the everyday life of their society. In Islam men and women have similar religious duties, religious education of men and women was the same in early Islam, there are discussions between the Prophet and women in the Quran and women also participated in the selection of the Prophet to lead the Muslims (al-Hibri 1997, 18). Women must also be cautious of factions within them such as female leaders of branches of the Muslim Brotherhood who promote the segregation of women and an alternative Islamic feminism.

**FUNDAMENTALISM & HUMAN RIGHTS**

**COPTS**

The relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims has traditionally been one of toleration. Copts make up ten percent of the Egyptian population yet they do not hold political power or share in social influence in Egypt. As a matter of fact, Egypt is home to some of the most active fundamentalist groups in the Arab region such as the Muslim Brotherhood. Some fundamentalists call for Muslims to shun Christians. The Copts strive to maintain their “pre-Muslim, non-Arab, ancient Egyptian lineage.” (Arzt 2002, 9)

The Copts have suffered many human rights violations under Islam: They are harassed and beaten in the streets and in schools; tortured especially for attempting to convert Muslims to Christianity; militants have burned churches and villages; raided
meetings and services causing mass murder; priests and women are harassed in the streets; and, monasteries attacked. In 2000, the Christian villagers of al-Kosheh were slaughtered in a mass murder. Muslim converts to Christianity are forced to either flee the country or live a life in fear of being killed by their former religious brothers. In 2003, St. Anthony Monastery on the Red Sea was surrounded by militants for three days trying to tear down the building. Under the International Religious Freedom Act, the United States may impose economic sanctions on countries for not protecting their religious groups from attacks by nonstate actors. Egyptian Copts did not react well to this legislation as they feared the sanctions would generate more violence as “violent acts within Egypt have been shown to correlate with Egypt’s economy” (Brown 2000, 11).

Christians feel that the primary cause of division in society is religion. This fear is a result of “the hard-line Islamic movements that seek to impose their fossilized concept of Sharia” (Nielsen 2002, 5). The Egyptian Constitution makes a distinction between non-Muslims and Muslims and treats them accordingly. Non-Muslims cannot be president nor can more than one hold a minister position in government at the same time. No Copts hold military or governerships. Copts are Constitutionally prohibited from forming political parties. Even if they could, they would have to be non-religious and gain eight percent of the vote before getting a seat in Parliament. (Brown 2000, 16) “In the last two decades, Christian Egyptians have been systematically eliminated from positions as Cabinet ministers, army officers, police officers, governors, bankers, parliamentary representatives and university professors” (Soliman 2002, 3). All Egyptians carry national ID cards identifying their religion. They must also identify their religion on their birth certificates, driver’s licenses, travel papers, and employment
documents. (Brown 2000, 17) This practice has brought about injustices for Christians. Copts have lost job opportunities, although perfectly competent for the positions, delays in social security, they must stand at the end of the line for food stamps, and are placed at the end of waiting lists for simple needs such as a telephone line for their home (Soliman 2002, 1). Copts are subject to restrictions on the building of churches, discrimination in housing, and land distribution (Arzt 2002, 8). “President Mubarak has traditionally appointed two Copts as ministers to his cabinet and is authorized to appoint up to ten members of Parliament, typically consisting of Copts and women” (Brown 2000, 6).

The amendment to Article 2 of the Constitution brought on a great deal of problems for Copts and Muslims. Although the amendment was to appease Islamists, they took it as an opportunity to subject Muslims and Christians alike, to extremist acts. During this decade, Islamists gained influence over Muslims in universities, especially at Al-Azhar University. In general, they were becoming stronger all over the Middle East and pressuring governments to adopt sharia as the primary source of law. Governments gave in to the demands out of fear of being condemned as anti-Islamic. (Brown 2000, 5)

In 1980, the Constitution was again amended to specify Islam as the official state religion. This caused riots and violence to break out between Copts and Muslims.

“A total and complete implementation of sharia into Egypt’s legal system would clearly violate the Copts’ religious human rights. For example, the sharia does not treat non-Muslim living in an Islamic state as a full citizen of that state” (Brown 2000, 12). Also, under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, even if a country recognizes one religion as its official state religion, international law does not allow states to invoke religious law as an excuse for breaching their treaty obligations. (Brown 2000,
12) Egypt also violates the CCPR with regards to public education as Coptic children are required to memorize parts of the Quran while not teaching Christianity in schools. (Brown 2000, 16) Copts are often denied admission to medical school because extremists find the treatment of Muslim women by Coptic doctors offensive. (Brown 2000, 16)

In 1991, Ahmad Kamal Abu al-Magd, published a discussion of the political ordering of the Islamic state in response to the growing tension between the government and Islamic political extremists. He expressed that it is possible to write a modern constitution which gives full religious freedom and civil rights to all and still be in consonance with Sharia Law. (Nielsen 2002, 5) Granted the Quran 2:256 decrees “there is no compulsion in religion: truth stands out clearly from error.” On the other hand, a 1976 meeting between Muslims and Christian theologians resulted in an agreement that there is legitimacy to the “right to convince and to be convinced.” (Nielsen 2002, 6)

The discussion of the status of non-Muslims in Muslim countries (dhimmis) has brought about the emergence of such publications and groups as the Arab Muslim-Christian covenant, published in 2001, and The Arab Working Group on Dialogue whose goal is strengthen national unity, as the opposite climate opens the doors to international interference and obstructs democratic development. (Abu-Lughod 1998, 7)

WOMEN

“The contemporary threat to women and their rights in the Muslim world springs mainly from a resurgence of radical fundamentalist thought and politics in the last quarter of the twentieth century (Afkhami 2001, 235). “Efforts to empower women encourage rebellion by fundamentalist Islamic groups that wish to reassert the sharia as the exclusive source of both public and private law” (Jewett 1996, 11). Over half of Egyptian
women still wear the veil. “There are many reasons why women continue to wear the veil instead of wearing western dress. One of the most obvious reasons is the pressure from Islamic fundamentalists who emphasize traditional family values and regard the home as the proper place for women” (Jewett 1996, 4). Unfortunately, they use Sharia Law to justify their positions as it governs daily life of Muslims such as women’s attire. “Some of the scholars theorize that gender-discriminating members of Egyptian society manipulate Islam in order to suppress their female counterparts” (Jewett 1996, 6). In as recent as 1998 to the present time, Coptic girls are being kidnapped, raped and forced to convert in such cities as Port Said.

Women’s bodies and sexuality are under a great deal of control. Egypt is one of the top five countries to maintain the practice of female genital mutilation. Although it is a Muslim practice, both Coptic and Muslim women are subjected to circumcision. It is mostly performed on lower class girls living in rural areas. It is practiced in unsanitary conditions and performed by just about anyone from butchers to village women using instruments from broken glass to butcher knives. Reasons given for the practice are it keeps a woman pure as it reduces chances of promiscuity and increase the chances for marriage. The belief is a girl is more likely to remain a virgin if she has been circumcised. Islam highly regards the sexual purity of females. University research in Egypt has found that “ninety-eight percent of all girls in Egyptian countryside and poor girls in Cairo had been circumcised (both Muslims and Coptic Christians), while upper-class girls in Cairo were subjected to the procedure thirty percent of the time” (Botman 1999, 106).
In 1981, Hedy Banoub founded the Care for Girls Committee in the Coptic city of Beni Sueif in order to raise awareness of FGM in the Coptic community. The committee is extremely active in the community as it makes home visits, trips to local villages to make presentations on the harms of FGM using various educational tools for children and addresses other issues such as marriage defloration, arranged marriages and inheritance customs. (Dillon 2000, 9)

The global media attention to this issue caused Egypt to draft a law banning female circumcision. The law was later abandoned and circumcision was relegated to government hospitals. “Female activists assert that Egypt did not pass legislation criminalizing female circumcision because it did not wish to upset Muslim religious leaders” (Jewett 1996, 6). In 1994 the Health Minister lifted the ban on FGM. This became the impetus for the formation of the Egyptian National FGM Task Force. Its goal was not promote legislation but raise awareness. (Dillon 2000, 9) In 1995, for fear of U.S. aid sanctions and pressure from human rights groups, the government ceased performing FGM but later reverted to the practice. The brief ban was due to a lawsuit brought against the leader of Al-Azhar University. In 1996 a new Health Minister banned FGM but in 1997 a lower administrative tribunal ruled in favor of fundamentalists and revoked the ministerial ban on FGM (Dillon, 12). The Supreme Court overturned the ruling later the same year stating that FGM is not sanctioned by Sharia Law. (Dillon 2000, 13)

Egypt has the highest population among Arab countries. Family planning is yet another way that the government controls the bodies and sexuality of women. Egypt has the Cairo Family Planning Association, established in 1979, that has been successful in conducting seminars on the harms of FGM. Unfortunately, it has had little impact on the
health of women or population growth. In 1994 the U.N. sponsored the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo. The goal of the conference was to present a program of action that would reduce world population growth over twenty years. “The ICPD Program of Action emphasizes that for the program to succeed, nations worldwide must strive to empower their female citizens and to provide them with adequate family planning services and information.” Islamic groups attacked the ICPD on the grounds that it promoted extramarital sex and prostitution and threatened family unity. (Jewett 1996, 1) Women are not provided with the proper care for their reproductive health and are limited in their participation in slowing down population growth. The ICPD could not be followed unless it was consistent with Islamic Law. Egypt endorsed the compromise provision of the ICPD which ensures that the program will respect each nation’s religious, cultural and ethical beliefs. Although Islam does not prohibit family planning, Islamic extremists feel that education of girls regarding their reproductive health would taint their purity and promote promiscuity.

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS & NGOs

Egypt has generally had a good relationship with the United Nations. In 1992, a Copt was appointed Secretary-General of the UN, Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Not surprisingly, before his appointment to the UN, he was only appointed as the deputy to Mubarak’s Minister of Foreign Affairs, despite his expertise in foreign affairs (Brown 2000, 16). Egypt has made a public commitment to combat religious human rights violations but unfortunately, in practice, Egypt has a pattern of not committing to International Agreements that would promote the progression of women. From CEDAW, to the Hague Convention, Egypt has found that these agreements are not in accordance
with Sharia Law and therefore can only be partially implemented in Egypt. Two factors have hindered the country’s ability to adhere to standards of women’s rights. The first is the requirement of women to balance work and home. The second factor is that women may only progress as long as it does not violate the rules of Islam. (Jewett 1996, 8)

With regards to the UN Declaration of Human Rights, Egypt had difficulties with Articles 16 and 18. Article 16 allows for equal rights within marriage while Article 18 includes the right to change one’s religion. Islamic organizations have attempted to draft their own human rights documents. One such document is the Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights which is subject to Sharia Law.

In 1981 Egypt signed the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). As it is Egypt’s pattern, it had reservations about Articles 2, 9 and 16 and would only implement them to the extent that they were consistent with Islamic Law. Article 2 required nations to take legislative action against discrimination; Article 9 would grant women equal rights with men regarding the nationality of their children and Article 16 called for nations to abolish discrimination against women with regards to marriage and family relations.

Egypt allows for NGO’s unlike Saudi Arabia and Iran. These countries deny the constitutional legitimacy of secular and universal human rights laws. (Jewett 1996, 10) All nongovernmental organizations in Egypt are under state supervision. There are over fourteen thousand of these organizations in and over one hundred serve women. During the rule of Nasser, NGOs were subsumed by national politics and remerged in the 1980s. (Ammar 1999, 153) The Alliance for Arab Women is one of the most active. There are several NGO’s working to educate women on the harms of FGM. There is a Task Force
of approximately sixty NGOs conducting grassroots education and awareness programs (Dillon 2000, 9).

The Coptic Association is also one of these NGOs serving the Coptic community. Another NGO that specifically serves the Coptic community is the Association for the Development and Enhancement of Women. This group works with the zabaleen or community of trash collectors. They have established a credit loan program modeled after the Grameen bank in Bangladesh (Al-Ali 2000, 161). The program has been running successfully for ten years. The NGO has also developed a legal assistance program for women which provides women with legal advice and helps them to obtain ID cards so that they may have access to government benefits.

WOMEN IN OTHER COUNTRIES

The attempts to bridge the gap across religious lines for a larger cause has been successful in other countries. A primary example is that of the Women in Black in Israel. They organized to demonstrate for peace. It was important to the organization that the people were aware that not all Israelis agreed with the violence against Palestinians and that not all Palestinians thought all Israelis were anti-Palestinian. The impact of these women was even recognized by President Mubarak “in the context of taking heart from the peace camp in Israel” (Svirsky 2000, 241). The women conducted their vigils on street corners all over Israel but in the early stages just in Jerusalem every Friday for one hour. Originally the groups were made up primarily of Jewish women and some Palestinian citizens of Israel but grew to include sizable representations from both religious groups. They banned together in their cause for peace while struggling to develop a dialogue and common language with each other (Svirsky 2000, 244).
Fortunately for these women, Israel is far more advanced democratically than Egypt. There are people in the government to whom the women can turn for sympathy to their plight. There are factors that existed in Israel that aided these women in their success that do not exist in Egypt. According to Svirsky, the Palestinian-Arab and Israeli-Jewish women were successful in looking past their religious divisions because they used an international feminist approach. “This was not a woman’s natural predilection for peacemaking, but the ideological commitment of women to a vision of international peace. It did not come from instinct, but from socializing and educating each other over the years. Being outside establishment politics was an asset in taking a more critical perspective of them” (Svirsky 2000, 240).

Israeli and Palestinian women had been involved in international conferences for peace before starting the Women in Black. These women were already active in politics and had been organizing before forming the group. Women in Israel and Palestine suffer from religious fundamentalism, as well. It breeds fear and there are many involved who have stakes in promoting acts of terrorism. Israel has been attacked by such groups as Hamas and Hezbollah. Like the Egyptian women, there were divisions in thought among Israeli women. An extremist group of women formed the Women in Green and promoted religious fundamentalism while holding hostile demonstrations.

The women of the former Republic of Yugoslavia are yet another example of women that were able to ignore religious cleavages in order to further their cause. The Serbians are Orthodox Christians, like the Copts of Egypt, and the Croatians are predominantly Muslim. During the war in Kosovo, they created a feminist movement in resistance to the war. Feminist groups have established a Women’s Parliament and
centers to serve women in all walks of life, from the disabled to the poor to the abused. As is the case in Egypt, the Serbian Constitution and laws control women’s reproductive health. It is a Serbian government nationalist goal to have women produce more children so they may be sent to war to defend the country. Abortion was no longer legal under the constitution and there was education on planned parenthood. Women found themselves cornered without any choice but to succumb to the burden. Nationalist hatred fueled violence against women. Men began to beat their wives, and soldiers harassed women in the street.

Feminism is a concept that was introduced to Yugoslavia from outside the country. In 1986, the first feminist organization was formed. One of the challenges to feminism in Yugoslavia was Communism but feminist groups continued to flourish into the early nineties. Prior to the war, women banded together to protest against war. Belgrade had an active Women in Black. These activists “defined themselves as an antinationalist, antimilitarist, feminist, pacifist group who rejected the reduction of women to the role of mothers” (Mladjenovic 2000, 261). The group protested, published, and became radical. They especially demanded that the perpetrators of rape against women during the war be condemned. They participated in grassroots democracy in Serbia and worked along side human rights groups and other organized groups working to improve the country. The women faced opposition from Milosevic’s regime but continued to organize. They crossed into other states regardless of its religious group, served people in mosques as well as churches, and came together with Albanian, Croatian, and Roma women.
CONCLUSION

The women of Egypt organized a feminist movement in the past with Muslims working alongside Copts. The literature on the feminist movement in Egypt makes mention of the Copts where significant but I have not come across literature that makes a direct comparison between Copts and Muslims. This comparison is significant because changes in the law and society will affect all women in Egypt whether they belong to the majority or minority. The feminist movement has taken these women through various trials from the revolution in 1919 to present day struggles under Mubarak. All along they were able to find that they had enough in common to work alongside one another for a common goal. The differences that exist between these women are imposed by society and religion and at the same time serve as an impetus to unite once again across religious lines although this will prove to be a long and daunting task.

From Nasser to Mubarak, women made gains as well as suffered setbacks. Nasser was pro-women but ultimately all political strides kept women within the private patriarchal structure. Sadat made advances for women, often as a means of promoting his political agenda with the West. Unfortunately, fundamentalism stripped women of these advances. Under Mubarak, women have to deal with the resurgence of conservative Islam, rising fundamentalism, poverty, and international political tension. Coptic women and the Coptic community as a whole must endure religious oppression and persecution by fundamentalists. In addition to fundamentalism which affects Copts on another level than Muslims, Copts must find an identity as a minority in Egypt.

Muslim and Coptic women must struggle together against discriminating laws and amendments. They face retaliation and changes in the law that may be more liberating for
one group and at the same time violating for another. They are struggling against a
government that restricts help through International Agreements and monitors their
organization. The women have struggles in the home that is structured with the man as
the head. Al-Misriyah published an article, “If You Want a Good Wife, Find a Good
Husband,” pointed out that a husband’s actions had a direct bearing on his wife’s
behavior (Badran 1995, 138). Women must deal with issues from public dress to sexual
repression.

As adequately put by Adel Hussain, “true believers in Islam, Christianity and
Judaism may discover that they have important shared points against the present
dominant materialism and secularism, which threaten all religious values, and threatens
the very existence of nations, starting from the very basic social infrastructure, i.e.
families” (Al-Ali 2000, 136). Although Coptic women have additional barriers than
Muslim women, the two groups have enough in common as minorities to search for
answers together.
Bibliography


Life Skill as Household’s Human Capital for Women Living in Rural Areas

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Life Skill as Household’s Human Capital for Women Living in Rural Areas

This study extends the traditional human capital theory for household’s skill. Using NC223 data, it looks at the correlations of life skills with other skills that are related to non-market skills, and estimates a life skill model based on the traditional human capital theory. Results showed that life skill score is highly correlated with total scores of knowledge in community skills and total scores of parental confidence. Results also revealed that age, educational attainment, and social skills are significantly related to life skill score, indicating similarities in types of traditional human capital investments to that of household’s. The results are of interest to policymakers in promoting programs to increase household human capital among women in rural areas and educators in introducing the concept of household human capital.

*Keywords: women, rural, human capital*
Life Skill as Household’s Human Capital for Women Living in Rural Areas

Human capital is commonly related to the skills developed to increase people’s demand in a market workplace. Human capital catalyzes the enhancement of market productivity in helping people to get better paying jobs. However, it can be argued that in the growing complexity of the world today, household production needs an adequate amount of household human capital for higher household productivity. Household human capital is essential in raising dynamic families. Household human capital may minimize the costs of raising a family or maximize the net returns from household and market productions from the members of household. For instance, non-working mothers with high life skills may be able to manage time efficiently, manage good budgets, grab good deals from shopping (from sale or coupons), apply for governmental assistance (such as food stamps or Temporary Assistance for needy Family, TANF), attain the most useful credit cards for consumption smoothing, assist children with homework, and help working spouses unwind (by providing good food and being a good friend).

Adapting the traditional Human Capital model (Becker, 1964), this study looks at the relationship between life skill score to other self-assessed skills and estimates the life skill assessment score for women. The traditional Human Capital model posits that the increase of one’s human capital in market skills will increase one’s market productivity. Pertaining to household human capital, an increase in the household human capital increases one’s household productivity. Human capital is affected mainly by having and raising children, formal education, experience, health, migration, and marriage. For life skill assessment estimation, the human capital factors tested are having and raising children, education, experience, and marriage.
The purpose of this study is to explore life skills of women living in poverty in rural areas as human capital for household production. This segment of the population is of interest to us because they tend to have less income and less opportunity to work due to familial responsibilities and lack of employment opportunities in the rural areas. Poverty in the rural areas in the U.S. is a pressing issue. Poverty increased significantly from 1979 to 1989 with the rate in non-metro areas being higher than in metro areas (Lichter et al., 1994). The poverty rate has been high (U.S. Census, 2001). Due to lack of and decreasing employment opportunities, poverty in rural areas tends to be persistent and long-term relative to those in non-rural areas (Deavers & Hoppe, 1992).

Despite these constraints, women in rural areas still have opportunities to increase their earnings and improve on their well-being status. We argue that women can do these by making full use of the opportunities of local, state, and federal programs from parenting training program to food stamps application. These programs enhance women’s capabilities for improving their welfare and increasing their household efficiency as parents, wives, members of the community, and so forth. While the government is fighting poverty throughout the U.S., it is imperative that people in the rural area utilize all available resources to alleviate themselves from extreme hardship. Based on human capital theory and other studies, we look at how household human capital relates to age, educational attainment, social capital, employment status, and ethnicity. We observe two main findings. First, life skills are related to many other skills. Second, age, educational attainment, social capital, and ethnicity, but not employment status, are related to household human capital. Policy implications of the results are shared in the discussion section.

RELATED LITERATURE

Household Human Capital
We have not found any studies relating household human capital to women in rural areas. This may be so because women in the rural areas do not have many opportunities to gain human capital, let alone utilize human capital in the rural markets. Most educated rural women have to migrate from their rural hometown to areas where their experiences and skills obtained will be highly valued. Due to the nature of the data, we specify our analysis to rural women with children twelve years old and younger.

The proposed household human capital is different from the traditional human capital, as formally introduced by Becker (1964), in a way that the former is directed towards household production while the latter is more towards market production. Human capital theory revolves around the idea that people attempt to gain skills and knowledge by going to school in order to be more effective – thus, highly demanded – in the job market. We are arguing that in the increasing complex social and economic environment, household chores require essential skills for home production, in terms of goods and services.

The concept of household human capital can be adapted to Becker’s other theory; the household time allocation theory (Becker, 1965). This model is concerned towards how households divide their limited time (e.g. 24 hours per day and 168 hours per week) between market production (working in the job market), household production (goods and services produced at home mainly for personal consumption), and leisure in their attempt to maximize utility obtained directly from leisure and household production, and indirectly from goods and services purchased in the market using income via paid job. Becker argued that the production possibility frontier shapes individual’s capabilities and efficiency in household production and that this frontier determines whether an individual is better off producing goods and services at home or buying them in the market using income from paid jobs. For instance, a person who can
get paid $50 for a two-hour job is better off purchasing a meal that would only cost $10 in the market than spending 2 hours making the same quality and quantity meal. Extending the example to a more efficient household (i.e., the one with “higher” production possibility frontier), a household with high household human capital may need two hours to produce the same meal for a family of five for lunch and dinner (prepared together – microwave for dinner), which would cost the household $100 if purchased in the market.

We believe life skills closely represent our conception of household human capital because it relates closely to the ability to function efficiently in the household setting in meeting the needs of household members. Life skill is not only limited to preparing meals for your family, but also to other non-work related skills such as applying for car insurance, managing bills, applying for a credit card, launching consumer complaint, and filling out income tax forms.

**Hypotheses**

As we have stated before, we did not find any studies that directly relate to this topic. This is not surprising considering this is an attempt to study human capital from a new perspective. There are six types of human capital investment: The main ones are education, experience, and health, while the others are migration, raising children and marriage (Bryant, 1990). Due to data limitation, we are not able to test all of these variables. According to human capital theory, people tend to accumulate human capital as they age although the human capital absorbed increases at a decreasing rate. Age is also a good proxy of one’s experience. This can also be applied to the household human capital model. Thus,

H$_1$: Household human capital increases with age.
Some of the materials learned in a formal setting may be directly applied in non-working setting. For instance, people may learn the skills to manage money and children development in classes, which would be helpful in a real-life environment. Thus,

H₂: Household human capital increases with educational attainment.

People may also gain skills and information by working in the market. Some skills that apply at work are useful in household-related matters. For instance, management skills, communication skills, and manual comprehension skills can be directly applied in a household setting. We differentiate employment by areas of employment to test for the significance of employment status in a meaningful manner, i.e. white-collar area vs. blue-collar area. Thus,

H₃: Household human capital is higher among employed people compared to unemployed people.

We test for a positive relation between household human capital and various social skills. Social skills relates to social capital that measure the quality and range (quantity) of social relationship within and between individuals, families, neighbors, communities, etc (Putnam, 1993). We predict that people with better social skills are able to get valuable information and knowledge on various aspects of life. Thus,

H₄: Household human capital is higher in people with higher social skills.

Marriage can affect people’s household in opposing manners. On one hand, one can argue that marriage creates specialization between husband and wife where each spouse focuses on the fields in which they have comparative advantage over the other spouse. As a result, each person may unlearn the skills they did not focus on. On the other hand, people may learn new things by getting married by having the one spouse share the information or skills that the other does not possess. We have decided not to hypothesize the relation between marital status and
household human capital. However, we will include the variable in the model to control for any systematic differences by age. Besides marital status, we also include ethnicity as a confounder because one can argue that immigrants might be in a slight disadvantage mainly due to language barriers (Hargraves, 2002). All in all, we are interested in testing the relations of age, educational attainment, social skills, and employment on household social capital in the manner discussed above while controlling marital status, ethnicity, and income.

METHODS

Data

This paper utilizes the multi-stage NC223 Rural Family Well-Being survey 2001, which is a longitudinal project that tracks and assesses annually at three points in time the functioning and well-being of women in 14 states that includes New York, Ohio, Minnesota, Louisiana, Nebraska, Oregon, and California. This survey was supported in part by grants from U.S. Department of Agriculture/ The Cooperative State Research, Education, and Extension Service/ National Research Initiative Competitive Grants Program (USDA/CSRESS/NRICGP) and Cornell University with funding from many universities (Olson et al., 2004). As the name suggests, the survey focuses on data-collection of well-being of women in the rural areas. The sample of this study only includes women with at least one child 12 years old or younger who are at or below 200 percent of the poverty line. The survey collected data from 448 women, with minimum of 15 families from each county. Data from all respondents are used for the analysis.

With the help of educators and Cooperative Extension Service, researchers in the 14 states recruited families in the rural areas to take part in the survey. Rural is defined as counties with Rural-urban Continuum Codes of 6, 7, or 8 (Butler & Beale, 1994), which is based on metropolitan status and population. In some cases, non-metropolitan requirement suffices the
“rural” definition but based on this code, the maximum county population is 19,999. In some larger counties and states with no such codes, a more relaxed requirement is adapted.

Trained interviewers gathered data from mothers in each household in English or Spanish. Information collected in this survey includes household size and composition, demographic characteristics, parents’ educational background, employment, income, general physical and mental health conditions, and life skills.

**Measurements**

The main variable of interest here is the total scores of life skill assessment, or simply, life skill. Life skill is composed of 25 questions that include questions on having driver’s license, car insurance, car registration, health insurance, checking account, local library card; developing a good credit history, ability to write personal checks, manage bills, make family budgets, stretch groceries at the end of the month, registering to vote, applying for credit cards, preparing meals, getting telephone service, working with landlord, filing a consumer complaint, talking to children’s teachers, applying for a job, creating a resume, joining local clubs, and creating a personal support system. In the survey, respondents were asked on whether they are highly skilled in the questioned tasks. Then, a score of 1 is given for any “Yes” response and 0 for any “No” response. So, life skill scores range from 0 to 25.

Other scores in the survey are knowledge of community service score, depression scale score, food security score, parental confidence score, and parental support score. For all these scores except for food security score, an increase in the score indicates an increase in the particular measure. For instance, higher parental confidence score means that a woman has higher parental confidence. For food security, however, higher score indicates lower food security level (i.e. higher food insecurity). These scores will be used for the correlation analysis,
along with other variables in the regression analysis. The latter variables are included to avoid any multicolinearity problems in the regression. These variables are discussed in Table 1.

Based on human capital theory and other related studies, the independent variables for the regression analysis are marital status, ethnicity, age, highest educational attainment, (natural log of) household money income, knowledge of community services, parental confidence score, and employment type. The variables used in the correlation and regression analyses are discussed in Table 1.

[Table 1 about here]

Method

SAS software is used for the correlation and regression analyses. Pearson’s correlation is used for correlation analysis. The Ordinary Least Square (OLS) Regression of life skill, as a proxy to household human capital, is utilized for the regression analysis. We would like to include all skills or scores related to non-working matters in the model, but this is not possible when there is multicolinearity – high correlation among independent variables. Variables selected in the OLS are based on previous research findings, control variables, and hypotheses.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

The descriptive statistics are presented in Table 2. Overall, the variables do not show any concerns for correlation and regression analyses. Variables are not terribly skewed except for household income. Therefore, natural log of income (plus 1) will be used in the regression analysis. Groupings of categorical variables do not seem to produce any single group, being very small in proportion.
Descriptive statistics indicate that women in rural area of this sample have mean age of 30.1 and standard deviation of 9.12. Almost half of them are married despite the prerequisite of being considered in the survey is having a child 12 years old or younger. The average and standard deviation of income is $1,338.48 and $885.93, respectively, which includes those who are not working full-time. Among the sampled people, 45.5 percent consider themselves to be unemployed. Majority of the sampled group of people have high school diploma at 26.9 percent while 23 percent of women have some experience at the college level. In our sample, the percentage of non-Hispanic Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics are 64.4, 9.0, and 21.6 percents, respectively. Close to 40 percent of these women here work in a blue-sector area while 15.3 percent worked in a white-collar area.

The mean and standard deviation of six scores related to knowledge and skills are also presented in Table 1. Overall, people have high life skill assessment, knowledge of community, parental confidence, and parental support scores while low on food security and depression scales. The larger the possible ranges of total scores, the higher the observed standard deviation.

Life skill assessment correlation

Table 3 presents the correlation results of the scores and other continuous variables in the regression analysis. Significance level is set at 0.001 level. Life skill is found to be highly correlated with all two scores: knowledge of community services and parental support. Only one correlation is found to be higher than 0.5 and one other between 0.4 and 0.5. The correlation between life skill and knowledge of community services is the highest, at 0.519. The second highest correlation is between scores of parental confidence and parental support. Seven other correlation relationships are found to be significant at 0.1 significance level. Based on the
correlation analysis, we decide to include total scores of knowledge in community services and total score of parental support in the regression analysis.

[Table 3 about here]

**Multivariate Analysis**

Table 4 presents the OLS regression analysis. The model estimated is significant (F(14, 258) = 18.92, p < .001). The R² is 0.5066, indicating that 50.66 percent of the variability in the total scores of life skill assessment is explained by the independent variables in the OLS model. Out of a total of 448 women in the data, only 273 (60.9 percent) observations are used in the OLS regression analysis.

Variables that are highly significant, at 1 percent significance level, are educational attainment, log of household income, total scores of knowledge in community skills, and total scores of parental confidence. Variables that are significant at 5 percent significance level (but not at 1 percent) are Hispanics and age. Based on partial F-tests (not included), marital status and type of employment are not found to be significant at 5 percent significance level.

The interpretation of the unstandardized coefficients when controlling for all other variables, are as follows. Only significant variables will be discussed here. Hispanics are expected to have 1.4 lower life skill scores compared to non-Hispanic Whites. For every year increase in age, life score is expected to increase 0.05 point. A more meaningful interpretation is that life score is expected to increase 0.5 point for every 10-year increase in age. Educational attainment is positively associated with life skill scores. Compared to high school graduates, women with less than eighth grade education level and some high school are expected to have 3.5 and 2.5 life skill score less while those with at least some college experience is expected to have 1.3 more. For every one percent increase in household income, life skill score is expected
to increase by almost 1 point. For every point increase in the total score of knowledge in community skills and total scores of parental confidence, life skill score is expected to increase by 0.2 and 0.2, respectively. A more meaningful interpretation would be that for every 5-point increase in the total score of knowledge in community skills and total scores of parental confidence, life skill score is expected to increase by 1.2 and 1.0, respectively.

[Table 4 about here]

**DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS**

The main goal of this study is to explore life skills as household human capital. We looked into the correlation between different types of skills and scores not directly related to working in the market. We also investigated factors associated to household human capital, adapted from the traditional human capital theory. We proposed four hypotheses with regards to relations between household human capital (operationalized using life skill score) and four variables, three of which were types of human capital investment. Three of the four proposed hypotheses were supported by the data and model. We also found that life skill scores are highly correlated with total scores of community skills and scores of parental confidence.

The three supported hypotheses are the positive relation between household human capital to age, educational attainment, and social skills. The one not supported is the relation between household human capital and employment. For every 10-year increase in age, life skill score is expected to increase by 0.5. Compared to women with high school education attainment, women with less than 8th grade education level, some high school experience, and at least some college experience are expected to have 3.5 less, 2.5 less, and 1.3 more life skill score, respectively. The two social scores included in the regression analyses are scores of knowledge in community skills and scores of parental confidence. For every point increase in these scores,
life skill score is expected to increase by 0.23 and 0.20 points, respectively. Experience, as operationalized by age, is always useful in increasing people’s efficiency, regardless of the situation, and as the saying goes; wisdom comes with age.

Educational attainment provides a general type of training that is useful in the market and household settings. As household matters become increasingly complex with dynamic technology, households require adequate educational background to be familiarized with these advances. Social skills open up paths for information flow for people to gain or exchange information pertaining to household matters, which corresponds to a result found in Teachman et al. (1997). The insignificant relation between employment status and household human capital is also found by Lichter et al. (1994). People tend to get married with others of the same background. Considering job opportunities, wage differentials, and familial responsibilities, women in rural area might be better off staying at home nurturing their children and handling household matters while their spouses (if they have one) work in gaining comparative advantage (Becker, 1985). An additional explanation is that women who stay at home may redirect their career interest towards advancing their husbands’ careers, as observed by Airsman and Sharda (1993). Another interesting finding of this study is that marital status variable is not significant. As mentioned in an earlier section, although marital status has been mentioned as a type of human capital investment, we argued that marital status may be related to household human capital in both positive and negative directions.

Although the model proposed is very useful, the model has some rooms for improvements. One cannot say for sure of the direction of causality between scores, except for the depression scale. The direction of causality cannot be directly assessed from this study. Besides, the fact that these scores are self assessed might be underestimated or overestimated to
represent respondents in a positive sense. People may want to present themselves in the best possible manner that they are likely to report that they have the capabilities of doing various tasks when they actually do not have the capabilities. The dependent variable and some independent may have been jointly determined. Thus, this model can be improved using a simultaneous-equation model. An improved sample selection method and interview techniques may significantly improve data quality and result in an unbiased sample. In our regression analysis, about 40 percent of the sample cannot be used due to incomplete data. This, together with sample selection method, may affect the generalizability of results.

This study expands the horizon of human capital to household in a similar manner Grossman (1972) expanded the traditional human capital theory to health. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) may have instituted programs to have “work first” mindset, rather than applying to poverty-related assistance. However, women with children in rural areas may be better off staying at home taking care of household-related matters, nurturing children, and helping their spouses. This is considering that women tend to get lower wages than men and that job opportunities in the rural areas may be scarce. Poverty for some women in rural areas may easily be alleviated if the government provides programs to increase their household human capital.
REFERENCE


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of Community Service</td>
<td>Continuous variable (0-22). On a Yes/No basis, skills asked relate to getting help on various community assistance, applying for welfare programs, and getting the best deals for the family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depression Scale Score</td>
<td>Continuous variable (0-20). On a 4-point likert scale (0-3), questions asked include being bothered by things don’t usually, not feeling like eating, failing to shake the blues, feeling depressed, feeling hopeful by the future, having quality sleep, feeling lonely, perceiving others as unfriendly, feeling sad, and having no motivation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Security Score</td>
<td>Continuous variable (0-40). On various scales, questions asked include having enough money and time for preparing and eating by food situation, food that did not lasts, availability of cooking utensils, balanced meal, child eating, cut meal size, hungry, skip meals and child not eat for the whole day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental Confidence Score</td>
<td>Continuous variable (0-42). On a seven-point Likert scale (0-6), questions asked relate to knowledge of children’s growth and development, confidence on what is right for children, ability to create safe home for children, success in teaching kids to behave, find fun activities of interest to children, amount of current stress, and ability to cope with stress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental Support Score</td>
<td>Continuous variable (0-36). On a seven-point Likert scale (0-6), questions asked relate to other parents for respondents to talk to, someone to help you in emergency, someone to offer helpful advice and moral support, someone to relax with, professional to talk to, and overall satisfaction with the amount of support.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>Categorical variable. The ‘Single’ group consists of single women. The ‘Others’ group consists of those separated, widowed, and living together. The base is being married.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>Categorical variable. White (base), African American, Hispanics, and Others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Continuous variable, years (on December 31, 2001).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Attainment</td>
<td>Categorical variable. Less than eighth grade, some high school, high school (base), and at least some college.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Monthly Income (not included food stamp)</td>
<td>Continuous variable measuring women and spouse’s total income, ($).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment Type</td>
<td>Categorical variable measuring current job holding. Laborers and helpers, transportation, production, construction, and mechanics were grouped as blue collar jobs. Other jobs and not being employed are assigned to be the base.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: Descriptive Statistics of Women in Rural Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean (S.D.)</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total scores of life skill assessment (0-25)</td>
<td>19.2 (4.2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total scores of knowledge of community services (0-22)</td>
<td>16.8 (4.8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total scores of depression scales (0-53)</td>
<td>17.4 (11.37)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Security Score (0-16)</td>
<td>3.5 (3.81)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total scores of parental confidence (0-42)</td>
<td>30.9 (5.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total scores of parental support (0-36)</td>
<td>27.0 (7.60)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total monthly income (not included food stamp) ($0 – $5,303)</td>
<td>1,338.48 (885.93)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (16–72 years old)</td>
<td>30.1 (9.12)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Partner</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest Educational Level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight grade or less</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some high school</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school or GED</td>
<td>26.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialized technical, business training</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College or university graduate</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate degree</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>64.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanics</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Job</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue-Collar Sector</td>
<td>39.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers and helpers</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanics</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-Collar Sector</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative support</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and technical</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S.D.: Standard Deviation
Table 3: Correlation Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Total scores of life skill assessment</th>
<th>Total monthly income (not included food stamp)</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Total scores of knowledge of community services</th>
<th>Total scores of depression scales</th>
<th>Food Security Score&lt;sup&gt;†&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Total scores of parental confidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total scores of life skill assessment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total monthly income (not included food stamp)</td>
<td>0.168</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.117</td>
<td>0.249***</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total scores of knowledge of community services</td>
<td>0.519***</td>
<td>-0.038</td>
<td>0.012</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total scores of depression scales</td>
<td>-0.184</td>
<td>-0.159</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
<td>-0.080</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Security Score&lt;sup&gt;†&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-0.164</td>
<td>-0.054</td>
<td>0.063</td>
<td>-0.097</td>
<td>0.337***</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total scores of parental confidence</td>
<td>0.151</td>
<td>-0.071</td>
<td>-0.038</td>
<td>0.074</td>
<td>-0.356***</td>
<td>-0.215***</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total scores of parental support</td>
<td>0.218***</td>
<td>-0.036</td>
<td>-0.129</td>
<td>0.178</td>
<td>-0.337***</td>
<td>-0.205***</td>
<td>0.435***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Correlation is significant at the 0.001 level (2-tailed).**

<sup>†</sup> Food Security Score: Food secure = low score.
Table 4: OLS Regression Estimation

Dependent Variable: Total Scores of Life Skill Assessment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Parameter Estimate</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.052</td>
<td>0.026</td>
<td>0.044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest Educational Attainment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Than 8th Grade</td>
<td>-3.505</td>
<td>0.856</td>
<td>&lt;.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some High School</td>
<td>-2.504</td>
<td>0.532</td>
<td>&lt;.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School (Base)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>1.341</td>
<td>0.425</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total scores of knowledge of community skills</td>
<td>0.233</td>
<td>0.044</td>
<td>&lt;.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total scores of parental confidence</td>
<td>0.197</td>
<td>0.037</td>
<td>&lt;.0001</td>
</tr>
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Number of Observations Used = 273
Subject: Tradition and Change in Life and Literature in India

Area: Cross disciplinary/ Case Studies

Presentation Format: Paper Session/ Panel Session

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Tradition and Change in Life and Literature in India

Smita Agarwal

Prof. in English
University of Allahabad.

Those of us concerned with the observation, study and analysis of culture and literature are well aware that it is difficult to pinpoint where tradition ends and the change of modernity commences. As we cannot isolate this point of departure, we are relieved to imagine of tradition and change as a continuously flowing river of ideas, each new and radical thought being born out of a previous one – a linked chain.

Having said that, it would do us good if we scanned life as represented in the *Mahabharat* and the *Ramayan*. Both these stories, in all their versions, whether oral or written, revolve around relationships – humans amongst themselves, humans with animals, humans with gods and goddesses, humans with devils, so on and so forth, and, it is interesting when we narrow down the scope by focussing on the man woman relationship – issues like gender politics and sexual harrassment - Kunti, having to decide between the legitimate and the illegitimate; Sita becoming the paradigm for that “interplay of truth and sex” on her return from Lanka; Draupadi humiliated by Duryodhana and the unwarranted and unwanted sexual advances of Kichaka in Viraat’s kingdom. Have these lifestories of women altered in the India of today? …

Former Miss India and popular MTV VJ, Nafisa Joseph, who committed suicide, is an example of how painful it is proving for women to adapt to a changing society. Joseph was a postmodern, Gen Y girl, living the no-holds-barred high life, but hankering for conventional security and accountability when it came to

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Trying to reconcile new-age values with the age-old, unable to bear the pain, confusion and loss of control her lifestyle pitched her into, she took this sad way out. One wonders why she remained so insecure, when, at a young age, she had already achieved most of the essentials like economic independence, fame and unbounded confidence that Feminism roots for. Human emotions and the fragility of the immature human heart are points that are not as much stressed upon and examined as they should be.

Contemporary tv serials in Hindi are topping popularity ratings by fielding women characters in their storylines. Hindi cinema is also caught up in mirroring the changing face of the New Indian Woman. It is, as if, script writers have discovered the promising financial possibilities of women-centric screenplays. Dimple Kapadia in Dil Chahta Hai essays a middleclass university teacher who is unafraid to love and sleep with a younger man. Preity Zinta in Kya Kehna is a strong girl who decides to brave the travails of becoming an unwed mother, and, in Chori Chori Chupke Chupke the same actress is a surrogate mother. This film is an example of tradition and change. Whereas, right upto the ‘80’s, a middleclass housewife unable to have a baby, would have elicited audience sympathy by appearing sacrificial and martyred on screen, in Chori Chori Chupke Chupke, it is Rani Mukherjee, the wife, who advises her husband to beget a child off another woman, so that the family line could continue and the extended family never find out that the ideal bahu suffers from the grievous fault of infertility. The current film Dobara presents a menage a trois of Jackie Shroff, wife Mahima Chowdhry, and Shroff’s ex-wife, Raveena Tandon, where the wife is shown, quite unabashedly, sponsoring the murder of her errant husband.

Current heroines aren’t queasy about strong dialogue. In Vishaal Bharadwaj’s Maqbool Masumi calls Tabu a slut. Today, heroines are doing what Nadira, labeled a
vamp or a bad girl, did 40 yrs. ago in Kamal Amrohi’s *Dil Apna aur Preet Parayee* – Preity Zinta in Honey Irani’s *Arman* plays Randhir Kapoor’s spoilt rich daughter who makes life miserable for her husband. Films are relishing the idea of presenting the woman in the Malevolent Mode, in a bid to register the 21st century Indian Woman changing from Sati Savitri to a Savvy Slut, very much in control of her life, and also, exercising a decisive power over the lives of her men and society. In the past, Mala Sinha in BR Chopra’s *Dhool Ka Phool*, Rekha in Dulal Guha’s *Do Ajnabee*, Reena Roy in J.Om Prakash’s *Apnapan*, dared to step out of marriage. But, they lived to regret these roles which they felt had tarnished their image with the public. Contemporary heroines have no such qualms. They are unafraid of negative roles and, in fact, welcome them as a challenge. This willingness shows their confidence as actors. Also, as the practical Aishwarya Rai has noted, cinema has to create new expectations for the audience. So, in Ken Ghosh’s *Fida*, Kareena, unafraid of the role of a wanton, capricious woman, in connivance with her lover, brings about the ruin of a boy besotted by her. Aishwarya Rai in *Khakhee* is the hard-nosed *femme fatale* female cop who shoots down the man who loved her. This willingness to play negative roles and experiment shows their confidence as actors. Male actors have had the freedom to experiment with evil without fear of public retribution, whereas, for females in out and out negative roles, the film flopped eg. *Fida* and *Khakhee*. So, despite the changes since Meena Kumari and Mala Sinha’s times, the tradition of the Indian public being very uncomfortable with bad girls, continues. However, Bollywood’s urge for experimentation remains insatiable. In *Jism* Bipasha Basu is the unapologetic adulteress who cheats on her husband and professes no interest in her lover other than self interest. In Sanjay Gupta’s *Musafir*, Sameera Reddy plays a bored small town housewife who sleeps with a number of
men who pass through. The idea behind this seems to be that if Shah Rukh can play negative roles and still be popular, so can the girls. Is this an indication of change in male-dominated Bollywood culture with more power to women? Is it indicative of a change in the mindset of the viewer having become more literate, more liberal, and more Westernised due to the reach of the visual media? For the student and scholar of culture, is this indicative of the leveling homogenity of globalisation wherein, what was, till now, black and white, is allowed shades of grey if not full-blown colour, as ideas to which the sixties Indian assigned negative values, are now acquiring different valuations?

What we are calling the new Bollywood Mantra, women in their negative avataars, is nothing new if not traditional for us Indians; a reworking and reinvention of tales of the goddess Kali dancing over the supine Shiva, and Durga, Mahishasurmardini, symbolising the reversal of the patriarchal order. All this seems to have impacted on teleserials too. Balaji telefilms abound in women who are mean, full of evil intent and intrigue. Payal in Kyunki Saas Bhi Kabhie Bahu Thi wants to destroy the family empire, while, in real life and real time, the seemingly wilful and capricious Badi Ma, Priyamvada Birla, wife of M.P. Birla of the Birla Empire, wills her assets to an outsider – her accountant, Lodha. The moot point is, are these changes real in an Indian context? Has real life in India really become as gynocentric as is imagined in popular culture? Has the contemporary Indian Woman managed to make a dent in a largely patriarchal society? or, is there a false image, an artificially generated image of the Indian woman current in popular culture in connivance with the media?
On the one hand, it seems, as if India has metamorphosed into a truly postmodern terrain where the Grand Narrative\(^2\) of Shiva is over and the little narratives of Parvati have begun. On the other, we must consider, what Jean Baudrillard calls the ‘hyperreal’,\(^3\) where reality is simulated by technology in such a manner that simulation takes the form, not of unreality, but of manufactured objects and experiences which attempt to be more real than reality itself. Hyperreality brings with it a collapse or implosion of all dichotomies of value where antagonisms are annulled by the dependence of one upon the other.

By and large, the change in India is painfully slow: the rural woman and the urban workforce woman is a far cry from the liberated Shefali Zariwala of the “Kaanta Lagaa” music video. The sex ratio has declined in India and may drop further by the next census. At present, in India, there are 927 girls to a 1000 boys.\(^4\) Television Reality Shows may monitor changes in the desires of the burgeoning Indian middle class with disposable incomes, but, when they attempt to pry into the minds of the rural masses, we discover that the masses remain orthodox and traditional.

Recently, a pregnant woman Gudiya, was forced to choose between two husbands in a show aired by Zee TV. Gudiya’s first husband, Mohammed Arif, was taken prisoner of war in Pakistan, in the 1999 Kargil War. Presuming her husband to be dead, her family married her off again after a wait of a few years. In 2004, after five years, Mohammed Arif returned and wanted her back. Meanwhile, Gudiya was eight months pregnant by her second husband, Taufiq. Together with the feuding husbands and Gudiya, the members of all three families, the village Panchayat, Mulas and Kazis came on TV in a bid to reach a settlement that Gudiya return to the military

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man, Mohammed Arif. The incident took place in a predominantly Muslim area of Mundali village near Meerut, U.P. The programme reinforced the idea of the backward Indian village and its equally backward institutions of justice like the Panchayat. The media, invasive of the individual’s privacy, corroborated Marshal McLuhan’s quote, that, in this age of communication, the world is a global village. Hence, the media is a global panchayat. Media can’t resolve social conflict but, it can bring them out in the open, and focus attention on them. And, of course, the media can make a lot of money by upping TRP ratings by airing such programmes.

Anees Jung’s first book, Unveiling India, describing conditions in which Indian women live and the attitudes they face, was a bestseller. 19 years later, her second book,\(^5\) shows us a younger India, the daughters of those whom she met on her first journey. The courtyard is the binding image holding the stories together. She admits that “The spaces beyond the cramped courtyard of the young hold undeciphered visions …” “I remember my mother’s sense of security and serenity. Have I lost something in gaining my freedom? Yes. My centre. I don’t have my own inner courtyard. I lost it in my effort to reach a space beyond”, she says, as she discovers paradoxes like young educated women not knowing how to forge ahead. Caught between traditional ways and the nascent modernism of a globalised society, young women often seem trapped, the benefits of education and progress being frittered away or grounded in convention and patriarchy. Where is Ameena, the child bride rescued by an Indian Airlines Air Hostess from her elderly Arab groom? Married to a widower with 3 children. Why has she squandered the enormous goodwill she encountered? Why did she not change her life? Mary, a victim of domestic violence in Kerela, still feels marriage is the best option for her 2 daughters. Silence, either self

imposed or by the family and environment, seems to predominate, while silence between the mother and the daughter is the price of change as they feel they inhabit different time zones. Often, illiterate mothers faced with a more hostile environment are cheerful and show a strength of character sadly missing in the daughters. In a village in Rajasthan, unwanted girls bear names like Dukhi (sad) and Naaraaz (angry). Jung’s sense of disappointment is evident in the book as she surveys the scene. Even if one woman in exploited circumstances dreams, it is worth celebrating. The book is a barometer of change and development and is valuable for those engaged in Gender Studies.

Having taken a look at contemporary life in India let us now cast a glance on the flow and flux of tradition and change in the literature of India. For this purpose, since the area is very wide and quite beyond the scope of this paper, I shall focus my attention on two pieces of writing, first, an episode from the Mahabharat where Arjun as Brhannala is the trope for an exposition on both manly and unmanly qualities, and then, on Mahesh Dattani’s play in English. Dance Like a Man which is an expose on middleclass ideas of masculinity.

In the thirteenth year of their exile, the Pandavas seek refuge in the court of Virata, the King of the Matsyas. They introduce themselves to the King under false names and properly disguised. They hide their weapons on a tree near the cremation grounds on the outskirts of the town. In Virata’s court, Yudhishtara pretends to be an excellent gambler and gets himself appointed the King’s comrade and confidence man. Bhima is the King’s cook, Nakula is employed as a horse-breaker, Sahadeva as a cattle-inspector and Draupadi, the queen’s chamber-maid. The foremost warrior of the

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Mahabharat, Arjuna, the epitome of all masculine qualities, pretends to be a eunuch, Brhannala, and is appointed as dance-master to princess Uttara. At this point, it is interesting to pay attention to the description accorded to Arjuna. He is described as a goodlooking man, who is wearing ornaments that women wear; kundala in his ears, shell and gold bangles on his wrists. He has long hair, long arms and the gait of an elephant, as if, with each step, he makes the earth tremble. Arjun’s cross-dressing implies that he chooses to divest himself of all power and privilege in order to protect his identity as the ablest warrior on earth. The King is reluctant and uncomfortable to elicit work from Brhannala, a eunuch – apparently devoid of manly qualities - and condescends to offer him the supposedly effeminate and not-so-demanding job of a dance-master engaged in teaching women. Later on, in the Viraat Parva, Draupadi is the victim of Kichaka’s unwanted attentions and uncontrollable lust. Incensed at being insulted by Kichaka in front of a full court, she seeks the help of her husbands and eventually succeeds in having Bhima slay Kichaka and his brothers. On her return to the town from the cremation grounds, she meets Arjun in the natyashala, and, a concerned Arjun asks her to narrate how she managed to free herself of Kichaka and his clan. At which, Draupadi derides him for having crossed over and become a eunuch, thereby implying that he has lost all manly qualities of chivalry and valour and hence should not pretend concern for the trials and tribulations in a woman’s life.

Later on, in the Viraat Parva, it is the eunuch Brhannala who mentors the scared young prince Uttar in the arts of war and is instrumental in bringing about a major victory for King Viraat. The King exults at the bravery exhibited by his son, the young Prince Uttar, at which the disguised Yudhishtara (Kanka) points out that whosoever has Brhannala as a charioteer is ensured of victory in the battlefield. Viraat
is incensed and lists it a crime that Yudhishtara should praise the valiant Prince in the same breath as a hijra. Yudhishtara is punished for his insolence with the King hitting him on the face with the dice. Through the cross dressing of Arjun in the Mahabharat, the binary opposition of brave warrior and emasculated eunuch, yoddha and hijra, is imaged, as also, ideas regarding manly and unmanly behaviour, and, as to what constitutes masculinity. This is the mindset of a patriarchal society reflected in the literature produced in a heroic age. Here, gender roles are clearly defined and Draupadi is fully justified in deriding Brhannala at his inability to protect her. But, what of now? How does contemporary Indian literature in English mirror a postmodern society's perspective on gender and masculinity. Dance Like A Man makes it evident that there is hardly any change in society’s mindset, and, contemporary writing’s representation of masculinity, continues to hark back to images dating back to the Mahabharat.

Dattani’s play revolves around Jairaj whose passion is dance. Jairaj’s father, Amritlal Parekh, is ‘one of the richest men in town’, ‘the sethji of the city’. Amritlal Parekh disapproves of his son’s decision to become a dancer. He considers the activity unmanly, effeminate and most definitely worthless because, ‘It doesn’t give you any income.’ or social prestige. In a dramatically riveting face-off, two generations of Indian men, father and son, reveal their attitudes towards work, value, society, prejudices. The scene reaches a linguistic high when Dattani is able to play upon the word ‘independence’ to show the generational chasm. For Amritlal Parekh, independence is about the Mahatma, the freedom struggle and the reconstruction of India, while, for his son Jairaj, the word has achieved connotations of ‘to do what I want.’

DLAM p. 415.
However, despite his firmness, in the play, Jairaj is a failed dancer – the victim of middleclass Hindu society’s bias against a man dancing. Can a man ever hope to dance and that too like a proud member of his sex or is he doomed to remain entrapped in gender as it is socially and culturally constructed for him. In interrogating masculinity, Dattani weaves in the power play within the same sex and the sexes. Amritlal Parekh uses the force of authoritarianism and practical cunning to shoot down his son’s bird of ambition. And Ratna, Jairaj’s wife who shares his passion for dance, is fired by an ambition greater than her husband’s, and hence, has to ruthlessly outmanouvre him in her bid for success.

Is Jairaj a loser because he decides to crossover to an unmanly profession? Does he relinquish all power and prestige associated with the male gender when he decides to do this? Does he face failure at a personal and social level because he has diluted/polluted his gender?

Just as Draupadi speaks pejoratively of Arjun’s eunuch state inability to protect her honour, Dance Like A Man has ample dialogue where Ratna berates Jairaj for failing her. Just as Draupadi is both cunning and manipulative with her husbands when it comes to her self interest, Ratna too uses Jairaj in a subtle or gross manner. Amritlal Parekh cannot stomach the fact that his son will grow his hair long because it helps his abhinaya. Jairaj’s long-haired dance master is a description that seems to have come to us unchanged from texts like the Mahabharat.

Like the Brhannah episode in the Mahabharat, Dance Like A Man raises questions of gender – how it outlines existence and how it makes us its prisoner, but whereas, in the earlier text, Arjun’s secret life eventually wins him the trust and admiration of society and projects him as the ideal, (as a eunuch – austere ascetic; as a
man – a warrior), sadly, in our postmodern times, Dance Like A Man exposes our hypocritical attitudes towards gender and masculinity.

3,228 words.
Abstract

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Submitted by

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Title: Social Work in times of natural disaster: social work services to drought affected families in NSW

This paper details the results of research conducted with drought affected farm families in NSW. The study reveals the significant health and welfare stresses experienced by families and the lack of access to services and support. The research was conducted in three sites in rural and remote areas of NSW in 2003. Farm family members, service providers and other community key informants were interviewed. The paper outlines ways that the social work profession can respond to significant natural disasters.
ROAD SAFETY: DEVELOPMENTAL TRENDS IN MALAYSIAN CHILDREN’S CHOICE OF SAFE ROUTES TO CROSS ROADS

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ABSTRACT

Background. Children’s accidents as pedestrians are high in both developed and developing countries. Measures to reduce or prevent them have also failed, because they are not preceded by research. The present research studies an aspect of children’s pedestrian behavior as a way of offering suggestions for training them to be adept pedestrians.

Aims. The present research was designed to test the range of applicability of the results of (Ampofo-Boateng, Thomson, Grieve, Pitcaim, Lee & Demetre, 1993) that found age-related trends in children’s choice of safe routes at sites where vision was either masked or where traffic could approach from different directions.

Sample. Eighty Malaysian children aged 5, 7, 9 and 11 years, were tested near roads to examine their choice of safe routes to cross roads.

Method. Each child selected safe routes at four specific road sites. Two of the sites had visibility occluded, and the remaining two had traffic emerging from different directions. Children’s accidents as pedestrians tend to congregate at these sites (Ampofo-Boateng, et al., 1993).

Results. Their results were confirmed. Five- and 7-year-olds exhibited only a rudimentary understanding, while 9year-olds, showed some understanding of the full repertoire of referents that are essential for selecting safe routes to cross roads. By age 11, children made adult-like selections of safe routes to cross roads that avoided dangerous road structures, such as, areas with masked vision due to occluding objects and junctions. These routes would have enabled them to cross safely, if they had been employed in actual road crossing situations.

Conclusion. The implications of the findings in developing countermefasures for child pedestrians are discussed and suggestions made for future research.
INTRODUCTION
For the majority of adults, and for most of the time, the act of road crossing is simple and taken for granted. As adult pedestrians, we do not perceive road crossing as a daunting task. In fact, as adult pedestrians, we have acquired the full repertoire of referents needed to rely on to cross roads safely. These include an understanding of how accidents are caused and the development of skills, knowledge and abilities that we can deploy to cross roads safely, even in the most complex of traffic situations. As adult pedestrians, we are able to routinely undertake complex judgements in deciding when, where and how to cross safely, with little or no problem. How much adults have mastered and are adept at crossing roads as pedestrians is borne out when pedestrian accident statistics of adult and child pedestrians are compared. Such statistics always show unambiguously that child pedestrians are over-represented in the pedestrian casualty figures than adult pedestrians (Ampofo-Boateng & Thomson (1990, 1991).

In all countries where accident statistics are available, road accidents constitute a major source of injury and death to children Ampofo-Boateng and Thomson (1990, 1991). The focus on child pedestrian accidents as a serious health problem was happened a long time ago, when road accidents were perceived as “the most major problem of child health today” (Jackson, 1978: 807). The situation, at the present time, is still the same (Zeedyk, Wallace, Carcary, Jones & Larter 2001). And, as Thomson and his colleagues noted in their 1996 review of child pedestrian road safety issues, that child pedestrian accidents are the most serious of all health risks facing children in developed countries” (Thomson, Tolmie, Foot & McLaren, 1996), and even in developing countries, such as, Malaysia (Ampofo-Boateng et al.,). This makes accidents a major health problem for children on which research effort should be concentrated (Ampofo-Boateng & Thomson, 1991).
In an effort to reduce such accidents, attention should be focussed on the most vulnerable group of road users (Ampofo-Boateng, et al., 1993). With regard to pedestrian accidents, and as already identified above, attention should be concentrated on child pedestrians and especially those below 9 years, who have been identified as the most vulnerable in developed countries (Ampofo-Boateng et al., 1993; Thomson, Ampofo-Boateng, Grieve, Pitcairn, Lee & Demetre, 1992).

Where statistics are available, developing countries also experience high levels of traffic accidents. For example, Malaysia as a country continues to record high levels of injuries and deaths due to road accidents (Salleh, 1996). Also, within Malaysia, when it comes to pedestrian accidents, young children are the most vulnerable group. In the case of Malaysia, young children age 10 years and below, are the most at risk pedestrian group (Statistical Report Road Accidents Malaysia, 1996). This trend in Malaysia, confirms what has been observed internationally (Ampofo-Boateng et al., 1993; Ampofo-Boateng & Thomson, 1990; 1991).

Overall, attempts to reduce accidents in Malaysia have been met with limited success, as they continue to show an annual increase. Internationally, also, road safety methods have failed to reduce road accidents (Got, 1994; Thomson, 1991). At best, results from road safety campaigns have been inconclusive, and at worse totally ineffective (see Ampofo-Boateng, et al., 1990, for a review).

A solution has been mooted to address the problem. It takes the form of problem solving as a means of increasing the effectiveness of road safety programmes, at least for young children (Ampofo-Boateng et al., 1993; Ampofo-Boateng & Thomson, 1990;
This strategy is simple and easy to adopt. First, the accident statistics of the target country is judiciously examined, in order to uncover the circumstances leading to young children’s accidents as pedestrians (Ampofo-Boateng, 1987). In particular, road structures, road geometry and road layouts where such accidents tend to converge are identified (Ampofo-Boateng & Thomson, 1990; 1991; Thomson, Ampofo-Boateng, Lee, Grieve, Pitcairn & Demetre, 1998). Next, research is conducted to examine how children appreciate the dangers inherent in the delineated areas (Ampofo-Boateng et al., 1993; Ampofo-Boateng & Thomson, 1991). Finally, a training programme is mounted to rectify any deficiencies in the way they deal with safety and danger issues while crossing roads (Thomson et al., 1998).

Using the problem solving approach advocated above, Ampofo-Boateng and Thomson (1991), perused critically the child-pedestrian accident statistics in the Strathclyde Region of Scotland, United Kingdom, and discovered that children’s accidents as pedestrians, often occurred in areas where visibility was occluded by road side obstacles (for example, parked cars), or where the complexity of the road layout (for example, junctions), meant that traffic could approach from a number of different directions. These tasked the cognitive and perceptual skills of young pedestrians making them vulnerable to experience accidents in these locations. Based on the above findings, Ampofo-Boateng, et al. (1993) and Thomson, et al. (1998), studied developmental trends in the way children selected safe routes to cross the road at these locations. The research revealed developmental patterns in the type of problem that children encountered in choosing safe routes to cross the road at these sites. Five- and 7-year-olds were particularly poor at the task. Their choice of safe routes to cross the road, were unsafe as they mostly ignored the dangers posed by the road sites. For example, they elected to cross at sites where vision was either obscured by roadside obstacles or in areas
where traffic could emerge from a number of different directions. Their choice of routes was also the most direct route to their intended destinations.

By age 9, and especially at 11 years, children made adult-like selections of safe routes to cross. They achieved this by taking into account all important road referents that are important to guarantee safety. This included avoiding crossing at sites where their vision would have been occluded by obstacles. Additionally, they also avoided crossing at sites where they would have had to contend with dealing with traffic emerging from different directions. On several occasions, they had to take a detour by walking on the pavement and only opting to cross when a safe route was identified.

The aim of the present research was to examine the range of applicability of the results obtained by Ampofo-Boateng et al. (1993), by conducting a comparable research with a sample made up of Malaysian children. Specifically, the research explored age- and gender-related trends in Malaysian children's choice of safe routes to cross roads. Will the choice of safe routes of a sample of Malaysian children show identical developmental trends to those found with a sample of Scottish children? The research additionally, addressed this question.

**METHOD**

*Participants*

Four age groups of 5, 7, 9 and 11 year-olds, with each age group consisting of 20 participants each, were used for the research. Each age group comprised of equal number of boys and girls. The mean ages of each age group were: 5 years 8 months; 7
years 6 months; 9 years 7 months; and 11 years 9 months. The participants were randomly chosen from a sample of nursery and primary school children in the Selangor State of Malaysia, whose parents had given their permission for them to participate in the research.

*Procedure*

The children were taken individually from their classrooms at the time when their teachers deemed it appropriate for them to be taken out. The sites were all on quiet two-lane roads (with speed limits of approximately 48 kilometres per hour) in the vicinity of their nurseries (5 year-olds) or schools (7, 9 and 11 year-olds). The testing sites were all on roads nearby to either the children’s nurseries or schools. This ensured that the time taken to walk to the test sites was not too long, to disrupt their classes.

The test-sites were four, with two in areas where vision was occluded or restricted and two at junctions where traffic could emerge from several directions. These sites were chosen because of their identification as areas where children accidents as pedestrians tended to congregate and also children’s inherent lack of appreciation of the danger posed at these sites (Ampofo-Boateng & Thomson, 1991). At each of the 4 locations, children were asked by the experimenter to imagine they were on their own and wanted to cross the road to get to destinations at the other side. Their task was to select what they considered to be the safest route to get there. Each destination was identified with a red cone measuring 64 centimetres high and was of the type normally used by the police in traffic control.
At each road site, there were two starting points and two destinations. The child’s task was to choose 4 safest routes to cross at each of the four sites, adding up to a combined choice of 16 routes per a test session. Each child completed the testing on two separate occasions yielding a total of 32 constructed safest routes per child.

The children identified their selection of safest routes to cross by pointing and explaining it to the experimenter. At no point were children made to cross the actual road to indicate their selected safest route. Each identified safest route by children were recorded on schematic diagrams of the test locations.

**Scoring**

The routes chosen by children as safest were studied and coded into 4 safety categories, based on the extent to which they evaded dangerous road features in the chosen route. These safety categories were not randomly chosen, but instead they were obtained empirically from the patterns of safest routes that were identified in the children’s choice of safest routes and were similar to those employed by Ampofo-Boateng et al. (1993). The 4 categories, ranging from minimum to maximum safest route awareness were described as follows:

1. **Very unsafe**: a route leading directly to the destination (often involving a long, diagonal crossing of the road), that also ignored the dangerous road feature at which the starting point was located (for example, a parked car);
2. **Unsafe**: a straight route across the road not aimed directly at the destination, but which ignored dangerous road features. This was deemed to be an improvement
on (1) because it at least reduced the time spent on the road during crossing and its attendant reductions in exposure to danger;

3. **More safe**: a route that avoided some but not all dangerous road features. This usually occurred when the child made a detour away from a dangerous road position (for example, walking down the road away from a parked car), but ended up at a new location which might also be dangerous (for example, at a sharp bend); and

4. **Safe**: a route that avoided all the dangerous road configurations. This typically involved the child walking along on the pavement away from the dangerous features at the crossing location, and crossing only when a safe site was found.

Reliability of the scoring scheme was evaluated in a previous research through the randomly choosing a 25 percent sample of the protocols and having them independently coded by a second evaluator (Ampofo-Boateng, et al., 1993), with inter-rater reliability found to be 0.89.

**RESULTS**

For each child, a calculation was made of the mean proportion of routes falling into each of the 4 safety categories. Subsequently, a calculation was made for the mean proportion of routes falling into each safety category for each age group. Table 1 is a presentation of the result of this calculation. The same procedure was followed in analysing the effect of gender, but was excluded from the table because no significant effect was recorded for gender.
From Table 1, it can be observed that the choice of safe routes to cross the road of 5 year-olds was very rudimentary. It was characterised by either unsafe or very unsafe. By age 7, the choice of safe routes to cross the road was only marginally better than that of 5 year-olds. The choice of safe routes of 7 year-olds was mostly limited to unsafe routes. Their selected safe routes mostly fell into the unsafe category. Children started to display a better understanding of the selection of safe routes to cross roads, by the age of 9, where routes chosen were mostly more safe and safe. Eleven-year-olds, on the other hand, had a large proportion of their choice of safest routes to cross the road falling within the safe category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Safe routes categories</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very unsafe</td>
<td>0.65 (0.22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsafe</td>
<td>0.22(0.15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More safe</td>
<td>0.06(0.12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>0.07(0.12)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Two types of statistical analysis were computed on the children’s choice of safest routes to cross the road shown in Table 1. The first statistical calculations was based on the proportion of routes that fell into the “safe” route category, which was adjudged to be the standard of being sufficiently safe had the children being allowed to actually cross the actual road (see Ampofo-Boateng et al., 1993).

A two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) yielded a main effect of age on the safe route ($F(3,76) = 36.94, p<0.01$) but not of gender ($F(1,78) = 0.43, \text{n.s.}$). No interaction was also observed. Pos hoc comparisons using Scheffe test indicated significant differences between each age group. In each comparison, the younger age groups selected fewer proportion of safe routes than their older counterparts, and was recorded as ($p<0.01$), for all comparisons.

The second statistical analysis centred on the proportion of routes that were classified under the “very unsafe” category for each age group. This route was also chosen for analysis because it represented the extreme end of the safety continuum. Whilst the “safe” route guaranteed safety if it was employed in actual road crossing, the “very unsafe” would have represented a very high risk had it been used in an actual road crossing. A two way ANOVA was computed on the “very unsafe” category. The results yielded a main effect of age ($F(3,76) = 97.71, p<0.01$), but not of gender ($F(1,78) = 0.27$). Pos hoc comparisons using Scheffe test indicated significant differences between each age group. In each comparison, the younger age groups selected higher proportion of the “unsafe” routes than their older counterparts. This was found to be ($p<0.01$), for all comparisons.
DISCUSSION

The present research sought to replicate Ampofo-Boateng et al. (1993) findings of an association between age and children’s ability to select safe routes to cross roads. The results showed that children’s ability in this task was significantly related to their age. Five- and 7-year-olds choice of safe routes were basic and limited to the two routes that were classified as very risky, which were, “very unsafe” and unsafe”. Thus, they opted to cross either diagonally, which increased the length of road they had to traverse and the concomitant increased exposure to danger (very unsafe) or straight from where they were standing without taking into consideration the danger inherent in the crossing location (unsafe).

In choosing these two rudimentary routes of very unsafe and unsafe, they also exhibited a total lack of understanding of the dangers embedded at crossing at sites. For example, they opted to cross at locations where their vision of the road was occluded by objects, such as, parked car, which would have made it difficult for them to see the road and also for other road users to see them. Additionally, they selected to cross at junctions that presented them with the danger of dealing with traffic coming from several directions. The danger at junctions became more pronounced with the “very unsafe” strategy adopted by 5-year-olds, which would have taken them right across the middle of the junction, and aside of increasing the length of time required to cross, would have also exposed them to traffic coming from several directions.

The 9- and in particular the 11-year-olds displayed a mature understanding of the full repertoire of referents that are required to be taken into consideration in choosing safe
routes to cross roads. Their selection strategies were classified mostly as either “more safe” or “safe”. The distinguishing feature of their strategy from that of the 5-and 7-year-olds was that while theirs took evasive measures against all the dangerous road features inherent in the crossing sites those of the 5-and 7-year-olds did not take measures to avoid them. Thus, while the older age groups (9- and 11-year-olds) selected routes that reduced their risk of crossing, those of the younger age groups (5- and 7-year-olds) increased their risk of crossing. Among the safety measure adopted by the 9- and 11-year-olds was moving away from the danger ingrained in the crossing locations and opting to cross when a safe site where a clear view of the road was guaranteed was identified. By contrast the 9- and 11-year-olds showed far more awareness of what constitute a safe or dangerous route and were much more likely to take appropriate action to reduce risk, for example by moving down the road to a safe spot.

The above results supported the findings of Ampofo-Boateng et al. (1993), which the present research set out to replicate. As revealed by Ampofo-Boateng et al. (1993), two additional important considerations also emerged from the current research, that were worth noting at this point. Firstly, they concerned the changes that took place with age, which seemed almost to constitute a change of strategy in choosing safe routes to cross roads. Five-year-olds’ strategy was basically to select a route that made directly for the destination, and in doing so moved diagonally across the road or junction if necessary. In general, they were happy to walk straight out from next to a parked car or other obstruction, quite failing to see the danger of this. By seven, the children seemed much more likely to walk straight across the road, apparently realizing the danger of the longer diagonal traverse of the road preferred by 5-year-olds. However, they were still unlikely to recognize the danger posed by obstructions to their vision. Moreover, in a proportion of the cases where they did, the action they took to deal with the problem led them to a
new location that was also dangerous. Only by 9 and especially 11 years do children seem to have developed some skill in recognizing the danger of inadequate vision of the road and adopt a successful strategy to overcome it.

An important aspect of the present result was the lack of any gender differences in the proportion of safe routes identified. This was contrary to the significant sex differences in child pedestrian accident frequencies, with boys more involved in such accidents than girls. What the results indicated was that the over-representation of boys in pedestrian casualty figures than girls could not be attributable to their inferior choice of safe routes to cross roads. The real reason behind the disparity in the pedestrian casualty figures of boys and girls is an issue that should be addressed in a future research.

Overall, the results of the present research were quite similar to those previously reported by Ampofo-Boateng and Thomson (1991). In the earlier research, it was found that 5- and 7-year-olds judgement of danger were very heavily contingent on whether or not they could see a car in the vicinity of the road. If they could see a vehicle in their current position, they almost always proceeded to perceive the site as dangerous. The perception of danger was irrespective of the real or relative danger posed by the sighted traffic. For example, the perception of danger was sometimes made in relation to vehicles, which were so far away from the location of the child, as to be scarcely visible at all or even, in some cases, vehicles that were actually moving in the opposite direction (and as a result posed no danger to the child).

Conversely, if no vehicles were present in their field of view they would judge the site to be a safe one, irrespective of the road conditions and structures present in the site that might be rendering it dangerous. Thus, bros of hills, sharp bends, complex intersections
or positions obscured by vehicles were all regarded as safe crossing points by most 5- and 7-year-olds (Ampofo-Boateng & Thomson, 1991). The children failed to understand that these locations were unsafe precisely because they could not see any vehicles in the immediate vicinity of the road due to the road conditions and structures inherent in the sites that rendered it impossible to have a clear site of the road. From the results, it appeared unambiguously that those younger children within the 5-7 years age bracket’s road behaviour appeared to be governed by rather rigid rules of thumb, such as, “do not cross the road if you see a car coming” and “cross the road if you cannot see any car coming”.

CONCLUSION

The results of the present study, like that of Ampofo-Boateng et al. (1993) unambiguously identified an important aspect of young children’s traffic behaviour that needed improvement, and related to knowledge and skills required to choose safe routes to cross roads. The question to be posed here is: Can the rudimentary way in which 5- and 7-year-olds selected safe routes to cross roads, be altered through training? This has already been done rather successfully in research in the United Kingdom (Thomson et al., 1992; 1998; Ampofo-Boateng et al., 1993). This leads to the question of whether this type of training could be successfully undertaken in Malaysia. It is an issue that can be investigated in a future research. It is recommended that a future study could address this issue in Malaysia.

REFERENCES


THE MOTIVES MALAYSIANS ASSIGN FOR PARTICIPATING IN SPORTS

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ABSTRACT

Background. One of the most important issues confronting sports psychologists is the motive people assign for participating in sports (Duda, 1989). The present research continued this trend by investigating the motives Malaysians’ give for taking part in sports.

Aim. The aims of the current research were two-fold: (a) to examine the motives Malaysians give for taking part in sports; and (b) to investigate the influence of demographic variables on the motives Malaysians’ provide for participating in sports.

Method. A modified version of Duda’s (1989) Purpose of Sport Questionnaire was used as the research instrument. It was administered to 602 randomly selected Malaysians (resident in the Selangor State of Malaysia).

Results. The data collected was collated and statistically analyzed using SPSS. Principal component analysis of the data revealed 6 motives for taking part in sports. They were: (a) competitiveness and social status; (b) physically active lifestyle; (c) self-esteem; (d) good citizens; (e) high status careers; and (f) teaching tools. Overall, the results also showed the influence of demographic variables of occupation, income and race on motives for taking part in sports.

Conclusion. The implications of these results as they relate to the devising of strategies to encourage Malaysians to participate in sports are discussed, and suggestions offered for future research.
INTRODUCTION

The health benefits of participation in sports (also referred to synonymously throughout this paper as participation) are recognized worldwide, in both developed (Gill, 2000) and developing countries, such as, Malaysia (Siti Sa’aidah, 1997). It is also generally accepted that participation has numerous health benefits that include the strengthening of the cardiovascular system, and the prevention of cardiac disease, which has been identified as one of the greatest killer diseases of current times (Leeder, 2004; Siti Sa’aidah, 1997). Participation can also prevent cancer and stroke, and improve, overall health (Gill, 2000). However, many people still do not participate in physical activity (Gill, 2000). This makes research into the motives people assign for participation very important. Gill (2000: 87) defined the concept of participation motivation as “the basic motivational issue of why people participate in sports and exercise.”

Most developing countries, including Malaysia, are embracing sport participation as a means of improving the health of their citizens and helping reduce healthcare costs, but the number of Malaysians actively engaged in port is limited (Siti Sa’aidah, 1997). In her study of exercise among adults aged 18 years and above in Malaysia, Siti Sa’aidah (1997) found that only about 38% of the respondents participated in exercise. Participation was defined as engaging in participation at least on three occasions a week in the last two weeks, each with a duration of at least 15 minutes, in any one of 10 types of exercise, including jogging, brisk walking, cycling, rope skipping, rowing, swimming, aerobics, team sports, racquet sports and callisthenics.
In view of the importance of participation for improving health, the present research examined the factors that were perceived by Malaysians as motivating them to participate in sport. Most of the available research on motives for participation in Malaysia also used only students or students-athletes as participants. For example, Salman (1997) found that the major motives given by student-athletes for participation in sports, were health, interest, sense of achievement, to partake in school or university activities, to socialize, reduce weight, competition and improvement of shape of the body. In a separate research with University Putra Malaysia students, Sim Poh Chuen (1994) found 6 major motives of achievement, body shape, physical fitness, teamwork, learning new skills and challenges, while Rahim Harun (1985) found 6 motives of availability of adequate facilities, socialization, personal interest, the structure of the sports program, health and academic reasons for participation in sports. Overall, research into motives for participation in Malaysia, have either used students or student-athletes. The present research extended the motives for participation research, previously limited to only students or student-athletes to all Malaysians. Understanding the motives Malaysians give for participation can help in the devise of fun and fitness activities for Malaysian sports participants to encourage participation (Vincent, 2002).

OBJECTIVES

The present research addressed the following objectives.

1. What are the main motives given by Malaysians' for taking part in sports?
2. What is the influence of specific demographic variables of age, gender, marital status, educational background, occupation, income and ethnicity on Malaysians’ motives for participation in sports?
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

SAMPLE

The sample consisted of 602 participants, randomly selected from among the residents of the Selangor State of Malaysia, living in 2 urban areas of Shah Alam and Petaling Jaya, which are among the most populous areas in the state. At both locations, 10 streets were randomly chosen (Alexandris and Carroll, 1997a, b), and every fifth house or flat in the streets, was visited by one of a team of 5 researchers (Veal, 1992). All occupants in the houses or flats visited, aged 18 years and above, were invited to participate in the survey and none refused participation. The demographic details of the sample are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of the sample (% of the total sample)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender groups</th>
<th>Age groups (years)</th>
<th>Marital status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>61.3%</td>
<td>Single 57.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18 – 25</td>
<td>41.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>38.7%</td>
<td>Married 40.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26 – 35</td>
<td>32.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36 – 45</td>
<td>Divorced / Separated 1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46 and above</td>
<td>Others 0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Did not answer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Education Level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>Government 13.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>31.8%</td>
<td>Private 51.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>61.3%</td>
<td>Self-employed 8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unemployed 7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Student 18.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Did not answer 0.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>52.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>30.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not answer</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### QUESTIONNAIRE AND DATA COLLECTION

A questionnaire, a modified version of the Purpose of Sport Questionnaire developed by Duda (1989) for investigating motives for taking part in sports was used for the research. Respondents were instructed to rate each of 46 items representing motives for participation on a 5-point Likert-type scale that ranged from; 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Agree and 5 = Strongly Agree.

### RESULTS
DATA ANALYSIS

The data collected was subsequently collated and analysed using SPSS.

PRINCIPAL COMPONENT ANALYSIS

A principal component analysis, a statistical technique applied to a single set of variables, to discover whether specific variables within a set of factors form coherent subsets of factors that are relatively independent of one another was performed on the data (Tabachnick and Fidell, 1989). To achieve this, only those components with an eigenvalue greater than 1.0 were retained and rotated (Thomas & Nelson, 2001) with orthogonal (varimax) and oblique rotations. The alpha for the whole scale was 50.60, which is considered to be good (Devellis, 1991).

Six factors emerged and were:

Factor 1 – Competitiveness/Social Status;
Factor 2 – Physically Active Lifestyle;
Factor 3 – Enhanced Self-Esteem;
Factor 4 – Good Citizen;
Factor 5 – High Status Career; and
Factor 6 – Teaching Tools (see Table 2) all had acceptable internal consistency reliabilities (see Table 2). The 6 factors are described as below.

Competitiveness/Social Status (12 items) (Factor 1) reflected those items indicating that participation should make a person competitive, enhance his or her popularity and
help him or her to move up the social ladder (see Table 2 for the items that defined this factor). **Physically Active Lifestyle** (7 items) (Factor 2) comprised of items indicating that participation should help people to be active and fit for life. The 7 items identified under this factor are shown in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors/factor descriptions</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Give us a chance to be professional athletes</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help us to be popular among our friends</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give us status among our peers</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give us the chance to be friends with popular adults</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give us a chance to feel like a champion</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help us to improve our skills so that we can be the best</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learn what is meant by teamwork</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give us the chance to be rich and famous</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepare us for life win which “winning is everything”</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make us feel important</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach us how to be aggressive</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach us the “killer instinct”</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach us how to keep our body healthy</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keep people fit</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach us how to respect our bodies</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give us self-confidence</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Show us how we can be physically active all our lives</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make us mentally tough</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach us how to exercise</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepare us to reach the top in our jobs</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Show us to be better than most people</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepare us for jobs that will allow us to help others</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help us to keep working in spite of obstacles</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach us to have high standards for our own work</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepare us to do things that we have to even if we don’t want to</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach us to respect the authority</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach us to follow rules</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach us to sacrifice pleasure and work to do the right thing</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach us to work cooperatively with others</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make us loyal</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make us responsible, law-abiding citizens</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weed out those who don’t have what it takes</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help us to get into the best university</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help us move into a job that pays good money</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach us to compete with others</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach us to be satisfied when we tried our best</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give us the chance to get a university education</td>
<td>0.41 0.49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach us how to bend the rules when necessary</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Initial eigenvalues | 13.07 3.66 2.13 1.68 1.53 1.21 |
| % of variance | 28.40 7.96 4.64 3.65 3.32 2.63 |
| Cumulative % of variance | 28.40 36.36 41.00 44.65 47.97 50.60 |
| Alpha | 0.89 0.73 0.77 0.70 0.48 0.29 |

**Enhanced Self-Esteem** (6 items) (Factor 3) was made up of items that showed that participation enhances one’s self-esteem (see Table 2). **Good Citizen** (6 items) (Factor
4) captured those attributes that were intended to help people become good citizens through participation (see Table 2). **High Status Career** (3 items) (Factor 5) comprised of items suggesting that participation will help an individual to obtain a high status career (see Table 2). **Teaching Tools** (4 items) (Factor 6) consisted of items suggesting that participation also worked as a teaching tool for participants (see Table 2).

The internal consistency of each of the 6 factors was determined. The Cronbach alpha coefficients were found to be high ranging from 0.70 to 0.89, except for Factor 5 (High Status Career, 0.48) and Factor 6 (Teaching Tools, 0.29) (see Table 2), with alpha coefficients for the other factors being, Competitiveness/Social Status (0.89), Physically Active Lifestyle (0.73), Enhanced Self-Esteem (0.77) and Good Citizen (0.70).

The correlations among the 6 factors are reported in Table 3, with moderately high positive correlations of approximately \( r > 0.50 \) observed between the Competitiveness/Social Status, Enhanced Self-Esteem and Good Citizen dimensions. The correlations were: Competitiveness/Social Status and Enhanced Self-esteem \( (r>0.55) \); and Competitiveness/Social Status and Good Citizen \( (r>0.52) \) as seen in Table 3.
Table 3. Correlations among the motives for sports participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Factor 1</th>
<th>Factor 2</th>
<th>Factor 3</th>
<th>Factor 4</th>
<th>Factor 5</th>
<th>Factor 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Factor 1 – Competitiveness/social status</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor 2 – Physically active lifestyle</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor 3 – Enhanced self-esteemed</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor 4 – Good citizen</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor 5 – High status career</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor 6 – Teaching tools</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, the belief that sport enhances Physically Active Lifestyle was related to the notion that participating functions as a Teaching Tool ($r > 0.50$). Also, enhanced Self-Esteem was positively related to the view that participation teaches us to be Good Citizens ($r > 0.52$), (see Table 3).

THE INFLUENCE OF DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES ON MOTIVES FOR PARTICIPATION IN RECREATIONAL SPORTS

A series of one-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) were calculated on the influence of demographic variables of age, gender, marital status, educational
background, occupation, income and ethnicity on Malaysians’ motives for participation in sports.

**OCCUPATION AND MOTIVES FOR PARTICIPATION IN RECREATIONAL SPORTS**

The results for the one-way MANOVA on *occupation* and motives for participation are shown in Table 4. Self-employed respondents perceived Competitiveness/Social Status ($F(4,556) = 4.36, p<0.01$), Physically Active Lifestyle ($F(4,565) = 3.29, p<0.025$), Enhanced Self-Esteem ($F(4,563) = 2.67, p<0.05$) and High Status Career ($F(4,564) = 3.33, p<0.01$) to be important motives for their participation, than the other occupational groups, with *Scheffe* follow-up test of $p<0.05$ for all comparisons, except for the comparison between the self-employed and students on the Competitiveness/Social Status motive and between the self-employed and government employees on the Physically Active Lifestyle motive for participation which were not significant.

| Table 4. Observed means and standard deviations (in parentheses) by occupation for the motives for participating in sports |
### INCOME AND MOTIVES FOR PARTICIPATION IN RECREATIONAL SPORTS

The results for the one-way MANOVA on income and motives for participation are presented in Table 5. Respondents' in the lowest income bracket (RM1000 and below, a month) perceived Competitiveness/Social Status ($F(3,489) = 2.62, p<0.05$), Enhanced Self-Esteem ($F(3,494) = 4.58, p<0.01$), Good Citizen ($F(3,493) = 2.97, p<0.025$), and Teaching Tools ($F(3,485) = 3.78, p<0.01$) to be their motives for participation, than the...
other income groups, and was confirmed by *Scheffe* test \((p < 0.05\) for all comparisons). Those who earned between RM1001 to RM2000 perceived High Status Career \((F(3,495) = 3.26, p<0.025)\) to be the most important motive for their participation, and it was confirmed by *Scheffe* test \((p<0.05,\) for all comparisons between them and the other income groups on the high status factor.

![Table 5. Observed means and standard deviations (in parentheses) by income for motives for participation in sports.](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income groups</th>
<th>RM1000 and below</th>
<th>RM1001 – RM2000</th>
<th>RM2001 – RM3000</th>
<th>RM3001 and above</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Factors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor 1 – Competitiveness/Social Status</td>
<td>3.44 (1.01)</td>
<td>3.25 (1.05)</td>
<td>3.25 (1.05)</td>
<td>3.17 (1.94)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(F(3,489) = 2.62, p&lt;0.05)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor 2 – Physically Active Lifestyle</td>
<td>4.20 (0.74)</td>
<td>4.20 (0.97)</td>
<td>4.09 (0.81)</td>
<td>3.91 (0.88)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(F(3,495) = 2.59, ns)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor 3 – Enhanced Self-Esteem</td>
<td>3.70 (0.82)</td>
<td>3.55 (1.10)</td>
<td>3.48 (0.87)</td>
<td>3.20 (0.93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(F(3,494) = 4.58, p&lt;0.01)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor 4 – Good Citizen</td>
<td>3.66 (0.85)</td>
<td>3.54 (1.05)</td>
<td>3.54 (0.89)</td>
<td>3.29 (0.98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(F(3,493) = 2.97, p&lt;0.05)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor 5 – High Status Career</td>
<td>3.18 (1.06)</td>
<td>3.27 (1.63)</td>
<td>3.15 (1.01)</td>
<td>2.78 (1.06)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(F(3,495) = 3.26, p&lt;0.025)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor 6 – Teaching Tools</td>
<td>3.80 (1.77)</td>
<td>3.58 (0.81)</td>
<td>3.55 (1.74)</td>
<td>3.24 (0.93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(F(3,485) = 3.78, p&lt;0.01)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
RACE AND MOTIVES FOR PARTICIPATION IN RECREATIONAL SPORTS

The results of the one-way MANOVA on race and motives for participation are shown in Table 6. Malay respondents' perceived the motives of Physically Active Lifestyle ($F(3,569) = 7.38, p<0.001$), Enhanced Self-Esteem ($F(3,567) = 4.07, p<0.01$), Good Citizen ($F(3,567) = 8.50, p<0.001$), and Teaching Tools ($F(3,556) = 3.79, p<0.01$) to be their main purpose for participation than the other races, and was confirmed by follow-up Scheffe test of $p<0.05$, for all comparisons, except for the comparison with Indians on the good citizen factor. Indians perceived Competitiveness/Social Status ($F(3,561) = 10.63, p<0.001$) and high status career ($F(3,568) = 4.22, p<0.01$) to be their motives for participation and was confirmed by Scheffe follow-up test with ($p<0.05$ for all the comparisons) except the comparison with Malays.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6. Observed means and standard deviations (in parentheses) by race for the motives for participating in sports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor 1 – Competitiveness/Social status</th>
<th>3.43</th>
<th>2.94</th>
<th>3.45</th>
<th>3.34</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F(3,561) = 10.63, p&lt;0.001</td>
<td>(1.09)</td>
<td>(1.01)</td>
<td>(0.10)</td>
<td>(1.20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor 2 – Physically Active Lifestyle</th>
<th>4.26</th>
<th>4.06</th>
<th>3.85</th>
<th>4.13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F(3,569) = 7.38, p&lt;0.001</td>
<td>(0.73)</td>
<td>(1.01)</td>
<td>(0.85)</td>
<td>(0.91)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor 3 – Enhanced self-Esteem</th>
<th>3.64</th>
<th>3.36</th>
<th>3.52</th>
<th>3.38</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F(3,567) = 4.07, p&lt;0.01</td>
<td>(0.88)</td>
<td>(1.09)</td>
<td>(0.84)</td>
<td>(0.91)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor 4 – Good Citizen</th>
<th>3.63</th>
<th>3.35</th>
<th>3.61</th>
<th>3.23</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F(3,567) = 8.50, p&lt;0.001</td>
<td>(0.84)</td>
<td>(1.11)</td>
<td>(0.86)</td>
<td>(1.10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor 5 – High Status Career</th>
<th>3.23</th>
<th>2.89</th>
<th>3.28</th>
<th>2.58</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F(3,568) = 4.22, p&lt;0.01</td>
<td>(1.52)</td>
<td>(0.88)</td>
<td>(1.01)</td>
<td>(1.02)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor 6 – Teaching Tools</th>
<th>3.62</th>
<th>3.48</th>
<th>3.60</th>
<th>3.53</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F(3,556) = 3.79, p&lt;0.01</td>
<td>(0.88)</td>
<td>(1.62)</td>
<td>(1.95)</td>
<td>(0.88)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Malays and Indians also chose Teaching Tools as their motive for participation, than the Chinese (F(3,556) = 3.79, p<0.01), with post hoc *Scheffe* analyses confirming this with (p<0.05) for the comparison between Malays/Indians and Chinese. The comparison between Indians and Malays on the Teaching Tools was not significant. The demographic variables of gender, age, marital status and educational level failed did not influence participation motives, and consequently the results relating to them were not reported.

**DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**
PRINCIPAL COMPONENT ANALYSIS RESULTS OF THE MAIN MOTIVES FOR PARTICIPATION

The results of the principal component analysis indicated 6 main motives that influenced participation, and were Competitiveness/Social Status, Physically Active Lifestyle; Enhanced Self-Esteem; Good Citizen; High Status Career; and Teaching Tools. It is recommended that any future strategy to increase the rate of participation among Malaysians should take these core motives for participation into account.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES ON MOTIVES FOR PARTICIPATION

Despite the observed differences in frequency of participation as influenced by gender, age, marital status and level of education, these demographic variables were not significant in influencing motives Malaysian’s assigned for participation under the present research. The demographic variables of, occupation, income and race, which are identified as affecting onset and frequency of participation (Alexandris, 1999), also had significant influence on Malaysian’s motives for participation. **Occupation:** Regarding occupation, the self-employed motives for taking part in recreational sport included: Competitiveness/Social Status; Physically Active Lifestyle; Enhanced Self-Esteem and High-Status Career; students’ scored significantly higher on the Competitiveness/Social Status motive for participation; and government employees selected the Physically Active Lifestyle as their motive for participation. Any future programmes aimed at encouraging the self-employed, students and government employees to take part in recreational sport, should prominently feature their motives for participation.
**Income:** The lowest income group of RM1000 and below, major motives for participating in recreational sport included: competitiveness/social status; enhanced self-esteem; good citizen; and teaching tools, and should be emphasised in campaigns for participation aimed at them. While, data was not collected on age and characteristics of respondents in the RM1000 and below income bracket, it is speculated that it must have included a large number of young people who had entered the job-market early instead of furthering their education, and perceived participation as a means of helping them to negotiate through life. Those within the RM2001-RM3000, income group selected high status career, as their major motive for participation, than the remainder of the income brackets studied. In the absence of specific information on the participants within this income group, it is once again being conjectured that this income group included a sizeable number of fresh university and college graduates, at early stages of their career and perceived participation as helping them to attain a high status career in their chosen professions.

**Race:** Malays principal motives for taking part in recreational sport, included: physically active lifestyle; enhanced self-esteem; teaching tools; and good citizen. Apart from the good citizen motive, which registered no significant difference between Malays and Indians, Malays chose the motives above, more than the two other races (Indians and Chinese) assessed under the present research. The reason behind Malays choice of these motives for participation might be imbued in their rich religious and cultural traditions (Mohd. Sofian, 2001). A future research, could delve into the specific nature and intricacies between culture and the motives the different races in Malaysian give for participation. Indians, main motives for participation were competitiveness/social status and high status career. Once again, the extent to which cultural mores influenced
Indians choice of these motives for participation is difficult to determine under the present research. All we can suggest is that a future research should examine the relationship, if any, between culture and motives for participation as different races or cultures might have different perceptions and understanding of sport participation (Coakley’s, 2001).

REFERENCES

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Title: Social work education and practice: A framework for addressing international social problems.

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Abstract: To better address the social justice needs of the international community, social work educators need a framework for understanding and addressing those needs. This paper proposes a framework that combines the concepts of indigenous practice, the developmental model, and empowerment into a structure for addressing international social problems. Further, examples and suggestions are also made as to how social work educators might use this framework in addressing current international problems comprehensively.
1. Title of the submission.
   “Dispositional Aggression’s Effects on Alcohol Consumption, Alcohol Expectancies and Aggressive Behavior”

2. Name(s) of the author(s),
   Alexis M. Asatourian
   Mentor: Dr. Mitch Earleywine, University of Southern California, Associate Professor

3. Affiliation(s) of the author(s),
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Abstract: The association between alcohol and aggression has been extensively researched, however, fewer studies account for the cognitive and dispositional factors that may influence alcohol consumption and the resulting aggressive behavior. This study measured the association between dispositional aggression, explicit and implicit expectancies, alcohol consumption and the reported aggressive behavioral outcomes. Residents of a large, urban and ethnically diverse metropolitan city participated in the study (N = 246). Participants completed a timed computerized task, the Implicit Association Test (IAT) in addition to paper and pen questionnaires assessing alcohol expectancies and dispositional aggression. Of these, the Buss and Perry Aggression Questionnaire, and the Alcohol Expectancies Regarding Sex, Aggression and Sexual Vulnerability (AESASVQ) yielded the most significant correlations (p<.05). It was hypothesized that the greater the individual’s disposition for aggression, the greater the expectancy for drinking alcohol, and the more likely the participant would behave aggressively when intoxicated. The data for dispositional aggression and alcohol expectancies were significant, yielding correlations of (r = .41) for physical aggression, (r = .19) for verbal aggression, (r = .36) for anger, and (r = .34) for hostility. In addition, individuals who reported drinking a greater number of alcoholic beverages on a single occasion were found to have higher alcohol expectancies (r = .30) and to act more aggressively (r = .47) than those individuals who reported drinking a fewer number of drinks per occasion, but a greater number of times per month (r = .11). The existence of a binge-drinking component can potentially re-direct future research and preventative programs by encouraging them to focus their efforts on the quantity rather than frequency of alcohol consumption.
Output growth and volatility
A study of New Zealand’s long-run GDP

Terry S. Auld
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Wellington Campus
Private Box 756
Wellington 6004
New Zealand
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Abstract
Real GDP can be decomposed into a trend component and fluctuations about that trend. The trend component (or potential GDP) is the consequence of real forces such as technological development and growth in the capital stock and labour force. The fluctuations about the trend arise principally from short-run shocks. In this study, the Hodrick-Prescott filter is used to estimate the output gap. Spectral analysis is applied to real GDP and real GDP growth to determine whether demand-side or supply-side influences are the principal source of long-run growth. GARCH-M models are used to investigate the relationship between output growth and volatility in real GDP. A comparison is made between the results of this study for this relationship and an earlier one using a different, if related, data set. The main conclusions are that supply-side influences are the probable source of New Zealand’s output growth, that after the Second World War volatility in output growth declined, and that there has been a probable change in the relationship between volatility and growth rates in the post-war years.

Key Words: Output gap, Hodrick-Prescott filter, growth rates, growth volatility, spectral analysis, GARCH-M, Black’s hypothesis, the Keynesian hypothesis
Introduction

Since colonisation, New Zealand’s long-run economic growth has been the consequence of several factors. Amongst these factors are a relatively low growth in average labour productivity, demand and supply shocks from global and regional recessions and expansions, the oil shocks of the 1970s, and supply shocks from natural disasters that affect agricultural output. The two world wars and the Korean War also have had some impact.

The observed time series for real GDP is the outcome of these factors. The time path of observed real GDP is a combination of an unobservable underlying long-run trend and a fluctuation about that trend. The fluctuations result from short-term shocks.

The long-run trend arises from real forces such as technological development, growth in the capital stock, and growth in the labour force. The transient component of output is the output gap, the deviation of actual GDP from trend GDP. Both the trend rate of output growth and output volatility are of interest.

Numerous studies have provided evidence that in many developed countries, output growth has become recently much less volatile than in the past. Blanchard and Simon (2001a) argue that volatility of US output has declined steadily since the 1970s, if with interruptions in the 1970s and early 1980s. Blanchard and Simon (2001b) and Simon (2001) provide evidence that output volatility also declined sharply in the mid-1980s in Canada, the United Kingdom and Australia. The Reserve Bank of New Zealand (RBNZ) has noted that New Zealand’s output volatility has declined since the 1970s. (Reserve Bank of New Zealand, 2000)

Recognition of greater stability in US output is not new. In his 1959 Presidential address to the American Economics Association, Burns (1960) noticed the decline US output volatility after World War II, attributing it to shifts to the service economy away from agriculture and manufacturing, improvements in capital markets and a greater ability to maintain income and consumption during downturns. The reasons advanced in various recent studies to account for the greater stability in output include lower inflation volatility, reduction in business cycle volatility arising from more effective monetary and fiscal policies, more efficient markets, openness to trade, increases in financial wealth, better control of inventories, and plain good luck (i.e., fewer shocks). (Blanchard & Simon, 2001; Simon, 2001; Stock & Watson, 2002, 2003; Romer, 1999; Barrell & Gottschalk, 2004; McConnell & Perez-Quiros, 2000; Ahmed, Levin, & Wilson, 2002)

1 Some economists refer to the time series generated by short-term shocks as the “growth cycle”.

---

1 Some economists refer to the time series generated by short-term shocks as the “growth cycle”.
Data

This study uses annual data to analyse New Zealand’s output growth and volatility over the last 140 years. It also considers how output volatility has affected output growth rates. The appendix compares the results for the relationship between output growth and volatility with a similar study that covered the years 1874-1994 using Maddison’s data. (Maddison, 1995)

Compared with other OECD countries, New Zealand’s national income data prior to 1950 is quite poor. Annual official and semi-official estimates of New Zealand’s national income have been available only since 1932. The data used in this study was compiled principally by Briggs (2003) and posted on the New Zealand Institute of Economic Research’s website (www.nzier.org.nz). Briggs’s data set covers the period 1860 - 2002. It has been updated using the latest available data from Statistics NZ.

Methodology

Detrending time series has been the subject of intense research by mathematicians and economists for many years. This study uses the Hodrick-Prescott (HP-) filter to estimate trends and cycles for real GDP and real GDP per capita. There has been considerable debate about the use of the HP-filter to detrend time series, none of which is considered here.

Mills (2003) shows that the HP-filter solves the constrained minimisation problem:

\[ \min_{\hat{y}_i} \sum_{t=1}^{N} \left( (y_t - \hat{y}_t)^2 + \lambda (\hat{y}_{t+1} - \hat{y}_t - (\hat{y}_t - \hat{y}_{t-1}))^2 \right). \]

The cycle is given by the deviation from the trend \((y_t - \hat{y}_t)\). Essentially, this is a least squares minimisation problem subject to a constraint from the acceleration of the trend. The usual interpretation of the Lagrange multiplier \(\lambda\) is that it penalises the acceleration of the trend relative to the cycle component. Whereas \(\lambda = 1600\) is used typically for quarterly data, there has been considerable experimentation with the value for annual data.

This paper follows Ravn and Uhlig’s suggestion that \(\lambda = 6.25\) be used to extract the trend and cycle series for annual data. (Ravn and Uhlig, 2002, pp. 374-5)

Spectral analysis is used to investigate the source of New Zealand’s long-run output growth.

GARCH-M models are used to study the relationship between output growth and volatility.
output volatility.

Results

A. Actual and trend growth rates

Most of the analysis in this study starts in 1865 because the years 1861-1863 seem to have abnormally high growth rates. Figure 1 shows the growth rates in actual and trend GDP and GDP per capita. After 1950, real GDP growth was less volatile than before. Between 1865 and 1939, GDP grew at an average annual rate of 3.7%, but for 1945-2004, it grew at an average rate of 2.8% per year. Between 1865 and 1939, actual real GDP per capita grew at average annual rates of about 1.0%, whereas for 1945-2004, the average annual growth rate was about 1.3%.

It is interesting to note that while real GDP growth slowed in the post-World War II period, real GDP per capita grew faster than previously, principally due to a significant fall in the population growth rate. The earliest estimates of New Zealand’s total population start in the 1870s. The annual population growth rate was about 2.1% between 1875 and 1939, falling to 1.5% per year between 1945 and 2004. Provided the employment-to-population ratio is not subject to swift and large changes over time, growth in real GDP per capita is a reasonable approximation to growth in average labour productivity.

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Figure 1

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3 EViews 5.1 has been used to carry out most of the data analysis. SPSS V12.0.1 was used to estimate the spectral densities.
B. The output gap

The output gap is the difference between actual GDP and trend GDP. Casual observation of Figure 2 creates immediately the impression that both real GDP and real GDP per capita have exhibited lower growth volatility over the past five decades. Altman’s (1995) volatility measure, which uses the standard deviation of the percentage output gap, confirms this impression. For the years 1865-1939, the standard deviation for the output gap real GDP was 3.4%, whereas for 1945-2004, it fell to 1.9%. When the effects of World War II and the Korean war are removed, if rather crudely, by considering the years 1952-2004, the standard deviation falls to 1.4%. For real GDP per capita, the output gap had standard deviations of 3.1% for 1865-1939, 1.9% for 1945–2004 and 1.3% for 1952–2004.

C. Spectral analysis of output and growth

Spectral analysis of economic time series has become more common since the initial publication of Granger’s *Spectral analysis of economic time series* (Granger, 1964). The spectrum can be interpreted as a device for decomposing the variance of a time series. If the spectrum is flat, the time series is close to white noise. If the spectrum exhibits peaks, it has cyclical components at the frequencies involved. If the time series has a trend component, it has a strong peak at very low frequencies.

Granger claimed that the latter spectrum was typical of economic time series. In fact, he argued that the existence of this typical spectral shape suggested a law: “The long-term fluctuations in economic variables, if decomposed into frequency components, are such that

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4 Altman calculated the standard deviation of log(GDP) – log (trend GDP).
5 A simple introduction to spectral analysis can be found in Wonnacott and Wonnacott (1977, pp. 619-625). A more detailed treatment is in Kendall and Ord (1990, Chapters 10-11).
the amplitudes of the components decrease smoothly with decreasing period. Granger warns that economic cycles are not strictly periodic fluctuations but important frequency bands.

It is common, but by no means universal, practice to divide the frequency range into three components: long-run frequencies \((0 \leq \omega \leq 0.785)\), business cycle frequencies \((0.785 \leq \omega \leq 2.09)\), and short-run frequencies \((2.09 \leq \omega \leq \pi)\), where \(\omega\) is the angular frequency.\(^7\) For annual data, these frequencies correspond respectively to cycles that are longer than eight years (the growth band), three to eight years (the business cycle band), and shorter than three years (the irregular band).

The estimated spectral densities for real GDP and annual growth in real GDP are presented in Figure 3.

![Figure 3](image)

Over the years 1865–2004, the spectral density of New Zealand’s real GDP exhibits Granger’s typical shape. The power in the spectrum declines smoothly, with most of it concentrated in the low frequency band. Given that the power spectrum indicates the variance of a time series, this implies that since 1865 most of the variability in New Zealand’s GDP has been due to long-run or growth components. A further implication is that the variability of GDP arises from shocks with strong persistence and that business cycle and short-term components contribute little to output fluctuations over time. Yet another implication is that the long-run growth in New Zealand’s real GDP has arisen from supply rather than aggregate demand shocks.

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\(^6\) Granger (1966, p. 155)

\(^7\) The period in cycles \(T = 2\pi/\omega\), where \(\omega\) is the frequency. For this study, when \(\omega = 0.785\), \(T \approx 6.283/0.785 = 8\) years. When \(\omega = 2.09\), \(T \approx 6.283/2.09 = 3\) years, etc., i.e., long periods imply low frequencies; short periods, high frequencies.
Evidence provided by the spectral density of annual growth rates for New Zealand real GDP strengthens these conclusions. Figure 3 shows that most of the power (i.e., variance) is located in the low frequency band, although there are peaks in the business cycle and irregular frequency bands. The spectral density in periods 0–25 years (see Figure 4) reveals more clearly the relative power in different frequencies. Some power is located in the business cycle band from 3–8 years, but most is concentrated in the low frequency (or growth components) corresponding to periods of more than 10 years.

![NZ real GDP growth rates (1865-2004)](image)

Figure 4

D. **Output growth and volatility**

Casual observation of Figures 1 and 2 points to the possible positive correlation between average output growth rates and output volatility, a relationship known as Black’s hypothesis (Black, 1987).

Black’s argument is that when entrepreneurs choose technologies, they face a positive trade-off between risk (measured by volatility of output) and return (measured by output growth rates). Given risk averse entrepreneurs, higher risk implies higher average returns to investment. The potentially higher returns encourage greater investment and thus higher growth rates.

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8 Unit root testing showed that the output growth rate series was stationary.
On the other hand, many economists have argued the reverse case. Their view is that greater uncertainty of future demand (i.e., increased risk) makes risk averse entrepreneurs more wary of making investment expenditures and encourages higher saving. Since investments in capital goods cannot be reversed when unexpected adverse business conditions emerge, their hypothesis is that higher volatility leads to lower investment and thus to lower growth rates. This hypothesis can be traced to Keynes and is explicit or implicit in post-Keynesian theorising.

These two opposed hypotheses are subject to empirical testing.

Tests of Black’s hypothesis have been undertaken by a number of researchers using GARCH-in-mean (GARCH-M) models. Caporale and McKiernan (1996) discuss Black’s hypothesis and report on the application of a GARCH-M model to industrial production in post-war Great Britain. They found a positive relationship between output volatility and growth rates. Caporale and McKiernan (1998) applied an ARCH-M model to annual US GNP for the years 1871 to 1993 and found that output variability increased significantly output growth rates. Speight (1999) disputes their results. When he applied ARMA-GARCH-M models to UK monthly industrial production data for 1948 to 1994, he found a positive but insignificant effect of output volatility on output growth rates. Macri and Sinha (2000) employed an ARCH-M model to analyse quarterly indices of Australian industrial production (57:Q3-99:Q4) and GDP (59:Q3-99:Q4). Their analysis rejects Black’s hypothesis in favour of the Keynesian position.

Some of the tests of Black’s hypothesis use variants of the following model:

\[ g_y = \alpha_0 + \sum_{i=1}^{n} \alpha_i g_{y,t-i} + \sum_{j=1}^{n} \beta_j \varepsilon_{t-j} + \lambda \sigma_p^p + \varepsilon_i \]

\[ \sigma_t^2 = \sigma^2 + \sum_{k=1}^{q} \gamma_k \varepsilon_{t-k}^2 + \sum_{l=1}^{p} \delta_l \sigma_{t-l}^2 \]

where \( g_y \) is output growth, \( \varepsilon \) the error term, \( \sigma \) the conditional standard deviation and power \( p \) is either 1 or 2. The first equation is the conditional mean equation, the second the conditional variance equation. Volatility of output growth is measured by the conditional standard deviation. If volatility raises output growth, \( \lambda \) is positive, but if volatility reduces output growth rates, \( \lambda \) is negative. If volatility has no effect on average growth rates, \( \lambda \) will be zero.

The autocorrelation and partial autocorrelation coefficients suggested that the growth rate should be lagged one period in the conditional mean equation. The Akaike and Schwarz information criteria and residual tests (Q-stats, Q²-stats, Jarque-Bera normality and ARCH-LM) were used to find the best model to test Black’s hypothesis for the years 1865-2004.
These tests indicated that it was:

\[ g_y = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 g_{y,t-1} + \beta \varepsilon_{t-1} + \lambda \sigma_{t-1}^2 + \varepsilon_t \]
\[ \sigma_t^2 = \omega + \gamma \varepsilon_{t-1} + \delta \sigma_{t-1}^2 \]

Tables 1 and 2 present the estimation results and test statistics. Initially, dummy variables for World War I, World War II and the Korean War were included in the estimation, but were found to be insignificant and were dropped.

For the years 1865-2004, \( \lambda \) was positive and significant at the 5% level, providing some support for Black’s hypothesis.

E. **A change in investment behaviour?**

When the data set is split into two subsets, pre-World War II and post-World War II, interesting differences in model specification and \( \lambda \)'s sign emerge. The results reported below must be considered with some caution because each subset has a relatively small number of observations. ARCH and GARCH effects are more likely to have greater significance in high frequency data.

For the pre-World War II period (1865-1939), according to the information criteria and residual tests, the conditional mean equation that performs best is:

\[ g_y = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 g_{y,t-1} + \beta \varepsilon_{t-1} + \lambda \sigma_{t-1}^2 + \varepsilon_t \]

i.e., the growth rate is lagged twice and the conditional standard deviation measures the volatility. A dummy variable for the effect of World War I was found to be significant for the years 1865-1939. Although this dummy is omitted from Table 1, the coefficients and p-values reported for 1865-1939 are those estimated with it included.¹⁰

For the post-World War II period, according to the statistical tests, the conditional mean equation that performed best is:

\[ g_y = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 g_{y,t-1} + \alpha_2 g_{y,t-2} + \beta \varepsilon_{t-1} + \lambda \sigma_t^2 + \varepsilon_t \]

i.e., the growth rate has two lags and, as with the full sample, the conditional variance captures the volatility.

When the pre- and post-World War II periods are compared, \( \lambda \) changes sign but is still significant at the 5% level. **Negative** \( \lambda \) implies that the Keynesian view of the growth-volatility relationship holds for the post-World War period.

¹⁰ Actually, inclusion of the dummy has no real impact on the conclusions relevant for this study.
Table 1: New Zealand real growth rates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>$\alpha_0$</th>
<th>$\alpha_1$</th>
<th>$\alpha_2$</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
<th>$\lambda$</th>
<th>$\omega$</th>
<th>$\gamma$</th>
<th>$\delta$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1865-2004</td>
<td>0.037</td>
<td>-0.424</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.765</td>
<td>8.556</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.114</td>
<td>0.864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-value</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
<td>0.037</td>
<td>0.428</td>
<td>0.009</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865-1939</td>
<td>-0.020</td>
<td>-0.309</td>
<td>0.263</td>
<td>1.657</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.115</td>
<td>0.708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-value</td>
<td>0.520</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.014</td>
<td>0.027</td>
<td>0.104</td>
<td>0.086</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945-2004</td>
<td>0.034</td>
<td>-0.382</td>
<td>0.190</td>
<td>0.862</td>
<td>-11.619</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.432</td>
<td>-0.361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-value</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.013</td>
<td>0.017</td>
<td>0.017</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note

- Coefficient on variance
- Coefficient on standard deviation

Table 2: Test statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1865-2004</th>
<th>1865-1939</th>
<th>1945-2004</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coeff</td>
<td>p-value</td>
<td>Coeff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Log-likelihood</td>
<td>262.51</td>
<td></td>
<td>126.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIC</td>
<td>-3.650</td>
<td></td>
<td>-3.158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>-3.503</td>
<td></td>
<td>-2.910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JB</td>
<td>0.316</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>0.145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obs*R² (1 Lag)</td>
<td>2.08</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-stat (3 lags)</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>2.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q²-stat (3 lags)</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All models were estimated in EViews 5.1 using the Marquardt optimisation and Bollerslev-Wooldridge heteroskedasticity consistent covariance options. All values are rounded to 2 or 3 dp.

Figure 5 gives the conditional variance for the years 1865–2004. Output growth volatility is quite persistent, especially in the years prior to 1960. Given that $(\gamma + \delta)$ has a value of 0.98 (see Table 1), this is hardly surprising. The sharp peak in the early 1950s has its source in the rise in growth rates associated with the Korean War wool boom. Its impact on output growth shows some persistence. In later years, volatility in growth rates is associated strongly with external events like the first oil shock in the mid-1970s.

The conditional variance and the GDP growth rate were subjected to Granger causality tests, the results of which are in Table 3. If anything, as more lags are added, the tests tend to support the hypothesis that output growth Granger-causes output variability rather than output variability Granger-causes output growth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No of lags</th>
<th>$H_0$: Variability does not Granger cause output growth</th>
<th>$H_0$: Output growth does not Granger cause variability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.9055 ($p = 0.016$)</td>
<td>15.0180 ($p = 0.0000$)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.6623 ($p = 0.028$)</td>
<td>9.54751 ($p = 0.0000$)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.5876 ($p = 0.196$)</td>
<td>7.6034 ($p = 0.0000$)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: F-stats for the null hypothesis of no Granger causality and their p-values.
Conclusions

Spectral analysis showed that the main variations in New Zealand’s real GDP and GDP growth rates occur at low frequencies, pointing to supply-side effects rather than demand-side effects as the dominant long-run sources of output growth.

Output gap analysis confirmed the casual observation that output volatility declined after the Second World War and especially after the effects of the Korean War wool boom had subsided. Over the whole period 1865-2004, there was a positive relationship between growth rates and output volatility.

When the data was divided into two sub-sets, it appeared that the relationship altered. Before World War II, there was a positive relationship between growth rates and volatility (supporting Black’s hypothesis), whereas after it, a negative relationship emerged (supporting the Keynesian hypothesis).

Support for the belief that this is more than statistical illusion comes from work done by the New Zealand Treasury. Starting from the observation that in the past two decades, sustained output growth has been associated with lower levels of volatility, Treasury analysts have undertaken considerable work to find out why.

Buckle, Haugh, and Thomson (2001) used quarterly data to study volatility in different sectors of the economy. Their disaggregated analysis demonstrated that declining volatility in New Zealand’s real GDP from the mid-1980s was due to a reduction in volatility in growth in the service and manufacturing sectors.

Although service sector stability was the dominant factor in reducing output volatility, Buckle et al.’s analysis does not support the hypothesis that the decline arose principally from the shift in output composition towards services.

Their belief was that Think Big projects, various regulatory interventions and the introduction of GST (in 1986) provide the key to explaining the higher volatility in the early-1980s. In their view, the ending of these interventions, introduction of deregulation in markets and possible improvements in inventory management were the important reasons for the fall in GDP volatility.

Since the early 1990s, the volatility in output growth has been associated primarily with events over which New Zealand has no influence, the most important examples of which occurred in the late 1990s. The impact of the 1997 Asian Crisis on New Zealand coincided with a serious drought that reduced agricultural output. These simultaneous supply-side and demand-side shocks caused a significant widening of the output gap.

A key element in the reforms alluded to by Buckle et al. were path-breaking changes
made to macroeconomic management in New Zealand. Since the early 1990s, macroeconomic policy in New Zealand has been designed to eliminate surprises arising from Government actions.

Fiscal Policy is now set within a framework provided by the Fiscal Responsibility Act 1994, which has the objective of removing the temptation to use fiscal policy for short-term political gain.

Monetary policy is now set within a framework created by the Reserve Bank Act 1989. This Act was implemented in the early 90s. It gave the RBNZ independence in the implementation of monetary policy within broad guidelines set in agreement with the Minister of Finance.

Independence in implementation of monetary policy was granted to the RBNZ in order to remove the ability of the Government to use monetary policy for short-term electoral gain. A key feature of the regime is the requirement to keep inflation within a defined band. There can be little doubt that this policy regime has been a major influence in reaching and maintaining low inflation rates.\(^\text{12}\)

An hypothesis that arises quite naturally is that the coincidence of high growth and low volatility is the consequence of the more stable domestic macroeconomic climate created by the policy reforms. Buckle et al. reject this interpretation.

They argue that the timing and industry specific nature of the decline in the variance of output in various sectors of the economy suggest that neither fiscal nor monetary policy are likely to provide the predominant explanation for the decline in New Zealand’s GDP volatility. Amongst other reasons, the move to inflation targeting was implemented after the decline in output volatility had begun. Their viewpoint is supported by the time path of the conditional variance presented in Figure 5.

Whatever the cause, it is indisputable that New Zealand output has been less volatile in the last few decades.

Appendix: A comparison of three data sets

Rafferty (2002) estimated the model below for a number of countries, including New Zealand, for the years 1874-1994.

\[
g_y = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 g_{y,t-1} + \alpha_2 g_{y,t-2} + \alpha_3 g_{y,t-3} + \beta \varepsilon_{t-1} + \lambda \sigma_t + \varepsilon_t
\]
\[
\sigma_t^2 = \omega + \gamma \varepsilon_{t-1} + \delta \sigma_{t-1}^2
\]

Rafferty used Maddison’s 1995 data, the latest version of which is in Maddison (2003). Maddison created his New Zealand data set from essentially the same sources as have been used in this study. The results from re-estimating Rafferty’s model with the data set used in this study and with Maddison’s latest data set are in Table 4, along with his results.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4: Rafferty model: 1874-1994</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha_0 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha_1 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha_2 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha_3 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \beta )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \lambda )</td>
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<tr>
<td>( \omega )</td>
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<tr>
<td>( \gamma )</td>
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<tr>
<td>( \delta )</td>
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<tr>
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<td>SC</td>
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<tr>
<td>JB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obs*R² (3Lags)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-stat (6 lags)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q²-stat (6 lags)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison of the different estimations reveals points of considerable similarity and one noteworthy point of difference.

The coefficients for the lagged growth and error terms have the same sign, somewhat similar magnitudes and are quite significant in the main.
However, for the constant New Zealand dollar data, $\lambda = 0.098$ (p-value = 0.64), much smaller with even less significance than Rafferty’s $\lambda$ of 0.71 (p = 0.18). (Rafferty, 2002, p. 314). Maddison’s latest data set for New Zealand results in $\lambda = 0.60$ (p-value = 0.065).\footnote{Maddison’s data was obtained from the OECD website: www1.oecd.org/publications/e-book/4103063.xls via a link in the e-book for Maddison (2003).}

When GDP data is measured in constant New Zealand dollars, there is a strong rejection of any relationship between growth and volatility. The re-estimation of Rafferty’s model with Maddison’s latest data set gives greater plausibility to Black’s hypothesis than does Rafferty’s original study.

Presumably the differences between the results reflect, in part, Maddison’s conversions from national currencies to international Geary-Khamis dollars. These differences point to the need for caution when cross-country comparisons are made using data sets valued in a common currency.
References


Abstract
The relationship between output and price has long been of interest to macroeconomics. Studies using detrended data have indicated that, after the Second World War, a change in the relationship occurred for some countries. Whereas prior to the Second World War, the price level was procyclical, output and the price level were negatively correlated after it. Using data from 1860 to 2004 for New Zealand’s real GDP and implicit GDP deflator, this paper investigates whether New Zealand exhibits the same break in correlation between price and output. Correlation and spectral analysis were applied to filtered data. There seems little doubt that prices were procyclical for the period 1865-1939. The relationship between price and output from 1945 onwards is not clear-cut, but it is more likely that at business cycle frequencies and low frequencies, price and output are positively correlated. Inflation and growth are negatively correlated at very low frequencies.

Key words Output, price, growth, inflation, Hodrick-Prescott filter, band pass filters, correlation analysis, spectral analysis
Introduction

Numerous studies have been done into the cyclical behaviour of output and prices. Their purpose has been to gain knowledge about the stylised facts of the business cycle and about the source of shocks that generate business cycles. Cross correlations have been used often to establish the relationship between output and prices.

Traditional macroeconomic teaching models use aggregate demand-aggregate supply to explain the relative movements between output and the price level. In these models, demand shocks cause output and prices to rise and fall together, whereas supply shocks cause output and prices to move in the opposite direction from each other. In the usual interpretation, demand shocks are consistent with positive correlations and supply shocks are consistent with negative correlations.

Recent textbooks have models that link inflation to the output gap. In these models, demand shocks change the output gap, trigger off changes in the inflation rate and cause output adjustments that bring the economy back to potential output. Assuming no change in potential output, as the economy adjusts to a new long-run equilibrium, output and inflation can move in the same or in opposite directions. During the adjustment process, rises and falls in output are consistent with rising or falling inflation rates. There is no clear division between demand-side and supply side shocks that is revealed by the correlations between either output and price or inflation and output growth.

The general belief has been that the price level is procyclical. Studies for a number of countries using detrended data have found that the relationship between price and output changed following World War II. Instead of being procyclical, prices have been countercyclical. For example, the oft-cited study of 10 countries conducted by Backus & Keyhoe (1992) found that inflation rates were more persistent after World War II. They also found that price level fluctuations were typically procyclical before it and countercyclical after it.

This paper uses correlation analysis and spectral analysis to investigate the relationship between annual data for New Zealand price over a period of 140 years.

Data

Compared with other OECD countries, New Zealand’s national income data prior to 1950 is quite poor. Annual official and semi-official estimates of New Zealand’s national

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1. Examples of textbooks used in New Zealand that use the more modern approach include Frank and Bernanke (2004) and Taylor & Dalziel (2002).
2. This study is similar to that of Pakko (2000) in its approach.
income have been available only since 1932. In this paper, output is measured by real GDP and price by the implicit GDP deflator. The annual data series were compiled principally by Briggs (2003) and posted on the New Zealand Institute of Economic Research’s website (www.nvier.org.nz). Briggs’s data have been updated using the latest available data from Statistics NZ. Although Briggs’s data set covers the period 1860–2002, the analysis in this paper covers the years 1865-2004. The beginning point was set at 1865 in order to eliminate some of the influence of what appears to be excessive growth rates for the years 1861-1863.

Similar studies for other countries have used quarterly data. Unfortunately, for many important economic time series, New Zealand quarterly data of significant length is largely unavailable. At the time this study was done, GDP data was available for the period 1977(Q2) to 2004(Q3). Where it might add some extra evidence, this data has been drawn upon.

Results
A Output and price

![Output and Price](image)

**Figure 1**

New Zealand’s output has the expected upward trend. The GDP deflator trends down from 1865 to the beginning of the 20th Century. It then begins a long trend upward, apart from a pause in the 1920s and a fall during the Great Depression.

Both series were detrended with the Hodrick-Prescott filter (HP-filter) and various

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EViews 5.1 was used to carry out most of the data analysis. SPSS V12.0.1 was used for the spectral analysis.
band pass filters to produce stationarity. The detrended series were correlated against each other to get some initial information about their relationship. There were high correlation coefficients for real GDP between the HP-filtered series and the business cycle series generated by the Baxter-King (BK), the Christiano-Fitzgerald (full length symmetric - CFFLS) and the Christiano-Fitzgerald (full sample asymmetric - CFFSA) filters.

In the light of this, Table 1 reports only the correlations between the HP filtered series for GDP and the filtered price series. The calculations begin in 1870 and end in 2001 to take into account the missing values consequent upon use of the Baxter-King and Christiano-Fitzgerald full-length symmetric filters.

Table 1 illustrates a well-known problem in correlation analysis: the correlations are sensitive to the methods used to detrend a variable. When sub-samples are compared, cross correlations produced by the CFFSA filter behave oppositely from the other cross correlations: when the full sample asymmetric filter correlation coefficient rises or falls, the others fall or rise. This behaviour was insensitive to the stationarity assumption made.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Correlation coefficients between filtered output and prices(^a)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Filtered price series</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870-2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870-1914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918-1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870-1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945-2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Standard errors calculated according to the normally-distributed Fisher Z-statistic are in brackets.

\(^4\) All filtering with the HP-filter uses \(\lambda = 6.25\), as suggested by Ravn & Uhlig (2002) for annual data.

\(^5\) The business cycle spans periods from two to eight years. Mills (2003) Chapter 4, pp. 75-104, has considerable information on these filters. In addition, Baxter & King (1999) and Christiano & Fitzgerald (2003) deal with their filters.

\(^6\) Experiments not reported here were done to see whether the stationarity assumption chosen for cycle extraction by the Christiano-Fitzgerald filters was important. In no case did the signal extraction method have more than an insignificant effect on the numerical value of the correlation coefficient.
For the whole sample 1870-2001, the cross correlations provide no unequivocal evidence about the relationship between output and price. There seems little doubt that prices were procyclical in the period 1870-1939. When tested at the 5% level, the cross correlation coefficients were greater than 0, except for the CFFSA filter.

For the years 1945 onwards, the standard errors in Table I show unequivocally that for three of the four filters used, the cross correlation coefficients cannot be shown to be significantly different from zero. Once again, the results for the CFFSA filter contradict those of the other filters. Based on the standard errors, the population cross correlation coefficient could be anywhere in a negative to positive range.

Extra information about the output-price relationship for part of the post-World War II period was sought by using quarterly data for 1977(Q2) to 2004(Q3). The price level was measured by the CPI and output by seasonally-adjusted real GDP. HP-filtered data resulted in a cross correlation coefficient of -0.017 (standard error, 0.101). Clearly, the null hypothesis of no correlation cannot be rejected at the 5% level. It is clear that this test offers no acceptable evidence for judging whether output and price might be negatively correlated.

B Spectral analysis of output and price

The spectrum of a stationary time series decomposes its total variance to disclose the contribution that each frequency makes to that variance. The spectral density plot for a single variable is a graphical representation of the spectrum and, therefore, of the variance.

- When the spectrum is flat, the time series is close to white noise.
- When the spectrum exhibits peaks, the time series has cyclical components at the relevant frequencies.
- When the spectrum has a strong peak at very low frequencies, the time series has a trend component.

The cospectrum measures the contribution of comovements at various frequencies to the total covariance between two time series. The cospectral density plot separates the high frequency components from the low frequency components.

The cospectral density plots for HP-filtered price and output for the sample period...
1870-2001 reveal that the positive covariance captured, however uncertainly, in Table 1 is principally the consequence of comovement in the higher end of the business cycle range. These contributions are more visible when the cospectrum is plotted as a function of period (Figure 3) rather than frequency (Figure 2). Given the high correlation between the HP-filtered series and the business cycle series produced by the Baxter-King and Christiano-Fitzgerald filters, this result is unsurprising. Some negative contributions come from frequencies near the middle and just outside the business cycle range.

That little of the total covariance is contributed by the high frequency components is due to more than the filtering process. Most of the power in the spectrum for the unfiltered series is at lower frequencies (longer periods) rather than at higher frequencies (Figure 4). Both price and output exhibit Granger’s typical shape. Time series with trend components have strong peaks at very low frequencies. Granger claimed that the latter spectrum was typical of economic time series.\footnote{Granger (1966, p. 155)} He warns that economic cycles are not strictly periodic fluctuations but important frequency bands.
The correlation coefficients in Table 1 show a positive relationship between price and output for the sub-sample 1870-1939. Figure 5 presents the cospectrum, plotted against period for ease of interpretation, for this sub-sample.

**Figure 4: Output and price exhibit Granger’s typical shape**

The correlation coefficients in Table 1 show a positive relationship between price and output for the sub-sample 1870-1939. Figure 5 presents the cospectrum, plotted against period for ease of interpretation, for this sub-sample.

**Figure 5**

Most of the covariance between price and output is positive and concentrated in the business cycle frequencies. Some significant positive covariance is generated in periods just above the business cycle band. Negative contributions to the total covariance are generated about the 20-year period.

The double-peaked density either side of a period of about 6 years arises from a
peculiarity common to both price and output: for each variable, the spectral density has a minimum at the same period of about 6 years.

For the sub-sample 1945-2001, the null hypothesis of zero correlation cannot be rejected at the 5% level. When the 95% confidence interval is considered, the possibility of positive, zero or negative correlation between output and price cannot be ruled out.\textsuperscript{11} The sub-sample cospectrum gives some support to the possibility that price and output are procyclical (see Figure 6). Most of the covariance is in the business cycle band and positive. Some negative contributions arise at periods of five years and 14 years. Overall, the covariance appears to be positive.

\textbf{Figure 6}

\begin{figure}
\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Price_and_Output_1945-2001.png}
\end{center}
\end{figure}

\begin{itemize}
  \item Window: Parzen (5)
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{11} For HP-filtered prices, CI\textsubscript{95\%} = 0.098 ± 1.96(0.136) = 0.098 ± 0.266, giving a range of [-0.17, 0.36].
**C Inflation and Growth**

Figure 7 shows the variation in inflation and real GDP growth for the sample period 1865-2004. As both series are stationary, no filtering was undertaken before the cross correlation coefficients were calculated.

**Table 2: Correlation coefficients for inflation and growth rate**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1865-2004</td>
<td>0.068 (0.085)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865-1914</td>
<td>0.477 (0.146)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918-1939</td>
<td>0.583 (0.230)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865-1939</td>
<td>0.376 (0.118)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945-2004</td>
<td>-0.170 (0.132)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Standard errors calculated according to the normally-distributed Fisher Z-statistic are in brackets.

Table 2 presents the cross correlation coefficients and standard errors for annual growth and inflation for various periods. It can be concluded with some confidence that in the pre-World War II period, the correlation coefficients are positive. For the years 1945 onward, there is a hint of a possible change in the relationship between inflation and real growth rates. Using a 95% confidence interval, the correlation coefficient could be anywhere in the range [-0.43, 0.09]. The standard error makes any conclusion very tentative.
Quarterly data for 1977(Q2) to 2004(Q3) for CPI inflation and seasonally-adjusted GDP growth rates resulted in a coefficient of -0.274 (standard error = 0.101). This provides some evidence that in the post-World War II period, inflation and output growth might be negatively correlated. When plotted against period (Figure 8), the cospectral density between inflation and growth for 1945 onwards shows that most of the covariance is contributed by long period (very low frequency) elements and is negative. The negative correlation between output and price at very low frequencies (long periods) holds when the cross correlation coefficients are calculated for the whole sample and various sub-samples.

![Figure 8](Image)

![Figure 9](Image)

For the whole sample, the cospectrum between growth and inflation (Figure 9) shows that long frequencies (long periods) contribute most of the covariance that is negative. It can be speculated that the cross correlations should be positive at business cycle frequencies and low frequencies and negative at very low frequencies.

This conjecture can be tested by extracting series for inflation and growth rates at business cycle frequencies (periods, 2-8 years), low frequencies (periods, 8-20 years) and very low frequencies (periods, 20-40 years). The CFFSA filter band pass filter was used for the extraction and the resulting correlations are presented in Tables 3, 4 and 5.
**Table 3: Correlation coefficients (1865-2004)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Growth</th>
<th>2-8 years</th>
<th>8-20 years</th>
<th>20-40 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2-8 years</td>
<td>0.341**</td>
<td>-0.030</td>
<td>0.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-20 years</td>
<td>0.029</td>
<td>0.356**</td>
<td>0.022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-40 years</td>
<td>0.015</td>
<td>-0.057</td>
<td>-0.292**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The null hypothesis of zero correlation was rejected at the 5% level for these coefficients.*

The only coefficients that are significantly different from zero at the 5% level are for growth and inflation in the same frequency band. Frequencies that correspond to periods of 2 to 20 years are positively correlated and significant at the 5% level, whereas for very low frequency (long period) data, inflation and growth are negatively correlated.

Sub-samples for the extracted series for the years 1865-1939 and 1945-2004 produce much the same results (see Tables 4 and 5).

**Table 4: Correlation coefficients 1865-1939**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Output</th>
<th>2-8 years</th>
<th>8-20 years</th>
<th>20-40 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2-8 years</td>
<td>0.516**</td>
<td>-0.003</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-20 years</td>
<td>0.049</td>
<td>0.485**</td>
<td>0.045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-40 years</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>0.046</td>
<td>-0.293**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The null hypothesis of zero correlation was rejected at the 5% level for these coefficients.*

**Table 5: Correlation coefficients 1945-2004**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Output</th>
<th>2-8 years</th>
<th>8-20 years</th>
<th>20-40 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2-8 years</td>
<td>0.032</td>
<td>0.029</td>
<td>-0.043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-20 years</td>
<td>-0.017</td>
<td>-0.059</td>
<td>-0.012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-40 years</td>
<td>-0.006</td>
<td>-0.120</td>
<td>-0.483**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The null hypothesis of zero correlation was rejected at the 5% level only for the very low frequency band covering periods 20-40 years.*
For the sub-sample 1865-1939, inflation and growth rates are positively correlated for periods up to 20 years but negatively correlated at very low frequencies corresponding to periods of 20-40 years. For the sub-sample 1949-2004, the only cross correlation coefficient that is significant at the 5% level is that for long periods; it is also negative. The correlations in Table 5 are consistent with the cospectrum in Figure 9.

**Conclusion**

There seems little doubt that from 1865-1939, output and price and inflation and growth were positively correlated, a result consistent with models that attribute procyclical price behaviour to demand shocks. But for 1945 onwards, the situation is somewhat murky. There is no clear evidence for a change in the price level-output relationship, although both correlation and spectral analysis hint at the possibility of such a change. A small bit of evidence for this possibility was provided by quarterly data for 1977(Q2) to 2004(Q3). If reliable quarterly data were available for the whole of the post-World War II period, a stronger test could be provided.
References


1. Title: Language of the Self in Battered Women: Stigmatization and Deviance

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6. Abstract and full paper as attachment
Language of the Self in Battered Women: Stigmatization and Deviance

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Abstract

Interviews with 38 women from three different ethnic groups residing in battered women’s shelters on the issue of self-labeling revealed that regardless of the label they chose, three themes emerged: self-blame, abuser-blame, and the use of referents (substitution words) about the abuse they suffered. While feminists and policymakers place responsibility for violence on men and social structures, these women instead internalized responsibility for the abuse. Labeling theory and feminist analysis are used to explore the women’s stories about their abuse. Those who work in human services need to understand women’s perceptions of their victimization, and appropriate actions to take.
Language of the Self in Battered Women: Deviance and Stigmatization

Feminists and domestic violence workers have advocated for those who suffer violence from abusive partners for decades. Feminists, especially, have critiqued social structures and systems that have overtly and covertly demeaned women. Women traditionally are paid less than men are, although women may have comparable experience and education. Women are traditionally viewed as “passive” and “feminine,” attributions that are less powerful and hold less status than attributions held for men, who are usually pronounced as “masculine” and “strong” or “aggressive.” These traditionally masculine qualities are favored in most societies, while women’s traditional qualities are not.

Reflected in society’s favoritism of masculine qualities is the language used to describe people who are victims of violence. Men and boys who suffer violence are especially vilified, and are often taunted by other men who see them as less masculine, and therefore, less valued in society. Women subjected to domestic violence are judged even less valuable to society.

Research has been conducted with women who have been raped to begin to understand their use of words such as survivor and victim, and how those labels in turn affect women’s perceptions and feelings about themselves, as well as how they believe society perceives them (see, for example, Spry, 1995 and Wood & Rennie, 1994). Researchers have discovered that the labels women apply to their experiences reflect women’s self-esteem, and how they are dealing with the effects and the results of the violence against them. This article continues examining the labels women use for the violence they have experienced, and what those labels mean to the women, with the focus on battered women from three different ethnic groups.

This article uses the symbolic interactionist approach of labeling theory, with a feminist analysis, to examine the meanings women give to the abuse they suffered at the hands of their male partners from responses to a qualitative interview. With this theoretical base, advocates for women who have been subjected to domestic violence can better understand and develop more useful micro, meso, or macro approaches to assist them, and perhaps for the men who abuse as well. Azmi (1999) strongly argues for a qualitative approach to studying relationships among
Language of the self

ethnic groups and welfare usage because “current conceptual frameworks are insufficiently grounded in the perceptions of target populations. … It is essential to understand what human beings subjectively perceive” (p. 2). Her argument is significant for studying battered women’s perspectives, as well, whether or not they are using welfare to survive, using a qualitative method of research. Thus, this study explores the perspectives of 38 African American, Mexican American, and non-Hispanic White women who have been in violent relationships, and how they would label themselves in relation to the abuse they have suffered. The findings have clear implications for domestic violence shelters and programs, counselors, those who employ women who have suffered domestic violence, theoreticians, scholars/researchers, policymakers, activists, and professionals in every human service field (police, emergency services, child protective services, etc.).

Literature Review

The Victimization Process

Research on women who have been involved in abusive relationships reveals that they sometimes have strong preferences for specific terms or labels, and of these, victim and survivor have been studied the most. Some domestic violence advocates and feminists (Bograd, 1999; Hamby, 1998) prefer the term “battered” because it has the ability to invoke images of the real damage inflicted by abusive partners. Using labeling theory as a method of naming the unnamed in order to make the private public, feminists have challenged the construction of women’s identities when they have been assaulted or abused by men. While attempting to create an uproar, and thus action to remedy woman abuse, feminists and domestic violence activists have painted a picture of children and women as relatively powerless over men’s domination in a patriarchal society. Through emphasizing the large numbers of women and children who are brutalized by men (Kelly, et al, 1996, p. 82), this victimization role also ignores the strength and coping skills that women use. Criticism from certain feminists suggests that by labeling women as victims in order to obtain more assistance for the outrageous acts committed against them, we
have created “victim feminism,” whereby women are constructed as powerless and passive victims, as well as encouraging them to act like victims (Kelly et al., 1996, p. 83).

In their discussion of the difficulty of naming a sexual assault experience as rape, Wood and Rennie (1994) point out that rape victims are victimized by both the actual rape, and their induction into victim status in society. While the victim label may offer women some reprieve and sympathy for their suffering, the status of victim is also stigmatizing and can cause problems for women because society shows little tolerance for these stigmatized women. Victims of all types in society are considered passive and powerless.

Janoff-Bulman (1979) distinguishes between self-blame as a characterological or as a behavioral attribute. In her provocative analysis, women who were raped and blamed themselves for their behaviors (such as walking alone at night) could be seen as responding positively in that they seemed to believe they have more control, less depression, higher self-esteem, and believed they could avoid being raped in the future. Women who blamed themselves due to characterological attributes (such as feeling like an unworthy person) believed they deserved to be raped. It remains to be seen whether any type of self-blaming is truly positive for women, since women cannot really avoid being raped or abused by men who are intent on doing so. Wood and Rennie (1994) reinforce this view suggesting that, “Supporters of traditional and patriarchal views of rape argue that self-blaming maintains the myth of women’s masochism or indicates a woman’s seductive contribution to her assault” (p. 127).

Symbolic Interactionism and Labeling Theory

Symbolic interaction theory provides a useful model to guide researchers in analyzing communication symbols for meanings and perspectives. Communication is a primary tool that humans use to make sense or meaning of their world (Lauer & Handel, 1983). Humans manipulate symbols with the purpose of achieving a desired response from the receiver in order to control the meaning of the communication. However, even individuals from the same family interpret symbols differently and attribute different meanings to symbols. Thus, the study of
individual definitions of a situation is crucial because each person creates her or his own meaning and idiosyncratic responses to a particular situation.

Labeling theory, developed by Howard Becker (1963), emerged from symbolic interactionism to explore deviance. Lindsey and Beach (2004) say that, “The purpose of labeling is to apply a stigma, a powerfully negative public identity, to an individual who is believed to have violated important social norms” (p. 211). Stigmatizing labels influence how others treat the labeled person. Labels can be acquired in three ways: (1) people may choose to self-label; (2) family and friends may affix labels to people; and (3) formal systems, such as the criminal justice system, apply certain labels to people (Lindsey & Beach, 2004). The more social power a person or system has, the more they can label and stigmatize others. According to labeling theorists, White, wealthy, middle-aged, and heterosexual men are better able to resist stigmatizing labels than the more oppressed segments of society (Schur, 1984; Adams et al., 1998 as cited in Lindsey & Beach, 2004).

Deviance is typically defined by powerful segments of society as behavior that violates social norms (Lindsey & Beach, 2004). However, dominant groups also have the power to “define others as deviant in terms of their very being” (Neubeck & Glassberg, 2005, p. 263). Therefore, women, ethnic groups, gay men or a lesbians, people with a disability, or the poor are often “defined as deviant by dominant groups, even in the absence of any actual behavior that violates norms” (Neubeck & Glassberg, 2005, p. 263). As a pioneer in the sociological study of patriarchal society, Edwin Schur (1984) demonstrated how patriarchy effectively keeps women in oppressive gender roles by labeling (Lindsey & Beach, 2004). From the moment they are labeled as such, women who are victims of domestic violence are considered deviants. Because the dominant reference group is primarily White, heterosexual, wealthy men—who definitely do not consider themselves victims—women, by being labeled victims of violence, are considered deviant for that reason, as well as their gender.

*Women and self-blame*
According to symbolic interactionists, labels can change behavior and become part of our self-concept (Henslin, 2003). In light of this perspective, could it be that women who accept the labels “victim” or “battered woman” feel more helpless and hopeless than do women who resist or reject those terms, and use other labels instead? People may resist labels using various methods and techniques, but, due to their socialization and other influences, some people may have a difficult time resisting deviant labels. For example, battered “women often accept the blame that society places on them” (Barnett, Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 1997, p. 212), while batterers tend “to blame others for their assaults, most especially their female partners, and to downplay the significance and seriousness of their violence” (Barnett et al., 1997, p. 237). Additionally, a dominant discourse in society is to “blame the victim.” With respect to battered women, the victim is considered more deviant than the batterer because society encourages this type of behavior and thinking in boys, who grow up to be adults using the same skewed thinking.

Sykes and Matza (1988) explored male juvenile delinquents’ thinking patterns to discover how they neutralize their deviant behaviors and the labels that can accompany them in order to deflect society’s label of deviance. Sykes and Matza discovered that the delinquents created five techniques that neutralized their criminal behaviors: denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of a victim, condemning the condemners, and appealing to higher loyalties. According to Henslin (2003), these five neutralization techniques can be summarized as follows: “(1) “I couldn’t help myself”; (2) “Who really got hurt?”; (3) “Don’t you think she deserved that, after what she did?” (4) “Who are you to talk?” and (5) “I had to help my friends – wouldn’t you have done the same thing?” (p. 221). These five neutralization techniques coincide with a study conducted by Dutton (as cited in Barnet et al., 1997) who analyzed the stories of male batterers and found three patterns: (a) victim provocation (which is the same as “she deserved it”), (b) self-blame with denial and minimization of its effects (which ties in with “I had to do it,” “Who really got hurt?” and “I couldn’t help myself”), and (c) self-blame, but connecting behaviors to some problem like drinking too much (“I couldn’t help myself”).
Similarly, Barnet et al. (1997) suggest that “probably the most common explanation[s] given by batterers runs something like this: “I told her not to do it [e.g., staying late after work, mouthing off]. She knew what would happen. She did it anyway. She got what she asked for” (p. 237). These common explanations have been shared by thousands of women in domestic violence shelters across the nation. Women hear them repeatedly from their abusers and internalize the blame. This blame has become the dominant discourse in society as exemplified by the all-too-common question “Why doesn’t she just leave him?” Additionally, victim blaming not only comes from the abusers and society in general, but also from professionals who have an underlying belief that victims ask for the abuse. A study conducted by Wilson and Wilson (as cited in Barnett et al., 1997, p. 212) revealed that nearly 14% of mental health professionals, corrections staff, shelter staff, court staff, coroners, etc. agreed or strongly agreed “victims ask for it.”

A little explored issue in the domestic violence literature is the use of referents, which are indirect words or word substitutions, such as “it,” in language or stories. Referents are one way that women address labeling and self-blame. Wood and Rennie (1994) label this type of language “avoidance” and suggest that it is “one solution to the problem of naming one’s experience” (p. 133). Furthermore, they propose “the absence of an agent and particularly the implication of accident (‘happens’) suggest that, although unnamed, the experience could not have been rape, [and that] avoidance is often combined with minimization” (p. 133). Their analysis appears just as relevant in discussions about male partners assaulting their female partners physically and emotionally, and is explored in this article. Adams (1990) also suggests that the use of referents, such as “it,” are inanimate and have no power in language. There is a great deal of difference between saying, “he hit me” and saying, “it happened.”

To determine whether women in battered women’s shelters have moved away from self-blame that may have hindered them in the past, this study considers the labels and perceptions that battered women from three different ethnicities use to describe themselves. Additionally, the way patriarchal societal structures are maintained by usage of particular labels is examined.
Method

Purposive sampling was used to recruit women from two different domestic violence shelters in Texas, one in central and one in south Texas. Both shelters are located in major urban areas of the state. Since this study is concerned with the subjective interpretations and perspectives of each woman, rather than generalizability (Cummerton, 1986; Richie, 1996), a purposive rather than a probability sample was used. For purposes of the study, shelter staff asked women, who had been in the shelter for at least seven days, if they identified as one of the three groups that comprise the major ethnic groups in the area (Mexican American, African American, and Anglo) and if they would be willing to be interviewed. The researcher regularly called the shelter staff to see if there were any potential interviewees and, if there were, arranged to conduct the interview at a convenient time for the study participant.

Literature suggests that people of minority ethnic groups are less willing to disclose some events or thoughts with those of the dominant culture (Marin & Marin, 1991). Because of this, the researcher hired and trained women who were either Hispanic or Black and who had experience in social services to conduct interviews with participants from these two ethnic groups. The researcher herself, who is White, conducted the interviews with the White women. The study participants signed a written consent form indicating that they understood the purpose of the study, their role in the study, and agreed to be interviewed and taped. For additional protection, a federal certificate of confidentiality was obtained, and was useful in obtaining clearance from the University Institutional Review Board. This certificate prevented any documents, records, interviews, etc. from being used in legal proceedings.

A qualitative interview with each participant took place in a private room or office in the battered women’s emergency shelters. A semi-structured interview guide was used for the
interviews, which lasted from one to two hours each. Interviews were tape recorded with the interviewees’ permission and later transcribed. For confidentiality purposes, participants chose a pseudonym and that name was the only one used to record the interview responses and label the tapes.

Measures

After the taped interviews were transcribed, themes were explored in the data analysis of the individual interviews. Additionally, a focus group, consisting of six women – two from each ethnic group – was used to enhance validity of the findings.

Limitations

While the women were assured that their interviews would remain confidential, the possibility remained that some women felt uncomfortable sharing certain information for fear of future repercussions. Finally, some of the African American women’s responses regarding self-labeling could be due to interviewer bias. One of the Black interviewers merely asked those she interviewed if they would call themselves battered, rather than asking the question in the more open-ended fashion that the other interviewers used. The author reexamined the Black women’s entire interviews to see if more information could be gleaned about the labels they chose, and will be discussed later.

Participants

Though the emphasis is not on generalizability and the sample size of 38 is relatively small, study participants are very similar in demographics to the shelter population as indicated by shelter statistics and other local and national studies of sheltered battered women (Astin, Lawrence, & Foy, 1993; Bowker & Maurer, 1985; Champion, 1996; Cox & Stoltenberg, 1991; Gondolf, et al., 1988; Hilbert, Kolia, & VanLeeuwen, 1997; Johnson, 1992; Krishnan, et al., 1997; Shir, 1999; Sullivan & Davidson, 1991; Torres, 1991).
All 38 sample members were English speaking. Twelve were Mexican American, 12 were African American, and 14 were White (non-Hispanic) women; ethnicity was based on self-identification. The women had been living in the shelters from seven days to three months and ranged in age from 18 to 58 years, with an average age of 32 (refer to Table 1 for demographics). One woman had no children; the remainder had from one to five. The largest percentage of women, 34 percent (13) had less than a high school educational level. Only 29 percent (11) of the sample was employed with an average annual income of $5,566. Fifteen (39%) of the women were married to the abuser at the time of the interview. The majority 28 (74%) of the interviewees had received some type of public assistance during their lives, though only 14 (37%) were receiving public assistance at the time of interview. Of those 14, only 8 (21%) reported receiving Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) at the time of the interview.

[Table 1 about here]

Findings

Of the sample of 38 women, only 12 identified with the term “battered” when asked how they would label themselves in regards to the abuse they suffered that resulted in their residency at the battered women’s shelter, and of these 12, eight were African American. The remaining 26 women resisted or rejected the term battered, and instead chose other terms such as “abused,” “victim,” “survivor,” or chose no static label at all to describe themselves in relation to the treatment inflicted by their abusive partners.

The women’s interviews were analyzed to obtain a better understanding of their labeling or non-labeling choices. What emerged from their stories were themes relating to their identity or sense of self. Three common themes included 1) self-blame: learning a lesson, feeling unworthy, becoming a better person through experiencing the abuse, and trying not to think
about the abuse; 2) abuser-blame: the abuse was his fault and the cycle of abuse had been passed on; and 3) referents about the abuse: using terms like “it,” “that,” “that’s,” and “they” when discussing the abuse or the batterer’s behaviors. Each of these themes will be explored in more detail using labeling theory, with a feminist perspective.

**Self-blame**

Because of the continual victim-blaming by dominant and powerful groups in society, and with men continuing to divert their responsibility for their actions onto women and other less powerful people, it is not surprising that the stories of almost all the women in this study contained the predominant theme of self-blame. Women discussed their struggles to make sense of the violence done to them, but still assumed most of the responsibility for the men’s behaviors.

*I’m unhealthy. I was a battered woman, but I’m not a victim anymore. If we stopped labeling ourselves as victims, we would get our power back.*

Carol, Anglo, 37 years old

Carol’s first words to describe herself were “I’m unhealthy,” not, “he’s unhealthy.” She also equates being a victim with the label “battered,” and suggests that women will not be powerful until they stop using the term “victim,” which seems to be an attempt to resist society’s view of domestic violence victims. Carol actually prefers the label “survivor,” as it seemed to her a way to gain some power, or to neutralize the deviant oppressive role in which society has put her.

*I don’t regret any of it [the abuse] – I look at it as a lesson that’s not going to happen to me again. It’s made me a stronger person.*

Faroh, White, 26 years old

Faroh makes a statement that being treated horribly is actually a valuable lesson; this is how women get stronger – by being beaten. In fact, she does not regret that she was physically and psychologically abused. Several women in the study suggest that they learned an important
lesson from being abused, and several women, as Sally said things similar to Faroh’s reinforcing the idea that they are stronger women for having experienced domestic violence:

*I’m a better person for it [the abuse]. I think it’s made me a better person because I know I won’t put up with shit like that.*

Sally, Anglo, 23 years old

Sally’s words imply that women can learn valuable lessons from their abuse, and that it is actually a positive experience, because, as Sally reasons, being abused can teach women not to get involved with abusive men again. Another woman who labeled herself as “abused” reflected on how she thinks about the abuse she suffered:

*I feel like I was dumb and how could I have been so blind and stayed so long and put up with it. I feel like I should have known, even before I got married. I feel like a fool – a sucker.*

SLC, White, 25 years old

Not only did SLC feel stupid for staying so long with the abuser, she also thinks she should have been clairvoyant and known that he would be abusive.

When asked how she thinks about the abuse she experienced, Michelle W. said:

*Ridiculous. There’s no need for it [the abuse]. Why didn’t I leave sooner?*

Michelle W., African American, 19 years old

Michelle W.’s question about leaving her abuser sooner reflects society’s constant question asking why women do not just leave the abusers. Again, Michelle W.’s question reflects the idea that resolving domestic violence is completely up to the woman.

Finally, Pat, who labeled herself a “battered” woman, said that she is:

*mentally messed up and confused. I was stupid for taking it that long.*

Pat, African American, 32 years old

Pat, who had been abused by various people in her life since the age of 12, not only feels mentally deviant, but also feels stupid for not leaving the relationship sooner than she did, a feeling described by several other women in the study.
Abuser-blame

Very few of the women made statements that put the responsibility for the battering squarely on the men they left. This lack of blame for destructive and dangerous behaviors is indicative of the dominant theme in patriarchal society: men have the power to oppress women, children, minorities, and others subject to the whims of men’s behaviors, while the oppressed have little recourse to prevent unwanted psychological, emotional, or physical harm.

Bridgett, who had difficulty labeling herself, but chose “survivor,” said, when asked how she thinks about the violence in her relationship that

*He pulled me down.*

Bridgett, Anglo, 42 years old

When asked how she thinks about the abuse and the attacks, Bridgett said

*I try not to… [because] I get depressed and mad.*

Although Bridgett blames the batterer for the violence, she also tries to avoid addressing the violence she suffered because she gets depressed, which can be viewed as a form of self-blame. Though Bridgett is attempting to place the blame on the shoulders of the man responsible for his actions, her depression may indicate that she is still struggling to achieve an identity as a survivor, rather than a victim.

Polly, who identified herself as a “victim,” seemed to be in process of evaluating her identity as a “victim,” i.e., being blamed for her involvement with an abusive man, shared this with the interviewer:

*When I first got here [the shelter] I thought it was my fault…. I thought I was unworthy. I did something wrong or I didn’t do enough, but now I don’t look at it that way. I think he’s the one who screwed up and there’s something wrong with him.*

Polly, White, 46 years old

Polly shows that she has been thinking about who is really to blame for the abuse in her relationship, and has gone from a stage of self-blame to a stage of assigning blame to the man
who hurt her. Though Polly identifies as a “victim,” she does not respond with what is commonly regarded as victim language. Polly may be re-evaluating her relationship and perhaps society’s labels and roles, resisting the idea that being a victim is equated with the negatives of powerlessness and helplessness. Indeed, she goes on to say:

I see myself back then and I see myself now and I did a lot of stupid things I shouldn’t have done because of him. He made me try drugs; I was so inexperienced, and he took me to places when I was doing drugs that no one has ever seen.

In this passage, it sounds as though Polly blames her abusive partner for misusing his power and his experience. While she says she did stupid things, which sounds like she is still blaming herself sometimes, she is also reconstructing her image of a victim, and coming to the conclusion that people who do have power should not abuse it in the way her partner did.

Michelle J., who identified as a victim, talks about the abuse as a cycle:

The way I think about the abuse is it doesn’t just stop with the person who’s getting abused; I think it goes on and on. That’s the way I feel about it - like with kids, you know, or other people who are around. I think it’s just a cycle, that’s what I think about abuse. Somebody gets abused and they pass it on, you know, maybe not trying to, but it’s going to get passed on some way. Any kind of abuse.

Michelle J., Mexican American, 23 years old

Michelle J. is not blaming herself for the batterers’ behaviors; she is blaming the people who passed it on to her abusive partner, and perhaps indirectly blaming him for his behaviors.

SLC, who was mentioned earlier for her self-blaming content, also directly implicated responsibility for the abuse on her ex-partner:

He did more than hit me; he abused me emotionally and physically in every way he could. The emotional was every day, the physical wasn’t.

SLC is one of the very few of the 38 women who actually states that the batterer hit her. It is also interesting that she implies that the emotional abuse was more difficult to deal with than the physical abuse, because so few women in this study discussed this, although it is a common
theme among domestic violence survivors. Bones can heal, they say, but words will never go away. Thus, SLC may be moving from a stage of self-blame, telling herself and others that she was dumb and a fool, to shifting the responsibility for the abusive behaviors on the perpetrator.

Referents

Few study participants directly named the specific behaviors of their abusers; SLC was one of the very few to do so, as revealed in the passage above. Renee F., who identified herself as a “battered” woman, discusses her thoughts about the abuse:

It hurts, and you wonder why it happened, what did you do wrong. You try to do everything right and the more you try to do right, the worse things got.

Renee F., African American, 41 years old

Renee F. refers to the violence and battering as “it” twice in this passage. When asked how she thinks about the violence in her relationship, Diamond, who also identified as a “battered” woman, said:

It hurts. If I go there, I’d get angry. I’m at the point I usually cry about it, then I get angry about it. I don’t want to get angry about it – I did it so many times, I just want out.

Diamond, African American, 39 years old

Diamond uses the referent ‘it’ several times in this passage, and is referring to a variety of experiences with that pronoun, as well. She also uses the term ‘there’ as a referent to the abuse and her desire to not think about it because it is so painful.

Finally, Carol, who said she is a “survivor,” had this to say about how she makes sense of the abuse:

I think it’s unconscionable that someone would do [it]. First of all, I don’t think anyone has the right to put their hands on me, or to tear down their self-esteem to the point… my head knows why he did it…

Carol, White, 37 years old
Carol uses other referents in this passage such as ‘put their hands on me’ and ‘tear down their self-esteem.’ The first ‘their’ most likely refers to her ex-partner hitting her with his hands, while the second ‘their’ refers to Carol’s own self-esteem.

Discussion

What became clear in the women’s labeling stories is that almost all of them used terms to describe themselves that seemed to indicate that they were to blame for the abusive partner’s behaviors, no matter their ethnicity. Additionally, many of the women had a difficult time even identifying with a label, such as “victim,” “survivor,” “abused,” “battered;” indeed, eight of them could not identify with a label to apply to themselves. Overwhelmingly, this group of 38 diverse women told of their own personal flaws they must overcome instead of focusing on their strengths. Nor did they identify who or what is truly responsible for the violence they suffered: members of the patriarchal society, which continues to devalue women and girls, stigmatizing them as inferior and even deviant. While some of the women chose labels that indicated they were moving from a place of self-blame to a place of other blame (such as “survivor”), the essence of their talk still reflected their own flaws. These interviews occurred during 1999-2000. Although decades of education, legislation, and some advances in society have been made for women, it is sadly obvious that these women are still receiving and internalizing messages that devalue the female, and it is evident regardless of the ethnicity of the woman. Self-doubts only blur the line between compliance and coercion (Sheffield, 1987). Power and control in public and private spheres are still primarily held and issued by men. As Brittan and Maynard (1984) describe: “What in fact has happened is that marginal and peripheral concessions have been made in employment, and in other public spheres, but the reality of male power is still all around us” (p. 94). From these women’s stories, it still seems clear that “every socialization site is the scene for the confirmation of the subservient status of women” (Brittan & Maynard, 1984, p. 86).

Additionally, the Black women in this study were more likely to label themselves as “battered,” although this finding must be viewed with caution due to one of the interviewer’s
questioning style. However, that these eight African American women did not reject the label battered; i.e. they did not tell the interviewer that they would not accept the label battered as did several other study participants. Thus, these eight women did apparently connect with the label “battered.” That these eight women would accept the label battered is provocative. Despite African American or Black women’s roles as head of many families, they are valued even less in our society than White women are. To use the label “battered” would put these Black women in a double minority, or deviant, status and could result in even further victimization. The stigmatization of this group of eight women is likely even more severe than the remainder of the study participants and deserves studying in future research.

Stories like Faroh’s and Sally’s imply that the lessons they learned from the abuse they received are symbolic of the juvenile delinquents’ neutralization of deviance. As described earlier, the victim deserved her treatment, and when she learns to stop ‘misbehaving,’ perhaps the ‘lessons’ will stop, too. This way of thinking about abuse reflects society’s messages that people, and especially women and other minority group members, get what they deserve, and hopefully, they learn their lessons from their ‘trials.’ There is no indication that the abuser should not have behaved the way he did. Additionally, SLC’s comments that she should have known that her husband was abusive before she married him reflects the essence of victim blaming, and that women like SLC have internalized society’s reflections that women should somehow know how to spot abusers, and that it is the women’s responsibility to avoid these men. There is no culpability for the men’s behaviors; it is completely up to women to solve the problem of domestic violence, according to this type of reasoning. Furthermore, women who somehow miss the multiple signs they are supposed to be searching for in every man with whom they develop a relationship, are complete idiots, or fools, as in SLC’s case. Some women expressed feeling depressed because of their abuse. Counseling professionals often describe depression as anger and sadness turned inward. Instead of being able to effectively change a situation, and thus have some power and control, people may become despondent and turn their
frustration inward. We also heard from Bridgett that she feels angry about the abuse, which most
would say is a healthy reaction to being battered.

Finally, women’s language reconstructs society’s shorthand methods of minimizing
abusive behaviors, responsibility, and culpability. Use of the referents such as “it,” “there,”
“that,” and “the situation” are ways people use to deflect the horrendous acts of violence
perpetrated on powerless people in society. Referents are also less powerful than using the
actual words. Contrast the sentence “Beating me made me a better person” with “It makes me a
better person.” The first sentence is much more powerful than the second. Adams (1990) calls
the use of referents as “masked violence and muted voices” (p. 63). Are women such as Renee F.
avoiding labeling the abuse or omitting the label because violence is so horrible that it can be
painful to name and admit? Perhaps this is a method of minimizing the atrocities that have been
inflicted upon her, as well as her children, who have also been abused in some cases. Wood and
Rennie (1994) suggested that the use of the word ‘happened’ could mean that Renee F believes
her abuse could not have been as bad as all that; after all, she is still alive. Diamond and Carol
provided several examples of the use of these referents, which reflected the language of most of
the study participants. Diamond revealed that she did not want to get angry about the violence
anymore because then she would cry. Perhaps these women do not want to cry about their
experiences because that is considered a sign of weakness, “victim-ness,” and definitely not
associated with powerful others. Many women who have been in abusive or violent
relationships also relate that their abusers tell them things like ‘stop crying, or I’ll really give you
something to cry about;’ language associated with controlling and domineering fathers. The
referents used by study participants minimize the oppression by abusive men, which in turn is
reflected in society’s oppression of women in general.

Feminists differ on the most useful methods of addressing the continued devaluation of
women: should legal reforms continue, should education in the schools be enforced/enhanced,
should feminists collaborate more with non-feminists in the hopes of educating them, etc? What
is required for a society to truly change the dominant ideology that women-and especially
minority women-are inferior to men? Have we really made major leaps in this arena, or does it just appear that way because women have been granted pieces of legislation that addressed domestic violence and other gender oppressive acts, and women have been allowed into traditionally male arenas. Or is it true, as Audre Lorde (1984) pointed out, “we cannot dismantle the master’s house using his tools” (p. 110)? Nonetheless, continued inroads can be made in the political arena through well-designed feminist policies that address inequality of the genders on a national basis.

There is some evidence that the macro approach helps reinforce the micro approach, as promoted by symbolic interactionists. Symbolic interactionists suggest that the work that continually needs to be done occurs between individuals to effect societal changes. An often-proposed intervention, therefore, is individual or group counseling for both abusers and their female partners, with the hopes that both of them will make significant changes such that the abuse stops with them. Safety issues are a major concern, however, and may impede a woman’s progress in therapeutic treatment (Petretic-Jackson, et al., 2002) because their partners may become abusive after a therapeutic session. This is why most in the domestic violence field advocate separate programs for men and women. A meso intervention is continued education about personal responsibility, ethics, and morals in the school system, although this approach is certainly problematic: who decides what is ‘taught,’ how much and how often does this type of education need to be ‘taught’ to make effective and long-lasting changes in both boys and girls, men and women? Such educational programs are sometimes termed “social skills instruction,” but their efficacy thus far is questionable (Leffert & Siperstein, 2003). Another intervention could be positive and strong female and/or male role models for both girls and boys, as found in some mentor programs such as Big Brothers/Big Sisters (Bynum & Thompson, 2005). Additionally, organizations such as the Oakland Men’s Project are composed primarily of men to educate batterers, as well as teenagers in schools, and help them explore their own masculinities and societal pressures to conform to “macho-type” behaviors (Allen & Kivel, 2004). Another approach involves a concerted effort in both public and private spheres to disallow male
neutralization techniques: mothers and fathers, as well as societal institutions, must hold boys and men responsible for their actions. Adults need to point out, and critique, the male response to justifications of their delinquent and criminal acts.

Stigmatization and blaming are still prevalent in our society. Until patriarchal structures reverse the position that women are inferior, and that “victims” are even less valuable, women will be unable to break free of self-blame and devaluation. Domestic violence will not end until all groups and types of women are valued by the larger society.
References


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Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of Study Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mexican American (n = 12) (%)</th>
<th>African American (n = 12) (%)</th>
<th>White (n = 14) (%)</th>
<th>Total (n = 38) (%)</th>
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<td>34</td>
<td>33</td>
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<tr>
<td># of Children</td>
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<tr>
<td>0 – 1</td>
<td>1 (8)</td>
<td>6 (50)</td>
<td>3 (21)</td>
<td>10 (26)</td>
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<td>4 (33)</td>
<td>9 (64)</td>
<td>21 (55)</td>
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<td>4 (29)</td>
<td>13 (34)</td>
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<td>3 (21)</td>
<td>8 (21)</td>
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<td>8 (21)</td>
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Note: Percentages not totaling 100 are due to rounding.
HAWAII INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL SCIENCES
PROPOSAL SUBMISSION FORM

SUBMISSION TITLE
Teaching and testing for “Critical Thinking” using Bloom’s Taxonomy of Educational Objectives

SUBMISSION TYPE
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PRESENTATION FORMAT
Workshop

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ABSTRACT

Teaching and testing for critical thinking can be a challenge for new and experienced social work educators because critical thinking has no operational definition. Educational objectives commonly include the word “understanding,” but this word is vague and impractical for classroom use. Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives (Bloom, 1956) is a tool from the wider context of education that can help new and experienced social work educators to think more precisely about what it means to teach and test for critical thinking.

This workshop addresses using Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives to define and achieve critical thinking. The six taxonomy levels are presented along with sample test items. Since achieving critical thinking is neither easy nor automatic, the cautions social work educators should consider when teaching and testing for higher knowledge levels are addressed. For example, critical thinking does not automatically “happen” after simply learning factual information, instruction must intentionally support critical thinking.

Understanding the taxonomy does not automatically mean social work educators can write test items that measure different knowledge levels. Novice instructors will find it especially difficult to teach and test for critical thinking if they receive the common advice to “stay one chapter ahead of the students.” Guidelines for writing effective exam questions, a topology of student learning errors and ways to correct those learning errors also will be examined.
PROBLEM

The importance of accountability and measuring student outcomes is a current theme in social work education and higher education. Focusing on clear student outcomes should encourage social work educators to think more precisely about what we teach and test in the social work classroom. However, social work educators who wish to go beyond teaching and testing for memorization or “rote” learning will find that “critical thinking” has no clear operational definition and is too broad a term for practical use in the social work classroom (Bloom, 1956; Wiggins & McTighe, 1998). Critical thinking is a theoretical construct and social work educators must measure behaviors that point to it (Bloom, 1956). This may be why educators can experience difficulty writing exam questions that do more than test for simple memorization or comprehension. As social work educators, we do not lay claim to the term critical thinking. Rather, we belong to a larger community of professional educators who are also aware of the importance of going beyond having students memorize material, to having students “understand” material related to higher or deeper levels (Bloom, 1956; Wiggins & McTighe, 1998). However, what is “understanding” and how do we recognize it in the social work classroom?

There are many tools from the wider context of education that offer social work educators, especially new ones, a context from which to “think” about critical thinking. One such tool is the Taxonomy of Educational Objectives (Bloom, 1956). The taxonomy of educational objectives can help social work educators to more precisely define the outcomes expected from our
undergraduate students on exams and to create educational materials consistent with our learning expectations and conceptions of critical thinking. The six knowledge levels of the taxonomy of educational objectives are presented along with sample test items. Cautions that social work educators must consider when teaching and testing for critical thinking also are described.

**INTRODUCTION**

The Taxonomy of Educational Objectives (1956) is often simply called Bloom’s taxonomy. The taxonomy was intended to offer all educators a way to classify and talk about educational objectives (Bloom, 1956). The taxonomy was written to add clarity and precision to the potentially challenging task of writing educational objectives. Educational objectives referring to students “knowing about” or “understanding” a topic are common in education, but are too broad to guide teaching and testing. For example, how will social work educators know when students “understand” a topic and what kinds of test questions verify that students “understand” a topic?

Bloom’s taxonomy does not explicitly define critical thinking. Rather, it includes six knowledge levels that constitute the construct of critical thinking. The six knowledge levels can help social work educators to clarify what critical thinking and “understanding” mean. For example, we could define critical thinking as translating technical jargon into common English (comprehension), applying problem-solving skills to new situations (application), making inferences about the impact of social policy (analysis), producing intervention plans based on client problems (synthesis), or evaluating the appropriateness of intervention
methods (evaluation). This precision can make it simpler to align what we teach with what we test.

The taxonomy applies to all materials in the social work curriculum, including the knowledge courses (e.g., introductory courses), skill courses (e.g., practice methods) and field instruction. The taxonomy also can be utilized with either the supply or choice test item format. The supply format requires students to recall information from memory and supply correct answers because the answers are not present for students to view. The completion, short answer, and essay testing formats, and written projects are examples of the supply format. The choice format requires students to recognize correct answers from among incorrect choices, i.e., the multiple choice, true/false, and matching formats where students view correct answers among incorrect answers. The multiple-choice format is utilized here because it can test all but the synthesis level of the taxonomy while avoiding scoring and inter-rater reliability problems. Readers should bear in mind that the multiple choice format can easily be converted into the true/false, short answer, or essay format depending on social work instructor preferences.

**BLOOM’S TAXONOMY**

Figure one shows the six knowledge levels of the taxonomy arranged from the lowest knowledge level (knowledge) to the highest (evaluation), along with verbs associated with common student tasks at the knowledge levels (Bloom, 1971; Green, 1970, 1975). The knowledge levels are discrete and mastery of one level does not insure that students can automatically perform to higher levels. For
example, simply knowing the elements of an intervention plan (knowledge) does not guarantee that students can produce one (synthesis) or critique one (evaluation). Teaching and testing are therefore linked, and teaching must support whether testing, for example, requires recognition of the name "Mary Richmond" (knowledge) or requires a critique of her contribution to social work (evaluation).

Figure 1. Bloom’s Taxonomy and Common Student Expectations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Knowledge Level</th>
<th>Common Student Expectations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge</td>
<td>Define, identify, state, list, differentiate, discriminate, recognize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comprehension</td>
<td>Explain, translate, interpret, match, extrapolate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Application</td>
<td>Construct, choose, predict, demonstrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis</td>
<td>Distinguish, separate, organize, infer, classify</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synthesis</td>
<td>Compose, formulate, create, produce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>Debate, judge, critique, assess, compare</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Adapted from: Bloom, 1971; Green, 1970, 1975.

**Knowledge**

Knowledge is the lowest or simplest taxonomy level. Knowledge can be considered the facts or information students must learn. Knowledge is probably the most common level tested in higher education because instructors can simply use a textbook to determine what “knowledge” students must learn and create exams targeted to a textbooks’ contents (Bloom, 1956). If a social work educator wants more detail at the knowledge level, the taxonomy further classifies knowledge into the following categories: (a) knowledge (of) (specifics, terminology, specific facts), (b) knowledge of ways and means of dealing with specifics (conventions, trends and sequences, classifications or categories,
criteria, methodology), and (c) knowledge of universals and abstractions of a field (principles and generalizations, theories and structures).

Figure one includes verbs associated with tasks students are often expected to perform at the different knowledge levels. The verbs can help social work educators to align their educational objectives with their classroom activities and ultimately their test items where students must demonstrate that they learned the material to the desired knowledge level.

Creating items that tap knowledge can be as simple as taking the key point or word out of a sentence and making it a choice among multiple choices or by simply having students decide if a sentence is true or false. A sentence also could easily be turned into a completion item by omitting a key word or phrase that students must supply.

**Figure 2. Knowledge Level Test Items**

1) What is the Social Work professional organization called?
   - NASW **
   - CSW
   - CSWE
   - DSW
   - AMA

2) How much is the current food budget from the poverty line?
   - $1.00
   - $3.00
   - $1.98
   - $1.19 **
   - $.89

3) Respectively, which choice shows the strongest positive, and strongest inverse correlations?
   - -1.0, -.20
   - +.96, -.89 **
   - -.99, +1.0
   - +.96, -.79
   - +.96, +.05

In item one of figure two, students must recognize the acronym for the social work professional organization from among other choices. Alternatively,
instructors could include a clearly incorrect choice (e.g., REM) or humorous choice (e.g., WWF) to lessen test anxiety. However, eliminating potential choices makes the item less difficult. Item two requires students to recognize a number integral to the measurement of poverty (Schiller, 1998), and item three does the same but with correlation coefficients (Williams, Unrau & Grinnell, 1998).

A criticism of testing and teaching only at the knowledge level is that students can simply put information into an easier to recall form and “memorize without understanding” (Gentile, 1990). For example, as children turn the letters EGBDF into a sentence to recall musical notes, my students use MRCOS and JAHH to recall aspects of social work history (MRCOS = Mary Richmond Charity Organization Society; JAHH = Jane Addams Hull House). Since the knowledge levels are discrete, memorizing MRCOS will not enable students to discuss Mary Richmond’s impact on social work.

Making knowledge questions challenging without making them “tricky,” as students say, can be difficult (How do we make a “fact” harder?). One strategy is to “hide” essential material within material not intended for testing. The learning task becomes increasingly difficult because students must learn a greater volume of material or correctly guess what material will be tested (e.g., Will our professor test us on the textbook, the lectures, or both?). Students who memorize a greater volume of material than other students may not necessarily have greater understanding. Another strategy to make knowledge items more challenging is to have students make finer discriminations between response choices. For example, the choices in the NASW item in figure one could read: NAWS, NSWA,
NASW, NWAS, NWSA. Students reading quickly could select an incorrect choice because they all contain the correct letters but in the wrong order. Similarly, answering the item correctly does not mean students understand the purpose of NASW.

**Comprehension**

Comprehension involves having students demonstrate they, for lack of a better word, understand material by doing more than simply memorizing and repeating it. Aspects of comprehension involve translation, interpretation, and extrapolation. Translation involves translation of learned material into a different, but correct, form. I often have students translate social work terminology into “plain English” clients would understand to demonstrate comprehension. I must make judgments about the correctness of the translations and supply alternate examples if the student examples are poor. Interpretation involves summarization of learned material or examining material from different views. In my research course students must interpret tables of results by first translating the results into “plain English” and by summarizing and explaining what the results mean. I also have students interpret the results from different views, i.e., the client and social work agency. Extrapolation involves identifying trends and consequences. I often have students describe intended and unintended consequences of social policies or legislation to verify that they can identify consequences.
Figure 3. Comprehension Level Test items

1) Which of these poverty theories is politically the most progressive?

Genetic Inferiority Theory  Functionalist Explanation  Orthodox Economic Theory
Subclass Theory **  Culture of Poverty

2) “Statistical significance” means what?

Decreased odds that results are due to “chance” **
The measures used have external validity
The study has internal validity
Increased odds that correct statistics were employed
The study was conducted in a reliable manner

3) What should the plan of action include to help clients see they are making progress?

Short and long term goals **  Partializing and prioritizing
Listening and empathy  Assessment and information gathering
Objectivity and feedback

In figure three, item one shows that students must recall conservative, liberal, progressive ideologies (Macht & Quam, 1986), recognize the listed poverty theories (Schiller, 1998; Waxman, 1983) and match the theories with their political orientation. In item two students must recognize an interpretation of “statistical significance” that utilizes non-technical language. Students cannot answer this item correctly by simply recalling the association between “statistical significance” and the symbol p<.05. Item three requires students to recognize which element of an intervention plan has the described purpose.

A comprehension question can accidentally be reduced to a knowledge question if the task expected on testing is completed in class. For example, students could simply recall how the poverty theories were sorted in class without comprehending why. To avoid this, a social work educator could sort some, but
not all, of the theories in class, or simply tell students they must sort the poverty theories by political ideology on the exam.

**Application**

Application involves carry-over or transfer of learning to new situations or situations new to the students. Application is an important knowledge level for social work since students must eventually apply what they learn to the problems clients will present. Similarly, I expect my research students to apply their learning to research studies they will encounter in the social work literature. Students practice application if we present them with new situations where they must apply their learning. For example, I often have students create new examples of essential concepts from their home lives and work lives, and eventually from social work contexts different from my examples. I must judge if their examples are valid and either correct them or supply other examples.

Creating different scenarios for teaching and testing involves advance preparation and can be time consuming. However, using the same example or scenario for teaching and testing means students may memorize the example without understanding it. For example, if I demonstrate “setting priorities” using an example of domestic violence and utilize the same example on testing, students may simply associate “setting priorities” with domestic violence to answer test items (e.g., When you see a question about domestic violence, choose the answer with setting priorities.).
Figure 4. Application Level Test Items

1) Donald Duck doesn't think Goofy will be a good Disneyland tour guide and chooses Mickey instead. What is this called?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Good Judgment</th>
<th>Causation Loop **</th>
<th>Institutional Racism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Institutional Discrimination</td>
<td>All of the above</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2) Respectively, what type of communication occurs in these three statements?
   (a) "Your child has acute exogenous bromadrosis but..."
   (b) "Don't feel bad because..."
   (c) "We have seminars for people who want to be better parents."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cliche, labeling, professionalitis</th>
<th>Cliche, professionalitis, labeling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labeling, professionalitis, cliché</td>
<td>Professionalitis, cliches, labeling **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionalitis, labeling, cliches</td>
<td>Professionalitis, cliches, labeling **</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3) Identify the variables in the order they occur in this research study: “The effects of hanging on demonic possession in Quakers & Pilgrims”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent, Control, Independent</th>
<th>Independent, Control, Dependent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent, dependent, control **</td>
<td>Control, dependent, independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control, independent, dependent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In figure four, item one requires students to recall the definition of a causation (or feedback) loop and apply it to a scenario very different (e.g., cartoon characters) from the one utilized in class. Item two involves recalling specific communication errors and applying them to a novel set of communications (Eriksen, 1979). The question could easily be rewritten to have a definition in the question and novel examples as the response choices. Item three requires students to apply research concepts to a novel and humorous research study (Ellenbogen, 1993). Alternatively, the short answer or essay format could easily require students to write their answers (e.g., Describe how the Social Security Act would have been different if President Reagan wrote it.).
Analysis

Analysis requires examination of parts or elements of what was learned, analyzing the relationship between wholes and parts (e.g., conclusions and evidence) or organizing knowledge based on some principle. It also can involve making inferences based on data. I often draw conclusions from research studies and have students determine if the conclusions are supported by the results. I also have students make inferences on what the writers of social policy may have thought based on their proposals (e.g., What could President Hoover have been thinking when he wrote this legislation?). Students can also organize what they have learned based on some criteria or principle. I have students organize social programs by whether they are residual or institutional (Wilensky & Lebeaux, 1958) and have students locate and organize research studies based on purpose (exploratory or descriptive) or whether quantitative or qualitative data collection methods were employed (Williams, Unrau & Grinnell, 1998). Social work educators may use any desired organizing principle to analyze any course material. I often do this when students wish to discuss current or newsworthy events to add focus to the discussions (e.g., examining school shootings from different perspectives).
Figure 5. Analysis Level Test Items

1) Turn to the study on page 132 in your text. “All the perpetrators of sexual abuse in this study were first time offenders”. Does the data in table C support this claim?

   Yes, the data supports the claim  
   No, the data does not support the claim **
   The data partially supports the claim

2) Based on what President Roosevelt did in the New Deal, he probably thought:

   Social programs were giving too much money in aid to the poor  
   There was a general lack of work ethic being caused by social welfare programs  
   Helping the poor would make the economy worse than it already was at the time  
   Poverty was linked to the economy so government should help the poor **  
   Poverty was solved by a strong individual work ethic

3) Examined from an ideological perspective, which one does not belong with the others regarding the view of the poor?

   Elizabethan Poor Law – 1601  
   Grant in Aid Programs  
   War on Poverty  
   Puritan Work Ethic **  
   Speenhamland Act

In figure five, Item one requires students to determine if a valid conclusion has been drawn from a table of statistical results. Item two has students infer what an American president thought based on legislation he proposed. These items can be created utilizing the myriad of historical figures and events related to social work. In item three, students must utilize political ideologies to reorganize historical events related to poverty to determine which choice does not belong with the others. As with the other knowledge levels, the items are reduced to the knowledge level if this exact material is taught in class because students can simply memorize the answers.
Synthesis

Synthesis may be thought of as creativity because it involves the production of things that are new or unique. Synthesis is an ideal knowledge level for social work since much of our work involves the production of professional documents, intervention plans, communications, and the display of skills in unique combinations in response to client situations.

Writing objective format test questions for synthesis can be difficult. The creative demonstration of learning and skills lends itself more to the essay format. Another way to assess if students can perform a skill or complete a task is with performance assessment where students actually perform a skill or complete a task (e.g., conduct a research study or client interview). This method assumes that the best test of whether a student can perform a skill or task is to have students actually perform it (Wiggins & McTighe, 1998). Student portfolios are ideal for synthesis as students would collect or perform new work that demonstrates their social work skills.
1) Multi-part Essay Question

- Create a new way or improve how we currently deal with poverty in America. Your suggestions must include a RATIONALE.
- If your suggestions have been tried before in history (and they probably have in some form) how will you overcome the problems they encountered?
- What are the problems with your suggestions and what could you do to overcome these problems?
- Suggest an alternative policy that would be more progressive than what you just proposed and identify reasons why someone would support it.

2) Written Project

- Produce an audiotape and process recording of a client interview you conduct with a classmate who portrays a client from your field placement.
- Write a psychosocial assessment of the client you interviewed. Supplement material you did not have time for in the interview.
- Create an intervention plan based on the psychosocial assessment you did from your client interview.

Item one in figure six requires students to suggest a new or improved way to handle American poverty. Students also identify weaknesses in their suggestions and view their work from a specific ideological position. Item two requires students to perform a client interview, a process recording and a psychosocial assessment to demonstrate communication and writing skills. Any project or written assignment involves synthesis if it requires students to demonstrate social work skills. Similarly, instead of writing multiple choice items for the synthesis level, my research students actually write research proposals and projects. Said differently, if you want to determine if a student can perform a skill, test them by making them perform the skill.
Evaluation

Evaluation requires students to make judgments based on external criteria or internal evidence. Social work educators must give the students the external criteria and demonstrate how to utilize it to render judgments so students can practice this skill. Evaluative criteria exists for judging the soundness of research projects and hypothesis, judging the correctness of communication and responding skills, judging the correctness of ethical decisions, etc. I often have students evaluate ethical dilemmas with an ethical ladder of priorities (Loewenberg & Dolgoff, 1988). The ladder has seven rungs and I often have students utilize it to examine and create ethical dilemmas (e.g., Does right to privacy supercede protection of life? Is it wrong if a state trooper tells a family that a victim died instantly instead of sharing gory details?). The social work code of ethics also lends itself to the evaluation knowledge level.

Evaluation with internal evidence involves students using personal perspectives or value systems to evaluate situations. Students often demonstrate evaluation with written projects or class discussion since judgements from internal evidence are neither “right nor wrong.” Students can utilize both internal evidence and external criteria if we have them create ethical dilemmas involving their values and the social work code of ethics or the values of social work and a social agency, etc.


Figure 7. **Evaluation Level Test Items**

1) Which of the following is the best operational definition?

- Caring and loving behavior
- Homosexual behavior
- Violent behavior
- Hitting behavior
- Slapping behavior **

2) Turn to the study on page 184 in your textbook. The main **SAMPLING** problem in this study was that the sample:

- Self selected **
- Did not match the population
- Was too large
- Was too small and too homogeneous
- Was too diverse

3) What criteria did the agency most probably use to reject this research study?

“A social work agency rejects a proposed study because clients in crisis are assigned to a control group and will receive no service.

- Researchable
- Researcher interest area
- Relevant
- Ethical **
- Feasible

In figure seven, Item one requires students to judge which choice meets the criteria for the best (most behaviorally specific) operational definition. As with all the levels, students must recall all relevant definitions and evaluative criteria to answer the question. Item two has students critique and evaluate the weakness with the sampling method employed in a research study. In item three students must evaluate a research proposal with the criteria for conducting ethical studies (Williams, Unrau & Grinnell, 1998).

**CAUTIONS**

In the social work curriculum, Bloom’s taxonomy lends itself to knowledge level introductory courses, skill level practice methods courses, and obviously, to fieldwork where undergraduate students employ both social work knowledge and
skills. Social work educators can begin with a basic understanding of Bloom’s taxonomy and with experience utilize a broader array of classroom activities and test items. However, there are several issues to consider when teaching and testing to higher knowledge levels in the social work classroom.

**Teaching**

Curriculum alignment is a major consideration in the preparation of course materials because mastery of one knowledge level does not insure mastery of higher levels. For example, we cannot expect social work students to produce intervention plans (synthesis) after simply memorizing their elements (knowledge). Matching course content and testing to expected knowledge levels takes time and intention, but it has allowed me to increase my classroom “time efficiency” by more closely matching instructional time spent to what is expected on testing. In other words, I will spend less instructional time on “Mary Richmond” if students must only recognize her name and spend more time if students must critique her contribution to social work. Therefore, social work educators must decide in advance what material will be taught to higher and lower knowledge levels to plan teaching and testing accordingly.

Although the knowledge levels for teaching and testing should match, the examples used for teaching and testing should not match or students can simply memorize the examples. Therefore, we must develop a storehouse of examples intended for teaching or testing but not both. Having students produce unique examples of important concepts during brief classroom exercises is a creative way to accomplish this task. Valid examples students produce can be saved and
utilized for teaching or testing in future semesters. However, soliciting student examples opens us to receiving non-instructive examples. I brace myself when a student begins with “my ex-partner did this,” or “I saw this on a TV talk show.”

How do students react to learning to higher knowledge levels? Many students are unfamiliar with the terms “critical thinking” and “higher levels of knowledge.” In their defense, I also was before using the taxonomy. Instead of telling students to “study harder,” I now demonstrate my learning and performance expectations with short ungraded quizzes and classroom exercises similar to the knowledge levels expected on testing. Short ungraded quizzes reveal if students understand material to the expected knowledge levels. For example, often students believe they understand material better than they actually do and have few clarification questions before a quiz but have many questions after one. Short classroom exercises also reveal if students understand material to expected knowledge levels. As one example, I have students spend five minutes trying to operationalize “love” after learning about operationalizing variables. Students who cannot begin this task may be unable to do similar tasks in projects and exams.

Some students are skeptical when I demonstrate my learning expectations and seem content to simply memorize material (until the first quiz at least). Other students memorize concepts and the examples used to teach a concept, but also find they cannot apply their learning to new examples. Students must be told that studying by reading notes repeatedly will be insufficient for testing at the higher knowledge levels. In class I try to discourage these study methods by presenting,
for example, a range of different tables of results, requiring students to produce additional tables, and by clearly stating that testing will include new tables of similar difficulty.

**Testing**

A simple way to begin incorporating Bloom’s taxonomy into testing is to classify existing test items as either lower level knowledge (knowledge, comprehension) or upper level knowledge items (application, analysis, synthesis, evaluation). Classifying exam questions into two categories is initially easier than utilizing all six taxonomy levels and it will reveal what percent of an exam (or course) targets upper and lower knowledge levels. The sorting itself can be very instructive for new social work educators who utilize exams inherited from other faculty or exams taken from instructor manuals.

Gaining experience with the taxonomy can result in dissatisfaction with exams written by others that may not address the content we consider essential or address that content to the desired knowledge level (let alone both). I began writing my own exams and eventually writing instructor manuals for this reason (Aviles, 1999, 1998, 1997). I pilot test new (or revised) items by including them at the end of an exam. These items can be graded if they work correctly or ungraded and revised if they do not. Allowing students to ask questions about these items can reveal problems with an item, but it opens up the possibility of arguments about validity, reliability, or arguments for extra points. Establishing ground rules for this activity is essential or social work educators may quickly find themselves in what can feel like a “shootout.” Pilot testing new or revised items
on ungraded quizzes is often painless because students freely describe problems encountered with items, but won’t waste effort arguing for points on an ungraded quiz. Revised quiz items eventually appear on exams and additional quiz items are created.

As I gained skill with the taxonomy, I found myself wanting to test only upper knowledge levels and not ‘waste’ time testing simple memorization. However, this strategy made it difficult to determine why students answered items incorrectly. For example, if students forget the data needed to answer a knowledge question, that data will be unavailable to correctly answer items at higher knowledge levels. Therefore, incorrectly answered items at the evaluation knowledge level could mean a student needs additional practice with evaluation, or it could mean the student simply forgot the material required for an evaluation task. In the first case, the student may need more practice at the evaluation level. In the second case, the student may need to restudy the material, to get material from any missed classes, or (in rare instances) to purchase the textbook. I incorporate lower and upper knowledge level items in tandem on exams to determine if students incorrectly answered upper or lower knowledge level items (or both). Students answering lower knowledge level items incorrectly almost always cannot answer upper level items (e.g., If you don’t know what the ANOVA is, forget about interpreting this table of results.).

Testing problems may involve a student’s test-taking skills instead of problems with the taxonomy knowledge levels. For example, students may be accustomed to selecting the first choice recognized, often without fully reading
the question or all the choices. These students may need to slowly read the entire question and all the choices. Alternatively, students may need to spend less time reading items if they over-interpret test items or change their answers. On testing, social work educators may still find that students memorized or turned higher level material into easier to recall forms. One semester my research students seemed able to create examples of independent variables and correctly answered related quiz items. However, almost the entire class selected the same incorrect choice on a similar exam item! The students had reduced their knowledge of independent variables to an acronym (i.e., IVGF: Independent Variable Go First) and misidentified the first item in the title of a research study as the independent variable, although the title began with the sample! For correction I had students rearrange titles of research studies to demonstrate that while independent variables do occur prior to measurement of the dependent variable, they do not always “go first” in the title. Although such instances can make a social work educator long for retirement, correcting these problems can improve the quality of teaching and improve student performance on learning outcomes.

**CONCLUSIONS**

One conclusion social work educators, especially new ones, may reach from this article is that achieving critical thinking can be a challenging process involving intention and advance preparation. To be honest, it does. Achieving critical thinking in the social work classroom is not a matter of increasing the sheer volume of material taught and telling students to study harder. Nor does
this process lend itself to writing exams the night before needed while trying to recall what was taught. The process takes time and intention but the effort is well worth it. The taxonomy has helped me clarify my intentions in teaching and testing and in creating course materials that match my expectations of student learning outcomes. The taxonomy also has allowed me to make my tests more challenging by teaching and testing to higher knowledge levels instead of by burying essential information within other information not intended for testing, or by making finer discriminations between response choices. Students often say that the course material is “tough but fair” (high praise from students). I hope all social work educators will try utilizing Bloom’s taxonomy. The taxonomy can help social work educators gain greater clarity and precision about teaching, testing, and student outcomes as we all try to ascend into the rarified air of “critical thinking.”
REFERENCES


SUBMISSION TITLE
Creatively adapting Mastery Learning and Outcome-Based Education to the Social Work Classroom

SUBMISSION TYPE
Reports related to teaching

TOPIC AREA
Education & Social Work

PRESENTATION FORMAT
Workshop

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ABSTRACT

Workshops on teaching methods often focus on "what I do in my classroom" instead of presenting "how can it be done in your classroom." This workshop presents how to implement the essential elements of mastery learning in simple, complex and creative ways in the social work classroom.

Mastery learning is an outcome based teaching method that has had positive results on student achievement in higher education and social work education (Aviles, 1996; Guskey & Pigott, 1988; Kulik, Kulik, & Bangert-Drowns, 1990). Social work educators may implement some or all of the following mastery learning instructional elements:

- Choosing instructional content & writing instructional objectives
- Vertical and horizontal curriculum alignment
- Communicating learning objectives to students
- Formative evaluations (ungraded quizzes), summative evaluations (graded exams)
- Feedback, correctives & retesting cycles

Participants will learn different ways to structure the mastery elements to give instructors maximum flexibility in adapting mastery learning to their classrooms. Take quizzes for one example. Quizzes can be objective format or essay, or instructors could simply ask what students learned in the last class. Quizzes may occur weekly or not at all, closely align with instructional outcomes or only test a sample of material taught, be graded, retaken if failed, and count toward final grades (or not). Quizzes can be taken in class, outside class and be administered by instructors, teaching assistants or by computer.

Since the classroom structure of all the instructional elements of mastery learning can be structured in ways ranging from simple to complex, instructor time required for different implementations also will be presented.
Creatively Adapting Mastery Learning and Outcome-Based Education to the Social Work Classroom

INTRODUCTION

Outcome-based education shares similarities with competency-based education, which was popular in social work education in the 1970s (Arkava & Brennen, 1976; Kasworm, 1980; Neill, 1978). The most distinguishing feature of both outcome-based and competency-based education is that instructional planning proceeds “backwards” from the terminal objectives students must attain (Arkava & Brennen 1976; Murphy, 1984; Spady, 1980). Utilizing outcome-based education requires social work educators to first clarify the terminal objectives students must attain before creating supporting instructional materials and testing. We can simply clarify what we expect our students to know, or utilize any materials that outline the competencies social work students should attain (Baer & Federico, 1978).

The backward direction of outcome-based education is in contrast to the common practice of teaching instructional content first and then creating testing. Utilizing outcome-based education means we cannot manage our courses by ‘staying one chapter ahead of the students.’ Although clearly outlining expected educational outcomes is a main feature of outcome-based education, it is not instruction. Thus, a major criticism of outcome-based and competency-based education was that it helped educators clarify the outcomes expected from students, but offered no guidance about teaching (Gross, 1981; Spady, 1980).

Mastery learning complements outcome-based education because mastery learning is a ‘backwards driven’ instructional method. Mastery learning has roots in
behaviorism, as is evident with its emphasis on clearly defined learning objectives, repeated practice and feedback, and repeated learning trials. Mastery learning is the group-based implementation of the Carroll (1963) model of school learning. The Carroll model suggests learning depends on the amount of time needed to learn, and time allowed to learn. Learning should increase as time allowed increases. In other words, achievement is held constant and time allowed is varied, instead of holding time constant (e.g., one semester) and allowing student achievement to vary (ex: the normal score distribution) (Bloom, 1968, 1984; Carroll, 1963). Mastery learning involves using time flexibly to increase student learning. Students are given extra time to take parallel exams or redo projects until attaining the expected outcome, or reaching an instructor chosen "mastery" standard. The additional time allows students to clarify poorly understood material before retesting.

Mastery learning has been implemented in all educational levels and studied enough to warrant two meta-analyses that included research studies in higher education (Guskey & Pigott, 1988; Kulik, Kulik & Bangert-Drowns, 1990). The higher education studies all reported positive results using achievement (generally exam or course grades) as an outcome measure. Mastery learning was also implemented in a BSW course with positive results (Author, 1996). Reviewing research studies revealed that the essential mastery learning elements were implemented in whole or in part, implemented differently, and at times not implemented at all (Guskey & Pigott, 1988; Kulik, Kulik & Bangert-Drowns, 1990).
Essential Elements of Mastery Learning

Mastery learning has several essential elements (figure one) that may or may not be incorporated into the social work classroom and structured differently (Anderson, 1981, 1993; Block, 1974; Bloom, 1968, 1984; Guskey, 1987; Kulik, Kulik, & Bangert-Drowns, 1990). Most of the mastery elements can be structured either very simply or in complex ways. The potential structure of the mastery elements is described below.

Figure 1. The Essential Elements of Mastery Learning

- Choosing instructional content
- Writing instructional objectives
- Performing vertical and horizontal curriculum alignment
- Communicating learning objectives to students
- Formative and summative evaluations
- Feedback and correctives
- Retesting cycles
- Criterion referenced instead of Norm referenced grading

Choosing Instructional Content

Choosing instructional content refers to determining what course content to teach and is not particular to mastery learning. Instructional content should be considered essential only if it supports terminal instructional objectives. Content not supporting the terminal objectives can be considered supplementary and may or may not be taught. Spending instructional time only on essential content may make social work educators more time efficient in the classroom since time is not spent on nonessential content. Focusing on essential content also may make it easier for instructors to decide if issues brought up in class sidetrack or support terminal instructional objectives. Social work educators have some freedom in determining essential course content and may use departmental
requirements and the Council of Social Work Education curriculum policy statement for guidance. Text book chapters can be used to help break the content into learning units or instructors can divide the content in any way that makes sense for the course (Block, Efthim & Burns, 1989; Daines, 1982; Guskey, 1985). Ideally, instruction cannot begin until the essential content is chosen.

Writing Instructional Objectives

Instructional objectives must be written explicitly enough so students and instructors both understand the learning expectations. For clarity, instructional objectives can be written with Bloom's (1956) Taxonomy of Educational Objectives (e.g., knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation). A taxonomy of knowledge can help educators write specific and detailed instructional objectives. However, social work educators also can simply decide what students must know as clearly and explicitly as possible. Figure two includes Bloom’s Taxonomy of Educational Objectives and words corresponding to common student learning objectives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Knowledge Level</th>
<th>Common Student Expectations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge</td>
<td>Define, identify, state, list, differentiate, discriminate, recognize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comprehension</td>
<td>Explain, translate, interpret, match, extrapolate</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: Adapted from: Bloom, Hastings & Madaus, 1971; Green, 1970.
Curriculum Alignment

Curriculum alignment refers to the similarity of content taught and tested (Guskey, 1985; Cohen & Hyman, 1991). The similarity includes instructional content (horizontal alignment) and knowledge level (vertical alignment). "Horizontal" refers to the linear progression of material from lesson planning through teaching and testing. Horizontally aligned material is both taught and tested. Thus, all essential course content is tested instead of only a sample. Arguably, all essential course content should be tested to verify students learned it. Instructors must decide if they will spend instructional time on content that will not be tested and reduce time left for essential content.

Vertical alignment refers to the hierarchical nature of Bloom's (1956) Taxonomy of Educational Objectives. Vertically aligned material is taught and tested to the same knowledge level. In a social work practice course for example, vertical alignment refers to the difference between a student knowing the elements of a process recording (knowledge), producing one (synthesis) and critiquing one (evaluation). Material is poorly aligned if an instructor simply teaches the elements of a process recording (knowledge) but expects students to produce one (synthesis). Writing explicit instructional objectives facilitates matching what is taught and tested (Guskey, 1985).

A table of specifications can help social work educators check for curriculum alignment. A table of specifications is a chart that can include information about what will be taught and tested (Bloom, Hastings & Madaus, 1971; Gentile, 1990; Gronlund, 1981; Guskey, 1985). At its simplest, instructors could note that "Mary Richmond" would be taught in unit one, or use the course topical outline to identify material to be taught. Alternatively, a table of specifications could include the terms and facts students must
know for each learning unit or concept. Even more examples could include a) how many exam questions test a concept, b) knowledge levels expected, and c) corresponding test items. The table of specifications allows educators to "see" if any exam questions did not connect with some content or if any essential content had no exam questions (Author, 1996; Guskey, 1985; Squires, 1984, 1986; Torshen, 1977). Alternatively, the connection between teaching and testing is revealed if social work educators simply 'mark' what content on the topical outline has corresponding exam questions.

A table of specifications also can help to match instructional time and testing. For example, less instructional time may be spent on "Mary Richmond" if students are only expected to recognize her name and more time spent if students must critique her contribution to social work. Additionally, if the table of specifications shows when material is taught it can help to plan where (and if) nonessential content occurs. For example, nonessential content could be placed at the end of a course and covered if time allows.

Running out of instructional time is a problem when the final material is integrative in nature, or if it connects to another course ("No professor, we did not get that far in Human Behavior 1"). Figure three includes five entries from a table of specifications for a learning unit about poverty. The specifications table includes how many exam questions test the material, and the terms and facts needed to answer the questions.
Communicating Objectives

Instructional objectives should be shared so students can study the essential content. Social work educators could simply tell students what to study or create detailed study guides. Study guides have no ideal form or frequency. Telling students what to study may be the easiest for instructors, but written study guides can act as a study reference that helps students focus on essential material. Study guides could simply list essential content (as a topical outline does), or contain questions students must answer. Written study guides may help students realize they cannot answer a study question. More complex study guides have enough space left beneath the questions for students to record their lecture notes. Study guide/lecture outlines go furthest in detail and in focusing students on essential content because students would "see" blank spaces under any unanswered questions. Answering study guide questions in order can help
instructors resume where they ended in previous classes by simply asking students what study question was answered last.

**Formative Evaluations**

Formative evaluations are often short, ungraded quizzes that are immediately scored to help students identify their learning errors. Their purpose is to check the progress, but not grade, student learning (Bloom, Hastings & Madaus, 1971). An instructor could simply ask questions about course material or have written quizzes. Asking questions may not allow instructors to reach students who do not speak up. Written objective format quizzes allow all students to be evaluated.

The ideal number of quizzes is unknown. Examining several mastery learning studies revealed that quizzes occurred anywhere from weekly to not at all (Guskey & Pigott, 1988; Kulik, Kulik & Bangert-Drowns, 1990). Frequent evaluation is implied with mastery learning to increase feedback on performance and increase chances that learning errors are corrected. For example, weekly quizzes allow instructors to determine before "mid term" if students understand the material. However, more test questions must be located or created for weekly quizzes. Instructors also must decide if quizzes will be as difficult or more difficult than the exams. Very difficult quizzes can demoralize students, while easier quizzes can make students think they know material better than they actually do. Quizzes should be scored in class so students and instructors see which questions were answered incorrectly.

**Summative Evaluations**

Summative evaluations are usually graded exams (objective or other format) intended to measure student performance and are not particular to mastery learning. Instructors
choose the exam frequency and format as they would with any teaching methods. Exam frequency can range from a single comprehensive final to the midterm-final exam format, or be more frequent. Frequent testing can shrink the size of the learning units being tested and allows for earlier and more frequent evaluation of student performance. Instructors may test with objective format exams, essays, papers or other projects.

Feedback & Correctives

Feedback refers to instructors providing information on student learning and may be as simple as posting exam grades or be as detailed as student evaluations. Correctives refer to correcting student learning errors by re-teaching material, providing remedial material or using other methods. Correctives can be structured differently and involve at least four major variations. First, correctives can occur inside or outside class. For in-class correctives, time limits must be set so students needing additional correction do not hold the class back. Outside class correctives allow additional time without holding back an entire class. Instructors could use both, perhaps having a 15-minute in-class review session after a quiz or exam, and spending additional time outside class. Second, correctives may be required or voluntary. Voluntary outside class correctives are not always well attended by students and can result in lower grades compared to mandatory correctives (Goldwater & Acker, 1975; Jones, 1975; Lewis, 1984). Mandatory correctives can help instructors reach students who incorrectly believe they need no additional help.

Third, correctives can occur with individual or many students. Correcting students individually should result in increases in grades because correction can target learning errors (Block, 1974; Bloom, 1976, 1984; Denton & Seymour, 1978; Yeany, 1979). However, individual correctives have been criticized as time intensive (Arlin, 1984;
Fitzpatrick, 1985; Lewis, 1984; Palardy, 1986; Slavin, 1987, 1990). Group correction may be more time efficient for instructors when many students make similar errors. Fourth, correctives can be led by instructors or students. With an instructor present material can be clarified or re-taught. With student led correctives, students who understand the material help those who did not. Using students, teaching assistants or computers to give correctives is a more efficient use of instructor time, but control over the effectiveness of correctives may be lost (Anderson, 1978; Bloom, Hastings & Madaus, 1971; Danielson & Haupt, 1977). The instructor led format takes more time than the student led format, but the time can be minimized by working with groups of students (Author, 1996). Choosing between instructor and student led correctives may depend on whether students or teaching assistants can identify and correct any learning errors (Anderson, 1978; Block, Efthim & Burns, 1989).

Re-testing Cycles

Re-testing refers to students taking parallel or alternative versions of quizzes or exams. Students who do not master the material could take parallel versions of an exam (or rewrite a project) until reaching what an instructor decides is a minimum performance level. Re-testing allows verification that learning errors were corrected. Re-testing cycles refer to the number of times students can redo work or retake exams. Unlimited re-testing cycles give students the greatest opportunity to improve, but instructors must create or collect enough test questions to make this feasible. The time spent re-administering, re-scoring, and re-correcting quizzes or exams could be prohibitive without teaching assistants or computer support (Dunkleberger & Knight 1979; Nepote-Adams, 1991;
Honeycutt, 1974). Re-testing cycles can be offered outside of class to minimize instructional time spent.

An alternative is to retest only material answered incorrectly on the first attempt. However, each computer-scored answer key must be unique to the students’ errors. Taking an entire makeup exam may be more feasible. Another retesting option is to have students write a short targeted essay explaining why their incorrect answers are incorrect and why the correct choice is correct. Students must explain instead of simply choose an answer, and instructors must read and grade the explanations. Instructors also must decide when to allow makeup exams or rewrites. An instructor could require everyone not earning an A grade (or reaching some criterion) to retake an exam or rewrite a project, or only require it for failing students. To make rewriting and re-grading projects more feasible, an instructor could mark passages that require improvement during grading. Students would then edit and rewrite only those parts. If rewritten parts are highlighted, an instructor would easily locate the ‘before & after’ versions of marked passages without re-reading the entire paper. Requiring students to submit papers on computer disk makes editing easier.

Grading

Mastery learning uses criterion-referenced instead of norm referenced measurement to grade student performance (Bloom, Hastings & Madaus, 1971). Criterion referenced measurement compares performance to a standard and not the performance of other students as with norm-referenced measurement (the normal curve). Criterion referenced measurement may produce score distributions deviating from normal because all students could meet the criterion (Gronlund, 1981; Martuza, 1977).
Criterion referenced measurement is consistent with a fundamental belief of mastery learning: all students are capable of achieving to higher levels if given enough time, feedback, correctives and clear learning goals. Exams or projects should be graded individually so low scores are not ‘averaged away’ by high scores in other units. For example, an "F" on a client assessment learning unit and an "A" on an intervention planning learning unit do not average out to a "C". In this case, strong intervention planning skills do not compensate for weak assessment skills. Retesting cycles allow students to improve any deficient skills.

Grading may employ traditional letter grades or mastery and non-mastery grades (e.g., M, NM). No external criterion exists for setting the mastery level for a given topic. Instructors choose which traditional letter grades show mastery or non-mastery and decide if re-testing cycles occur when mastery is not reached. A creative option is to grade exams and projects in tandem. For example, objective format exams could be graded as mastery or non-mastery and mastery converted to a score of 70%. In other words, exam scores from 70% to 100% all convert to a C. A grade of B would require a paper that meets an instructor standard (B or better for example). A grade of A could require a second more difficult or extensive paper.

**Classroom Structure**

Outcome-based education has no specific classroom structure. The essential elements of mastery learning can be structured differently based on instructor resources. This makes it difficult to picture what mastery learning can look like in the social work classroom. I have taught with mastery learning for 14 years and have implemented it in the following way. My courses have three, instead of the traditional two, learning units.
(e.g. mid term and final exam). Each learning unit includes one, 20 question written study guide that students receive. The study guides include words corresponding to the knowledge levels of Bloom’s (1956) Taxonomy that students must demonstrate on the exams. I answer and review complex study guide questions in class and students answer the simpler ones on their own. For testing, each learning unit includes two, 15 question ungraded quizzes’, one graded 50 question, objective format exam, and one graded makeup exam. The makeup exams are parallel versions of the exam with the same objective format and number of questions. I have written my own test questions because it allows me to target my essential course content and prevents my having to defend the validity of test questions written by others.

I also utilize in-class and outside class, instructor-led group feedback and correctives. After students check the answer key for the quizzes and exams, I spend about 20 minutes in class and about one hour outside class answering student questions about exams and quizzes. It is enlightening to see which test questions the students found easy and difficult. When most students answer a test question incorrectly it may mean material was taught poorly (faulty teaching), taught correctly but understood poorly by the students (faulty learning or studying) or simply not taught.

All students who intend to take a makeup exam must attend a mandatory one-hour, outside class review session prior to the makeup exam. Students with an exam score below 70% are required to take a makeup exam. Students scoring above 70% on the exam can elect to take the makeup exam to improve their score. The outside class format provides additional time to clarify and re-teach material without spending class time. Most students who take makeup exams have scored 70% or higher on their exams (sometimes
but take makeup exams to raise their exam scores. In other words, the chance to improve grades motivated students to take makeup exams when they were not required to. Students take makeup exams as a group outside class time.

Taken together, students receive a study guide and use the lectures and text to answer the study guide questions. They take an ungraded quiz on the first half of the study guide, check their answers with the answer key and ask questions in class about incorrectly answered items for about 15 minutes. This ‘teach & test’ cadence is repeated for the second half of the study guide. The students then take a graded exam and again ask questions in class about incorrectly answered items. Students who are required or wish to take a makeup exam must attend a mandatory review session to help insure they do not repeat their mistakes on the makeup exams. The ‘quiz, quiz, exam, makeup exam’ cadence is repeated in each learning unit, or three times during the semester. My mastery standard is a grade of "C" (e.g., 70% of 100%).

CAUTIONS

Perhaps because the mastery elements are linked, research has not clarified their ideal classroom structure. For example, the 'ideal' number of retesting cycles (if it exists) may be related to the degree learning errors are corrected. In other words, retesting cycles could be unnecessary with enough quizzes and correctives. Even if an ideal classroom structure for mastery learning existed, we still would have to implement mastery learning in the most feasible rather than ideal way. An important feasibility issue is instructor time spent because mastery learning has been criticized as time intensive (Abrams, 1979; Barber, 1979; Brown, 1977; Burns, 1987; Decker, 1989; Dunkleberger & Knight, 1979; Guskey, 1985; Honeycutt, 1974; Klein, 1979; Nepote-Adams, 1991). Conversely, one
A meta-analysis found mastery learning required only about 4% more instructional time than control groups (Kulik, Kulik & Bangert-Drowns, 1990). Is mastery learning time intensive or not? Instructor time spent appears linked to several mastery elements. For example, switching from group to individual correctives would have increased my time spent during the semester from 21 to approximately 79 hours. Adding a second exam retesting cycle and a quiz retesting cycle, in addition to individual correctives, would have increased instructor time required to 127 hours. Unlimited retesting cycles would further increase instructor time spent. Utilizing teaching assistants to proctor makeup exams and lead correctives, computer administration of quizzes, and existing test item banks would decrease instructor time spent. The time required to use mastery learning could be similar to other instructional methods depending on how the mastery elements are structured.

In summary, mastery learning is a flexible, outcome-based teaching method. Since measuring student outcomes is a current concern in social work education, instructors could begin by simply clarifying what they teach and matching the testing and instructional time spent to what is expected of students. Social work educators also could implement a few mastery elements while using their normal teaching methods. Social work educators could go further and implement the mastery elements in ways that make sense for their courses given available resources and time. I believe social work educators who try mastery learning will find that they enjoy increased awareness and control over the essential content taught in their classrooms.
REFERENCES


The Application of Mediation(\textit{Sulh}) and It’s Implication to the Management of Family Dispute Cases at Malaysian Syaria Courts

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Introduction

Though \textit{sulh}/mediation\(^1\) has long been practised by the Malaysian Syariah Court, yet it was exercised in the absence of specific provisions on the reference and formation of a special body on mediation attached with the court.\(^2\)

Among other states in Malaysia, the Selangor Syariah Courts has taken the lead to encourage \textit{sulh}/mediation in dispute settlement. The trigger factor here is a heavy caseload of the courts. The Court has gazetted the rules relating to mediation and has appointed a mediator to observe the mediation process. These rules cited as the Syariah Court Civil Procedure (\textit{Sulh}) Selangor Rules 2001 and have come into operation on August 2001.\(^3\)

The aim of this paper is therefore to analyze that the process of mediation in the Selangor Syaria Court has led to resolving and reconciliating in several cases of family dispute.

In order to conduct this study, the data concerning \textit{sulh}/mediation cases were gathered in the Selangor Sharia court’s files. All particulars of \textit{sulh} cases were collected and analysed. These particulars include the period to settle the case, the type of the case and the statistic of the cases. This informations will help us to understand the background of the \textit{sulh}/mediation process in Malaysia.

Mediation(\textit{Sulh}): The Syaria and The State Law

\textit{Sulh} literally means termination of case. According to Muslim Jurists, it means a covenant between two disputing parties to end their dispute. It is clear from the definition that \textit{sulh} is a process whereby parties to any dispute make an agreement to resolve their disputes amicably.\(^4\)

\(^1\) In this paper, the words mediation and \textit{sulh} are treated as synonymous and interchangeable. Although there are differences in perception regarding their respective functions, in practice there is a very fine line of distinction between the two.

\(^2\) Hj Mohd Na'im Hj Mokhtar, Administration of Family Law in the Syariah Court [2001] 3 \textit{MLJ}, p. lxxx

\(^3\) Dato Sheikh Ghazali Abd Rahman, (Chief Director, Department of Syaria Judiciary of Malaysia) \textit{Sulh/Mediation in Islamic Law}, paper presented at the Seminar of ADR in Islamic Perspective, 56 November 2001, IKIM, Kuala Lumpur

\(^4\) \textit{Majallah al-Ahkam al-'Adliyyah}, Article 1531
There is a direct evidence in the Quran on the subject of *sulh* regarding family disputes. This can be seen from Chapter 4 verse 128 which reads as follows:

> And if woman fears cruelty or desertion on her husband’s part, there is no sin for them both if they make terms of peace between themselves; and making peace is better. And human inner-selves are swayed by greed. But if you do good and keep away from evil, verily, Allah is ever well-acquainted with what you do.

It is clear from the above injunction of the Holy Quran that *sulh*/mediation is highly recommended.

In a hadith narrated by ‘Amr bin ‘Awf, it is reported that the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) said:

> Conciliation is permissible among Muslims except the one which makes permissible what has been forbidden or forbids what has been permitted.  

Based on the above hadith, it is understood that the basis of settlement in any dispute in Islam is that it must be conformed to Islamic. There can be no valid settlement if the parties agreed to terms contrary to Hukum Syara’.

Beside, s. 99 of the Syariah Court Civil Procedure (State of Selangor) 2003 provides: “The parties to any proceedings may, at any stage of the proceedings, hold *sulh* to settle their dispute in accordance with such rules as may be prescribed or, in the absence of such rules, in accordance with Hukum Syara’.”

As to how the *sulh* should be conducted, Selangor has gazetted the rule relating to *sulh* which cited as the Syariah Court Civil Procedure *(Sulh)* Selangor Rules 2001. This rules provides:

(S.3) “Where after receiving a summons or an application for any cause of action, the Registrar is of the opinion that there is reasonable possibility of settlement between the parties to the action, the Registrar shall-
(a) not fix the date for the trial of the action within the period of three months;
(b) fix a date, as soon as practicable, for the parties to hold *sulh*; and
(c) serve the notice of the date fixed for *sulh* on the parties

**The Application of Mediation at Selangor Syaria Court**

The State of Selangor has eleven Syariah Lower Courts, and one Syariah High Court located in her capital Shah Alam. The State had been proactive in gazetting the Civil Procedure Rule *(Sulh)* of Selangor 2001 in December 2001 as stated in the Government gazette of the State of Selangor Sel. P.U. 44 as provided for by section 254 Syariah Civil Procedure Code Enactment of Selangor, No. 7, 1991. It means that dispute resolution by mediation started its operation on the first of

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6 Formerly known as s.87 of the Selangor Syariah Civil Procedure Enactment 1991
May 2002. Ten mediators were appointed to serve in nine of the Lower Courts and the High Court. Thus, a mediator or *sulh* officer is assigned to each of the designated courts. In implementing the Civil Procedure Rule (*Sulh*) Selangor 2001, a Mediation Work Manual was organized for use by the mediators. Amongst its objectives, this manual seeks to explain and standardize the procedures to be followed by the mediators in conducting the mediation.

For the first year of its practice (1/5/2002 till 31/5/2003) there were 1529 cases registered with 1416 cases (92%) successfully concluded, out of which 1029 cases (67.3%) achieved settlement by means of mediation. The other 387 cases (25.3%) chose to go to trial by court and 113 cases (7.4%) were postponed. Similarly, data from May 2002 extended to December 2003 showed a registration of 2555, where 1748 cases or 68% were successfully settled by means of mediation, 666 cases or 26% preferred trial by court and 141 or 6% were postponed Thus mediation seemed to have produced the result expected of it.

**Mediation: The Process**

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Case Registration

Assessment by Registrar

Settlement through court

Settlement by mediation

Notification

Attendances of parties in mediation sessions

Fail to agree

Successful agreement

Court proceedings

Submitted to court for the judge to issue orders

Decision/orders by court

Court orders issued
```
Table 1 above shows the flow chart on the process of mediation in the Syaria Court of Selangor. Guided by the above flow chart, a case usually takes two weeks to reach settlement which is, a short duration compared to if it were to go through the court.

A mediation process can lead to settlement with just one meeting, depending on the abilities of the mediator and/or the nature of the dispute. Some mediators hold a minimum of two meetings, the first being the discussion and negotiation of the dispute, and the second being the signing of the agreement reached. This allows space for the disputants to deliberate or give further thought on the agreement reached, before signing it. If a case is complicated, then more separate and/or joint sessions may take place.

These cases that reach settlement within a short duration are those submitted under sections 23, 45 or 47 of the Act, where disputing parties are present in court to file their claims. If they then agree to go through mediation, the process may start the same day. If there is agreement reached, the chairperson will submit it to the judge for issuing of orders.

A study was conducted where 500 cases were randomly picked from the cases registered between May 2002 and December 2003 that had been settled by means of mediation. The duration of the process is the time taken between registration, and submission of the agreement reached, to the judge for decision based on mutual agreement.

Table 2 (below) shows the cases in the study registered according to year. The two cases registered in 2001 were settled in 2002.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>36.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>63.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 shows the 500 cases divided into categories where 423 i.e., 84.6% were divorce cases. The remaining 77 were cases related to polygamy, maintenance of children, claim of *mut’ah* (consolatory gift), maintenance of *’iddah*, arrears of maintenance, maintenance of wife, custody, jointly acquired property and others. It can be seen from the table that the times taken to resolve each of the varying kinds of cases did not vary significantly, where 438 of the 500 cases i.e., 87.6% were resolved within three months of registration
Table 3: Duration taken for resolution according to cases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of case</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>No. of cases</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polygamy S. 23</td>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 months</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 month</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmation of divorce S. 45</td>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 months</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 months</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 months</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 months</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>159</strong></td>
<td><strong>31.8</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorce Application S. 47</td>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 months</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 months</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 months</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 months</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>256</strong></td>
<td><strong>51.2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorce under Ta’liq S. 50</td>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 month</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorce by Fasakh S. 53</td>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 month</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.6</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mut’ah (consolatory gift) S. 58</td>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 month</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 month</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance of wife S. 60</td>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 month</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 month</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance of ‘iddah S. 66</td>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 months</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 months</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 months</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variation of maintenance orders S. 67</td>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 months</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.4</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrears of maintenance S.70</td>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 months</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.4</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus, from the above table, 220 cases or 44% were resolved within one month, and 219 or 23.8% were resolved within three months. It shows that 439 cases or 87.8% were resolved within three months. (See table 4 as a conclusion)

Table 4: (Duration of settlement: 500 cases)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Duration of settlement</th>
<th>Number of case</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 month (1-30 days)</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>44.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3 months (31-90 days)</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5 months (91-150 days)</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>7 months (151-210 days)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>9 months (211-270 days)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>500</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Case information sheets
The settlements included specific claims on maintenance during ‘iddah, mut’ah and jointly acquired property, which otherwise would be managed separately if the disputes were to go through court proceedings, with the obvious longer duration of time required.

There was a case in the Lower Court of Syariah, Klang, submitted under section 47 of the Islamic Family Law (State of Selangor) Enactment 4/84 involving claims for maintenance of children, custody and access rights arising the submission for divorce. This case was registered on 14th August 2002 managed by means of mediation on the same day, and had the court order issued on the same day.

There was another case submitted for mediation under section 56 of the Islamic Family Law (State of Selangor) Enactment 4/84 involving claims of maintenance of child, custody, access rights and mut’ah. It was registered on 27th July 2002, followed by mediation on 31st July, with the court orders issued at the end of the same day. The agreement reached stated that the defendant agreed to pay mut’ah of RM 4000 within two payments, pay maintenance of children of RM 250 per month with custody of child given to the mother where the father was given access rights during appropriate times provided prior notice is given to the mother. The agreement also stated that the plaintiff (mother) will not make further claims and will not prevent the defendant (father) from visiting the child.

In 2004, it was formally decided that the date for mediation be decided at the time of registration of the case. This replaces the notification system, which usually takes two weeks from the date of registration. All these lead to a system where cases are managed within a shorter duration, and with more efficiency.

As stated above, after agreement is reached between the parties; the agreement is brought to the judge for the issuance of court orders. However, there were cases where delays in the issuance of court orders happened. These were due to certain factors such as the unavailability of the judge, the absence of one of the parties to the dispute, or the request of one of the parties to the dispute that it be delayed, so that he/she/they would have adequate time to reflect and be truly ready to accept the agreement.

**Kinds of Cases to be resolved by Mediation**

In principle no categorization of cases are made for the purpose of resolution by mediation. However section 245(2) of the Act provides if there is lacunae, or if there is anything that is not clearly provided for by this enactment the court shall apply Hukum Syarak.

The pamphlet for mediation produced by the Syariah Court of the state of Selangor lists the kinds of cases that may be resolved by means of mediation.

1. Claims on breach of promise to marry
2. Claims arising from a divorce such as
Judging by the kinds of cases as listed in table 4 it can be said that almost all kinds of cases that come to court can be resolved by means of mediation. With the exception of application for divorce and confirmation of divorce, all cases will be referred to mediation first. Only if that fails to resolve will the case be referred to the court.
Mediation in Cases of Application for Divorce

In principle mediation is not applicable to a case of application for divorce under the Islamic Family Law Act (Selangor) 1984. A proceeding for divorce must follow the provision provided for under the Act. However the court finds that cases of application for divorce (s 47) and those of confirmation of divorce (s 45) are the most filed. Table 5 shows the kinds and numbers of divorce registered from Jan 2002 to October 2003.

Table 5: Number and Percentage of divorce case from January -October 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section &amp; type of cases</th>
<th>Balance</th>
<th>Registration</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45 Divorce confirmation</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47 Divorce application</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>43.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49 Divorce by Khulu’</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 Divorce by Ta’liq</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53 Divorce by Fasakh</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>798</td>
<td>958</td>
<td>69.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistic on mediation showing categories of cases managed by mediators of the Department of Syariah Judiciary Selangor.

Thus as seen in Table 4 and 5 these cases for dissolution of marriage number most i.e., 69.4% (958 out of 1381). The divorce by talaq (under s 45 and s 47) has the most numbers filed.

Through discussion and negotiation those requesting divorce by fasakh, ta’liq of khulu’ agreed to change to divorce by talaq. This is a development for the better.

Thus, in practice those filing for divorce under section 47 or confirmation of divorce under section 45 were scrutinized by the registrar to see whether parties agree to resolve their claims by means of mediation. If they do, will then be required to fill in the forms indicating their agreement to mediation. The mediation will be only on matters that are submitted for claims.

Mediation – Voluntary or Compulsory

In principle, it is the right of the disputants to choose the means of resolution of their disputes. However, disputants are encouraged to prefer mediation as it offers a better outcome for them.

The Selangor Syariah Court makes it a policy that mediation is compulsory before a case is submitted for trial in court excepting those cases submitted under section 45 and section 47 of the Islamic Family Law Act, 1984/2003. In other words, a trial in court will only take place after mediation fails to get the disputants to an agreed solution, whether on parts of the claims or the full claims. This is to ensure
that maximum efforts are taken to resolve the issues peacefully through negotiation between the parties thereby achieving agreement in the shortest possible time.

Be it compulsory or voluntary, a mediation process can only take place if the parties to the dispute agree to it. They (the parties) have a right to continue mediation till an agreement is reached in full or in parts, or withdraw and terminate the process at any point in the negotiation.

Therefore, a mediation process is compulsory in the sense that it is a must before the case is submitted to court for trial not in the sense that the proposed solutions must be accepted or the parties forced to come to an agreement.

**Positive and Constructive Impact of Mediation**

It is too early to see the effects of mediation in the management of family disputes in the Syariah Court. For this short period of a year and a half of its practice, some progress can be seen. They are:

1. **Mediation Shortens the Time Taken to Resolve Disputes.**

From the above discussion cases on divorce number the most i.e., 423 cases out of 500 cases studied (84.6%). The other 15% consisted of cases on matters related to divorce. The findings indicate that there is no significant difference in the times taken to resolve the different kinds of cases. Thus, different types of cases do not have an influence on the duration required to resolve disputes as 87.6% (i.e., 438 out of 500 cases) of the cases were resolved within the three month period.

That the period of three months is a short duration for resolution of divorce cases can be clearly seen in the findings of a study by a committee entitled “A study on the delay in the management of cases of divorce in the Syariah Courts of the State of Selangor (1997-2002)”.

This study reported that cases of divorce that are resolved within a year increased dramatically in the year 2002; the year mediation was put into practice. For the year 2002 the resolved cases were 36.8% whereas for the years 2001 – 4.1%, 2000 – 4.7%, 1999 – 4.3% and of these 36.8% (423 cases), 88.6% of them (i.e., 375 cases) were resolved within three months.

That, this three-month period is clearly a short period can be further elucidated by other studies. Sharifah Zaleha considered that it is usual to reach divorce settlement within a time period of ten to twelve months, after three courts sittings. Raihanah studying divorces in yet another State, Perlis found that most of the cases of divorce in that State took about six months to resolve. This is possible because the court gave priority to cases that had undergone some prior negotiation

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7 A study on the delay in the management of cases of divorce in the Syariah Courts of Selangor (1997-2002) Reported by Syaria Courts of Selangor, Department of Syaria Judiciary of Malaysia, Office of Legal Advisers of Selangor, Islamic Religious Department of Selangor, Legal Aid Bureau of Malaysia, International Islamic University Malaysia

8 Sharifah Zaleha Syed Hassan (1986), Women, Divorce and Islam in Kedah, Sojourn 2, p. 195

and the court utilized the agreement reached, thereby shortening the duration. Nik Roslina\textsuperscript{10} in her study stated that the Syariah Court took an average of six and a half months to settle a divorce application pending on several factors, the most important of which is the attendances of both parties in court.

It can thus be said that the Syariah Courts in the State of Selangor are successful in shortening the duration of the divorce dispute resolution.

2. Reducing the Numbers of Backlog

From May 2002 to December 2003, 1748 cases i.e., 68% (out of a total of 2555 cases) were successfully resolved by means of mediation. 666 cases i.e., 26% opted for court proceedings, and only 141 cases i.e., 6% postponed (constituting a backlog). Clearly this shows the positive impact in the management of family cases in the Selangor Syariah Court where the numbers of backlog are reduced.

3. Reducing the Cost Borne by the Client

The only cost incurred in the resolution of family cases by mediation is the registration fee. No other fees are charged. This means that the mediation service offered by the Syariah Court (in court mediation) is free. This is stated in section 9 of the Civil Procedure Rule (Sulh), 2001 as “no costs are to be incurred for the proceeding in the mediation sessions.”

If the case is successfully resolved in one session it reduces the traveling costs to and from the court. For the ancillary claims that are filed together with the claim for divorce, cost is also saved as there are no separate registration fees for them.

This can be compared to those cases preferring court adjudication where there will be a separate registration fee for each of the ancillary claims made besides the divorce claim. The separate trips to the court required for each of the cases mean extra traveling cost; and there will be further expenditure if a lawyer is needed to represent a client. Hence the advantage in terms of cost is obvious.

Conclusion

The above arguments so far, provide evidence that mediation as a methodology to resolve family disputes in the Syariah Courts of Malaysia is capable of overcoming certain weaknesses present in the current court system. Obviously further studies and improvements are necessary to further alleviate the management of family disputes as a whole.

\textsuperscript{10}Nik Roslina Raja Ismail (1999), Period of Solving Divorce Cases and a Frequencies of a Delayed Cases: A Comparative Study between Syaria and Civil Courts, Practicum Module, Diploma in Public Management, National Institute of Public Administration (INTAN), p. 48–49
My paper deals with a cross-cultural issue that is concerned with the notion of the womb space. While being attentive to the pathological dimension of the representation of the womb space in the psychology of Sigmund Freud and Otto Rank, which has informed the interpretation of, for instance, the residential architecture of Richard Neutra (1892-1970), my research investigates a different tradition of the representation of the womb space as influenced by Esoteric Buddhism in East Asia. This tradition emphasized the sensorial experience of the world, the synaesthetic depth of the experience as the path to reach the spiritual and enlightenment, and the concordance between the objective cosmology and the subjective experience, while confronting the intellectual elitism of other Buddhist sectors such as Zen Buddhism. This tradition opens a new hermeneutic opportunity for modernism (in architecture) by challenging the views that define the architectural act as the degenerative representation of the womb space in order to compensate the trauma of the birth. Strategically, my research illuminates the interstitial conflicts evident in the match between the modern Western psychology and modernism, and formulates a new tripartite dynamic that injects into the current discourse the Buddhist notion of the womb space. The architect to be investigated is Neutra, who worked for Frank Lloyd Wright in his formative years, traveled to Japan and wrote about East Asian culture. My paper adopts his writings and architectural examples not only to verify the insufficiency of the Western psychological references in understanding his architecture, but also to enoble the significance of his architecture embodying the space of flow.
1. Title: Nostalgia and the Emotional Tone and Content of Song Lyrics

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Nostalgia and the Emotional Tone and Content of Song Lyrics

Krystine Irene Batcho

Le Moyne College

Paper presented at the 2005 Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences, Honolulu, HI. The author wishes to thank R. Renée Yaworsky for composing the original lyrics for this project.

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Abstract

Emotion and topic were manipulated in original song lyrics. Batcho’s (1995) and Holbrook’s (1993) nostalgia surveys, Lee, Draper and Lee’s (2001) revised Social Connectedness Scale, and Lee and Robbins’ (1995) Social Assurance Scale were completed by 97 undergraduates, who rated the lyrics for happiness, sadness, anger, nostalgia, meaning, liking, and relevance. Results are discussed in terms of theories linking nostalgia to pathology and theories relating nostalgia to social connectedness. Batcho’s construct of personal nostalgia is distinguished from Holbrook’s construct of historical nostalgia.
Nostalgia and Song Lyrics

Although nostalgic sentiment appears in literature since ancient times, the term *nostalgia* itself was not coined until the physician Hofer used it to designate a disease originating from the desire to return to one’s native land (Hofer, 1688 in Anspach, 1934). Based primarily upon military data, Hofer observed that recovery from symptoms such as sadness, insomnia, fever, loss of strength, loss of appetite, anxiety, cardiac palpitations, or stupor was reported upon patients’ return home (Havlena & Holak, 1991; Rosen, 1975). With the development of psychiatry as a medical specialty, theorists began classifying nostalgia as a form of melancholia (Hilgard, 1987). Tuke wrote, “Nostalgia always represents a combination of psychological and bodily disturbances, and for this reason it must always be defined as a disease.” (as quoted in Jackson, 1986, p. 380). Other theorists, however, began to apply the distinction between organic and functional disorders to nostalgia. For example, Griesinger observed, “Naturally, homesickness is not always a mental disease . . . [and] ought *in foro* to be regarded as a mental affection only when it presents the usual signs of insanity.” (1867/1965, pp. 245-246).

During the first half of the 20th century, nostalgia had begun to lose its place of interest in psychiatry, and the term *nostalgia* had acquired meanings broader than homesickness. Whereas in 1933, *The Oxford English Dictionary* still defined nostalgia as “severe home-sickness,” by 1976, the *Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary* (Burchfield) added, “Regret or sorrowful longing for the conditions of a past age; regretful or wistful memory or recall of an earlier time.” Ordinary household dictionaries included the broader meaning by 1966. For example, *The Random House Dictionary* offered “a desire to return in thought or in fact to a former time in one’s life, to one’s home, or to one’s family and friends.”
Together with the growth of psychology as an empirical science, the psychoanalytic movement contributed to shifting the understanding of nostalgia to a psychological rather than a psychiatric construct. The centrality of constructs such as early experience, symbolism, and conflict in Freud’s framework influenced 20th century theories of nostalgia (1899/1968c, 1916/1968b, 1917/1968a). As summarized by H. Kaplan (1987, p. 466), “In a psychoanalytic context, the meaning of nostalgia changes to become a variant of depression, an acute yearning for a union with the preoedipal mother, a saddening farewell to childhood, a defense against mourning, or a longing for a past forever lost.”

The importance of the loss of union with the preoedipal mother introduced an association of nostalgia with the process of individuation. Neumann posited that nostalgia is a reaction to the potential alienation of individuation, “being oneself is still a wearisome and painful experience” (1949/1971, p. 16). In Peters’ (1985) view, nostalgia “aims toward individuation” (p. 145) providing the motivation to persist in “the gruelling work of individuation.”

Conflict and ambivalence, central to Freudian constructs such as screen memories and melancholia, are clearly evident in the psychoanalytic constructions of nostalgia (e.g., Kaplan, H., 1987; Werman, 1977). Kleiner (1970) distinguished the nostalgic individual from the homesick, the sentimental, and the romantic by nostalgia’s “peculiar combination of sadness and pleasant reminiscing” (p. 15), and proposed that nostalgia’s distinctive “bitter-sweet flavor” (p. 29) results from trauma in the nostalgic’s early life history. Similarly, H. Kaplan (1987) distinguished nostalgia from depression and argued that for nostalgia to be normal it must contain both pleasurable and depressive affect. Werman (1977) agreed that nostalgic affects are characteristically “bittersweet, indicating a wistful pleasure, a joy tinged with sadness” (p. 393).
Castelnuovo-Tedesco (1980, p. 122) explained the genesis of nostalgia’s bittersweet characteristic in terms of conflict, “It is sweet because the original object or event gave pleasure and because the pleasure is enhanced through idealization. It is bitter not only because it cannot be made to come back but also because, even in its original setting, it contained conflict and disappointment.” This designation of bittersweet as the distinctive characteristic of nostalgia has become widespread, though not dominant, among contemporary theorists (Bassin, 1993; Batcho, 1998b; Castelnuovo-Tedesco, 1980; Cavanaugh, 1989; Havlena & Holak, 1991; Hertz, 1990; Kaplan, H., 1987; Mills & Coleman, 1994; Peters, 1985; Stern, 1992).

An emphasis on conflict advanced the notion of nostalgia as a mechanism for dealing with loss and transition. For example, L. Kaplan (1984, p. 150) explained this role during adolescence, “The depressive moods, grief reactions, and profound anxiety states so typical of adolescence are manifestations of the inner struggle to relinquish the past and at the same time never let it go. As an expression of this struggle a new, bittersweet emotion comes into existence. During adolescence the child can for the first time experience nostalgia for the lost past and a sense of the irreversibility of time. What has once been is gone. It cannot be brought back — except in memory.” Romanticizing the infantile past helps the adolescent cope with the difficulties of her present by instilling a sense of worthiness based upon “memories of having been an infant or child who was once perfect and absolutely adored” (p. 151). In such a way, nostalgia “takes the sting out of the sense of loss . . . Time is irreversible, but the goodness that was serves as incentive for aspiration” (p. 151).

In 1979, Davis pointed out that today only a minority of speakers would consider nostalgia to be homesickness per se. In illustration, Davis reported that several dozen college
students he surveyed associated words such as “warm, old times, childhood, and yearning” with the term nostalgia much more frequently than they did homesickness (p. 4). H. Kaplan offered the contemporary definition of nostalgia as “warm feelings about the past, a past that is imbued with happy memories, pleasures, and joys” and identified it as “a universal affect that results in a heightened mental state, an enhancing, uplifting mood related to particular memories of the past.” (1987, p. 465).

The more positive approach to nostalgia influenced both theoretical and applied lines of research. Researchers began investigating the role of nostalgia in memory and have proposed nostalgia as an appropriate vehicle for the study of the interaction between cognitive and affective processes (Batcho, 1995, 1998b; Cavanaugh, 1989; Ross, 1991). Cavanaugh (1989) proposed nostalgia as “one of the ways that one develops and maintains identity” and reminiscence as “the primary means by which one maintains relationships with old parts of the self and by which one measures personal change over time” (p. 603). Cavanaugh argued that “nostalgia represents a cognitive attempt to recapture a time when life was good, safe, secure, and contented” (p. 603).

From a sociological perspective, Davis (1979) conceptualized nostalgia as an attempt to help the individual to adapt to discontinuity in life and noted that older people are especially likely to be nostalgic. Similarly, Cavanaugh (1989, p. 604) cited a “growing suspicion” among researchers that memory is more closely linked to affect in older than in younger adults. Hertz (1990) researched the ability of aging Holocaust survivors to cope with the extreme traumatic stressors they had suffered in the past. Finding increased reminiscences and nostalgic longings with advancing age among the survivors, Hertz placed nostalgia within a framework of adaptive
mechanisms used to cope with major challenges. Exploring the role of nostalgic memories in elderly sufferers of dementia in a psychogeriatric setting, Mills and Coleman (1994) concluded that nostalgia can serve to maintain or restore a sense of self-identity by “reweaving the broken threads of life history” (p. 215) and can enhance personhood by enabling the individual to remain connected to others.

Recognition of positive aspects did not totally displace the negative connotations of nostalgia, and the adaptive view of nostalgia has not achieved universal acceptance. Nawas and Platt (1965) argued that nostalgia is better characterized as a concern over or dread of the future. Peters (1985) characterized nostalgia as a yearning the intensity of which varies from a fleeting sadness “to an overwhelming craving that persists and profoundly interferes with the individual’s attempts to cope with his present circumstances” (p. 135).

Two major obstacles to progress in understanding nostalgia persist. Despite many years of theoretical work, very little empirical investigation has been undertaken. Empirical studies require operational definitions and methods of measurement. Greater definitional clarity can be gained by distinguishing between two types of nostalgia. The distinction between historical and personal nostalgia is evident in the empirical work by Holbrook (1993) and Batcho (1995; 1998b), who began exploring the relationship of nostalgia to other psychological variables.

Holbrook and Schindler (1991, p. 330) had defined nostalgia as “a preference (general liking, positive attitude, or favorable affect) toward objects (people, places, or things) that were more common (popular, fashionable, or widely circulated) when one was younger (in early adulthood, in adolescence, in childhood, or even before birth).” By extending the definition to include even
events “before birth,” Holbrook’s (1993) understanding emphasizes feelings toward the social and historical past, even beyond an individual’s own past.

Adopting Davis’ (1979) use of the term to refer to feelings toward the past actually experienced by the individual, Batcho (1995; 1998b) developed a 20-item nostalgia inventory on which respondents rate the extent to which they miss each of the items from when they were younger. Stern (1992) articulated a distinction between the objects of the two types of nostalgia—a distant past perceived as superior to the present in historical nostalgia, and a personally remembered past in personal nostalgia. Consistent with Stern’s terminology, Holbrook’s research applies to historical nostalgia whereas Batcho’s focuses on personal nostalgia. Holbrook’s research has focused on the role of historical nostalgia in marketing (Holbrook, 1993; Holbrook, M. B., & Schindler, R. M., 1991), whereas Batcho’s research has focused on the role of personal nostalgia in cognitive and affective processes such as memory, music, and coping (Batcho, 1995; 1998a; 1998b; 2002; 2003; 2004).

Having defined nostalgia as missing various aspects of one’s personal past, Batcho (1998b) applied an empirical cognitive approach in a study of the relationship between nostalgia and measures of memory and personality in college students. Batcho found that individuals scoring high on the inventory of personal nostalgia were no more optimistic, pessimistic, or negatively emotional than less nostalgic individuals, but the high nostalgia subjects scored higher on Larsen and Diener’s (1987) measure of emotional intensity. Highly nostalgic individuals showed no advantage in a free-recall task, but in response to an open-ended instruction to recount autobiographical memories, they reported memories in which other people played more prominent roles. Batcho’s findings contradict the largely negative view of the nostalgic
individual as fearful, unhappy, or dependent and suggest instead a more flattering image of a person with the capacity to feel intensely and for whom other people are a high priority.

Given that the object of nostalgic feeling is the past, or something no longer present, memory is inherent in the construct of nostalgia. Castelnuovo-Tedesco (1980) distinguished nostalgia itself from reminiscence by defining reminiscence as the act of remembering the past and nostalgia as the bittersweet affect that accompanies certain memories. Therefore, one can remember without being nostalgic, but one cannot be nostalgic without remembering. In 2002, Batcho obtained data showing differences between autobiographical memories solicited by an explicit instruction to recall nostalgic memories and those elicited by a neutral instruction. Nostalgic memories were not rated as either happier or sadder than neutral memories, but they were rated higher in nostalgia, love, and contentment and lower in anxiety, anticipation and fear.

Batcho’s 1998b and 2002 findings suggest that nostalgia may not signify either depression or romanticized optimism but may facilitate or be facilitated by the sense of connectedness to significant others. Within this perspective, nostalgia promotes psychological well-being by countering alienation and strengthening community. In 2004, Batcho explored relationships between personal and historical nostalgia and psychological change following three target events—the terrorist attacks on 9/11/01; the onset of the 2003 Iraq war; and the neutral event of Halloween, 2003. Overall, results supported the potential for psychological growth in difficult times and highlighted the distinction between personal and historical nostalgia. Personal nostalgia was associated with changes that enhance continuity across time, connectedness to others, affiliation, identity, and belonging. Historical nostalgia was associated with less favorable changes in opinions of human nature and sociopolitical factors.
The 2004 findings suggest that highly nostalgic individuals may react differently to particular types of events. In 1998(a), Batcho explored the relationship between nostalgia and the perceived affect in songs. In two control conditions, participants rated the emotional tone of two original sets of lyrics (one happy and one sad). Overall, ratings confirmed that, as intended, the happy lyrics were perceived as happy and the sad lyrics were perceived as sad. Contrary to theories relating nostalgia to depression, high nostalgia individuals did not perceive the sad lyrics as sadder or the happy lyrics as less happy than did low nostalgia subjects. However, the particular content of the lyrics was not designed to elicit nostalgic sentiment. The happy lyrics described the beginning of a new romantic relationship and the sad lyrics described the end of one. In the current research lyrical content was manipulated to explore the relationship of nostalgia to stimulus characteristics.

Four sets of original song lyrics were rated on seven characteristics. All sets involved an individual’s recollection of childhood experiences but differed in emotional tone and topic. Two sets recounted happy times—one focused on the joys and excitement of time spent with childhood friends, and the other focused on the excitement of earning and enjoying a favorite bicycle. Two sets of lyrics recounted sad times in the past—one centered on being ostracized by schoolmates, and the other about loneliness while battling a serious illness. Batcho’s finding of greater emotional sensitivity among highly nostalgic individuals suggests that nostalgic participants may rate the happy lyrics as happier and the sad lyrics as sadder than will less nostalgic respondents.

More importantly, Batcho’s theory of personal nostalgia stresses the centrality of issues of identity and social connectedness in the nostalgic experience. Focused on aloneness, the sad
lyrics in this study should not appeal to nostalgic individuals. Holbrook’s measure, on the other hand, does not involve issues of personal identity and social relatedness, but centers on the relative inferiority of the present time. The view that conditions are getting worse over time might reflect a more cynical or pessimistic attitude among individuals high in historical nostalgia, who might consequently relate more closely to the tone of the sad lyrics.

The possibility that the construct of personal nostalgia is related to that of social connectedness was examined more directly with the inclusion of Lee, Draper and Lee’s (2001) revised Social Connectedness Scale (SCS-R) and Lee and Robbins’ (1995) Social Assurance Scale (SAS) as measures of social connectedness and assurance. Lee et al. (2001) define social connectedness as the emotional connectedness between self and others, including individuals and society in general. They developed the SCS-R to assess social connectedness as a sense of an independent self in relation to others distinguishable from closely aligned constructs such as belongingness understood as group membership or loneliness viewed as feelings of aloneness resulting from the loss of particular relationships. Lee and Robbins (1995, 1998, 2000) theorize that individuals with less well developed social skills and less confidence to function independently in the world need more reassurance from others to feel comfortable and a sense of belonging. They define social assurance as a sense of confidence in social situations reflecting appropriate social skills and the ability to function independently without the need for reassurance from others to belong and to feel comfortable in social settings. To assess social assurance, Lee and Robbins developed the Social Assurance Scale (SAS), comprised of 8 statements expressing the need for reassurance from others. Given that items are rated for disagreement, higher SAS scores reflect greater assurance or confidence in social situations.
If personal nostalgia represents primarily a sense of being connected to society at large, scores on Batcho’s Nostalgia Inventory could be expected to correlate with scores on the SCS-R. On the other hand, if personal nostalgia stems primarily from an individual’s history of specific relationships, scores on the two measures would be unrelated. If personal nostalgia reflects more competent social skills, scores on Batcho’s inventory would be expected to correlate with scores on the SAS. In contrast, defined as a preference for the way things were in the past, historical nostalgia is more likely related to feelings of not belonging or being disconnected from the current social world, and in such case, scores on Holbrook’s Nostalgia Survey would be expected to correlate inversely with scores on either the SCS-R or the SAS.

Method

Participants

A sample of 97 undergraduate students, 71 women and 26 men, completed nostalgia inventories and rated seven characteristics of each of the four sets of lyrics. Students ranged in age from 18 to 39 years old with a median age of 20 years (\(SD = 3.8\)). Participation was voluntary, but some students received optional course credit for their participation.

Material and Procedure

Batcho’s Nostalgia Inventory was included as a measure of personal nostalgia, defined as missing various aspects of an individual’s personal past. Respondents rate on a 9-point scale (1 = Not at all; 9 = Very much) the extent to which they miss each of 20 items from when they were younger. Holbrook’s Nostalgia Survey measures historical nostalgia, defined as a preference for objects more common when the respondent was younger or even before he/she was born.
Respondents rate agreement or disagreement with each of 20 items on a 9-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*; 9 = *Strongly agree*).

As a measure of social connectedness, the SCS-R includes 20 statements rated for agreement on a 6-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*; 6 = *Strongly agree*). An assessment of social assurance, the SAS is comprised of 8 statements expressing the need for reassurance from others. Respondents rate disagreement with each statement on a 6-point scale (1 = *Strongly agree*; 6 = *Strongly disagree*). As disagreement scores, higher SAS scores reflect greater assurance or confidence in social situations.

A musician was commissioned to compose original lyrics differing in emotional tone (happy versus sad) and in the presence or absence of relationships (related versus solitary), but similar in length and target audience appeal. The lyrics were written to be sung, but were not set to music for this project. Guided by the two content criteria, the musician wrote four sets of song lyrics in a two-by-two factorial design. Two sets involved happy memories and two sad memories. One of the happy sets described happy times spent with friends (Happy Related), whereas the other happy set described the solitary joy of owning and riding a special bicycle (Happy Alone). Similarly, one of the sad sets described rejection by classmates (Sad Related), and the other described loneliness while battling serious illness (Sad Alone).

After signing an informed consent form, participants completed Batcho’s Nostalgia Inventory, Holbrook’s Nostalgia Survey, the SCS-R, and the SAS and rated each of the four sets of lyrics. The order of materials was counterbalanced across participants with survey measures alternating with lyrics. Each set of lyrics was rated immediately after being read by the participant. Lyrics were rated on 9-point scales (1 = *Not at all*; 9 = *Very*) as to the extent to
which they were happy, sad, nostalgic, meaningful, angry, and to what extent the respondent related to them and liked them.

Results and Discussion

Intercorrelations among the four self-report measures (Batcho’s Nostalgia Inventory, Holbrook’s Nostalgia Survey, the SCS-R, and the SAS) will be examined. Developed to assess different psychological constructs, the four measures are expected to be relatively independent.

Participants will be classified as high or low in personal nostalgia on the basis of a median split on scores on Batcho’s Nostalgia Inventory. Each of the seven ratings of the lyrics will be analyzed in a 2 X 2 X 2 (Level of Personal Nostalgia X Emotional Tone of Lyrics X Relatedness of Lyrics) mixed analysis of variance, with level of personal nostalgia (High/Low) serving as the participant variable and with emotional tone (Happy/Sad) and relatedness (Related/Alone) serving as within-subjects variables. Similarly, participants will be classified as high or low in historical nostalgia on the basis of a median split on scores on Holbrook’s Nostalgia Survey, and each of the ratings will be analyzed in a 2 X 2 X 2 (Level of Historical Nostalgia X Emotional Tone of Lyrics X Relatedness of Lyrics) mixed analysis of variance, with level of historical nostalgia serving as the participant variable. Results will be compared for personal and historical nostalgia, and findings will be discussed in relation to theories that link nostalgia to pathology and theories that relate nostalgia to social connectedness.

References


Cavanaugh, J. C. (1989). I have this feeling about everyday memory aging . . . .

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Footnotes

1 Although several authors date Hofer’s dissertation in 1678, the actual date, 1688 appears on the title page of the dissertation as reproduced in Anspach’s 1934 translation. Although the origin of the error is unclear, several of the authors using the 1678 date cite McCann’s 1941 literature review (Kleiner, 1970; Rosen, 1975; Werman, 1977) or Werman (Kaplan, H., 1987). McCann referenced secondary sources for the dissertation, but did not list the dissertation itself or Anspach’s translation among his references. Anspach reports Hofer’s birth in Muhlhausen on April 28, 1669, which would make him only 9 years old in 1678.
Proceedings submission

for the

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1. Title of submission: Women’s Experiences of Assisted Reproductive Technology in Regional Australia.

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6. Abstract: Women’s Experiences of Assisted Reproductive Technology in Regional Australia.

This paper provides an overview of the current Australian context of Assisted Reproduction (AR), from a social work perspective, and explores women’s actual experiences of AR procedures and service provision. In-depth qualitative interviews with women in non-metropolitan areas were conducted using a semi-structured interview schedule. The emergent themes from the data were analysed and information on a range of issues affecting women were identified. In particular, women spoke of the adequacy of information on AR, their perceptions of success rates, the impacts of involuntary childlessness, their support needs during treatment, access issues, physical, financial and psychosocial impacts of AR procedures. The findings are of relevance to infertility counsellors, women’s health practitioners, and AR service providers in general.
Title: Helping Older Adolescents Search for Meaning in Depression

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Abstract: This paper examines some ways that logotherapy can be used with older adolescents struggling with depression. The focus of treatment is on the adolescent’s initiating and sustaining a search for meaning.
Article Title: Negotiating the Use of Native Languages in Emerging Pluralistic and Independent Broadcast Systems in Africa.

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Abstract

Since the 1990s liberal and democratic reforms in Sub-Sahara African countries, competitive independent and pluralistic broadcasting, particularly radio, have emerged and are providing channel and program diversity for the first time in these emerging democracies. Independent radio has become an entrée into civic discourse and socio-political awareness and a force for social and political integration and accountability. However, these positive developments have overshadowed the observation that Africa's emerging independent radio has become an avenue for corroding their societies' languages and cultures. While they have been insensitive to native languages, they are successful in domesticating the languages of their former European colonizers. Using the experiences of Ghana's radio, this article raises important questions about the relationship between Africa's native languages and the development of a true African broadcasting system. It calls for a reexamination of the belief that the multilingual character of African societies does not serve broadcasting well. It argues that a true African broadcast system that allows for mass participation can develop only if African broadcasters and policy makers address the native language deficiency in broadcasting. Finally, it calls for a deliberate and planned effort to promote the use of African native languages over the Euro-imperial languages in broadcasting.
INTRODUCTION

Language plays a very critical role in national broadcasting systems. While Western countries (Schudson, 1994; Grant, 1994) and Asian countries (Lee & Youn, 1995; Servaes & Wang, 1997) have relied on their own languages for broadcasting, Sub-Sahara African countries continue to rely overwhelmingly on Euro-imperial languages – English or French – for broadcasting even though the majority of their population does not comprehend these languages. African broadcasters, policy makers and media scholars have traditionally failed to examine the implication of the dependency on these foreign languages on the development of a true African broadcasting system. They also have failed to examine the role the dependency on foreign languages played in the failure of national broadcasting systems to encourage civic participation in the media. On the contrary, media scholars have typically attributed the failure of national broadcasting systems to heavy government and state control and censorship, inadequate resources, unstable political structures, and poor programming content (Ansah 1985; Bourgault, 1995). Using the experience of Ghana’s emerging plural and independent radio, its continued and overwhelming dependence on English, and its insensitivity to the country’s native languages, this article attempts to put the debate on the relationship between Africa’s native languages and its emerging pluralistic broadcasting systems on public and scholarly agenda. More importantly, it raises significant, yet unaddressed, questions that are applicable to other emerging democratic African nations reforming their broadcasting systems: To what extent should emerging pluralistic, commercial and independent radio in African societies be responsive to their national cultures and languages? What constitutes a “culturally appropriate” radio broadcast language in a multilingual society attempting to create a competitive and independent broadcast environment? What cultural task, if any, does commercial and independent radio have in an emerging democratic and liberal society? Should
developing countries reforming their broadcasting systems develop policies to safeguard against foreign language and cultural influences? Do private broadcasters in developing countries have the same obligation as public broadcasters to promote the culture and language of the society they operate in?

Using results from in-depth interviews with Ghanaian broadcasters, government officials, media scholars and journalists, and audience survey data (n=408) gathered in Accra, the capital city of Ghana, from 1998 to 2002, this article makes the following arguments: First, though the emerging independent and private radio have provided channel and program diversity, they have failed to reflect and promote their society’s cultures and native languages. Second, their insensitivity to their societies’ native languages and local cultural products is a consequence of the erroneous view of broadcasters that the public has a ‘need for entertainment and pleasure,” (see Senghor, 1996), which can be met by airing more foreign programs, broadcasting with foreign languages, and in some cases, mimicking foreign accents. Third, a culturally appropriate and true African radio broadcast can develop only if broadcasters and media policy makers develop deliberate policies that seek to encourage the use of native languages and promote local cultures and talents; something they have not paid attention to as they reform their public broadcasting. Such policies would ensure the ability of emerging pluralistic radio to communicate with the majority of the populace and encourage more participation in civic discourse in discernible languages. Finally, this paper calls on African broadcasters, media scholars and policy makers to re-examine the overwhelming dependence on Euro-imperial languages for broadcasting. This is important because with the exception of Sub-Saharan Africa, there is ample empirical and theoretical evidence to support the centrality of language to national broadcasting systems globally.

Centrality of Language and Culture in National Broadcasting Reforms: A Theoretical Framework
The centrality of language and culture in broadcasting reforms has been extensively researched in the United States and Europe (Schudson, 1994; Grant, 1994; Thomsen, 1989; Owen, 1977) and Asia (Kamin, 1996; Lee & Youn, 1995; Servaes & Wang, 1997). On the contrary, very little research has been done on similar broadcasting issues in sub-Saharan Africa (Leonard, 1996). Arguably, language and culture are the most visible and most problematic forces for societal integration. Schudson (1994:64) argued, “culture, that is, the way of life of a society, brings individuals and families of varying circumstances and backgrounds together in a collectivity with which people may strongly identify, take primary meanings from, and find emotionally satisfying.” This role of culture as an integrating factor is clearly evident in many African societies. These historically have developed and existed on the basis of strong cultural, linguistic and ethnic bonds. Culture is most visible in African societies because many nations self-consciously use language policy and mass media to integrate citizens and ensure their loyalty (Tomlinson, 1991). Likewise, the importance of language in any society can scarcely be overestimated. According to Anderson (1983:46) “the fatality of human linguistic diversity” has strongly guided the formation of nation states.

Broadcasting systems are by origin, practice, and convention very much national institutions that respond to cultural, domestic, political and social pressures and to the expectations of their audiences (McQuail, 1993). Ugboajah (1985) argued that the structure and content of broadcasting systems should reflect the cultural character of the societies within which they operate. Thomsen (1989) also noted that as broadcasting systems become pluralized they cease to reflect the culture and the circumstances of their intended publics and may even undermine the local language and cultural identity as a result of the transnational flow of content. Similarly, theories dealing with cultural integrity and imperialism typically have been concerned with matters of cultural quality of the content of media, its
authenticity in real life experiences, and the cultural task of broadcasting. Underlying these theoretical positions is a strong belief that languages and cultures are both valuable collective properties of nations and also vulnerable to alien influences (McQuail, 1993). Throughout the history of broadcasting development, we see these ideas deeply rooted in arguments for protecting national languages and cultural identities.

Culture and Language Issues in Broadcasting: Global Experiences

Strong cultural reasoning has permeated broadcast policy formulation, content, and structure in Europe and North America since the 1940s. Discussions about language problems, and of parties representing regional and cultural interests, were pivotal in broadcast reforms in many Western countries. European media scholars (e.g., Schlesinger, 1991; Drijvers, 1992) have argued that public service broadcasting was conceived of as a “cultural lever” in the hands of European states for the defense of their national cultures. On the national level, they argued, public service broadcasting sought to unite nations by ignoring local and regional differences and by presenting a unified national culture. On the international level they sought to defend national cultures against the growing threat of internationalization (Blanco & Bulck, 1995).

Belgium, Spain and Canada offer solid examples of the extent to which broadcasting language was a political and cultural matter. In Belgium and Spain, cultural and language concerns in broadcasting led to the development of independent French-speaking and Flemish-speaking channels, the creation of separate “cultural councils” responsible for “cultural matters” in the Flemish community and the French-speaking community, and the creation of regional broadcasting (Blanco & Bulck, 1995:245). In Canada, broadcasting began as an effort to assert cultural autonomy against the hegemony of the United States and to “create a national consciousness” (Schudson, 1994:74).
During the 1980s, several Asian countries also began to reform their public broadcasting systems by introducing commercial and pluralistic broadcasting (Straubhaar, 1995; White, 1996). Prior to the reforms, Asian broadcasters and government officials made deliberate policies to ensure that broadcast pluralism would promote program diversity without sacrificing individual national cultures and languages (Lee & Youn, 1995; Servaes & Wang, 1997). For instance, in Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, and Singapore safeguards were made to ensure that national cultures were protected from foreign influences. A regional broadcasting union, Asian Broadcasting Union (ABU), was created to ensure that national cultures, languages, and local programming were protected and promoted as private and independent broadcasting developed alongside public broadcasting (Kamin, 1996).

Unlike their counterparts in Europe or Asia, African broadcasters typically have employed French or English, the languages of their former colonizers, for official communications and for broadcasting. However, prior to handing over political governance to African native administrators in the 1960s, efforts were made in some countries to indigenize broadcasting. Native broadcasters, administrators, and technicians were trained to take over from the departing expatriates (UNESCO Report No.33, 1961). Immediately following independence, post independence African governments realized that for national and rural development goals to be realized, and to reach the majority rural peasant population, radio broadcasting should accommodate itself to native languages and cultural differences within their societies. Thus in the 1960s some governments began to introduce native languages for radio broadcasting. For instance, in Zambia where there were about 20 major languages spoken by 73 ethnic groups time was allocated to seven native languages in proportion to the size of language communities in the nation (Mytton, 1983). Following President Kenneth Kaunda’s tribal balancing policy instituted upon Zambia’s independence, a variety of native languages including Bemba...
and Nyanja were added to English in 1967. In the mid-1980s, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, and Tonga also received broadcasting time allocations. However, in 1988, all Zambian languages were removed from the general radio service. By 1990, Zambia’s Radio 2 and Radio 4 were broadcasting only in English. Seven Zambian languages shared equal airtime on Radio 1, although the languages representing the largest groups of people received the best times of day for broadcasting (Spitulnik, 1992). Similarly in Kenya, the Voice of Kenya (now the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation) used English to transmit its General Service program and Swahili for the National Service program. In addition, there were three regional services on which time for a total of 16 native languages was shared (Heath, 1986). Similar efforts to introduce native languages into radio broadcasting occurred in Ghana.

Efforts to Indigenize Radio Broadcasting in Ghana

In 1935, the British administrators introduced radio into Ghana. Despite the fact that Ghana had about 79 living native languages (UNESCO, World Communication Report, 1989), English was used to broadcast all radio programs. This was because English was adopted as the national or official language. However, the British administrators soon realized that radio broadcasting in Ghana must use vernacular languages if its programs were to be understood by the natives. So in 1939, the colonial administrators began introducing Ghanaian languages and personnel into radio broadcasting. Ghana Radio began to broadcast in Ewe, Twi and Hausa native languages. Two additional languages, Ga and Dagbani, were added during the 1940s (Kugblenu, 1974; Ansah, 1979). Of the 79 native languages, only nine were used by the state broadcasting system, the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC), to air different national programs. The native languages included Asante Twi, Akuapim Twi, Fante, Ewe, Ga-Adangbe, Nzema, Dagbani, Dagaari, and Kasem. The government also used Frafra, Buli, Kusaal,
Negotiating the Use of Native Languages in Emerging Independent Broadcast Systems in Africa

*Sisaala,* and *Gonja* in its non-formal radio education programs in the Northern and Upper regions of the country (UNESCO, World Communication Report, 1989).

The character of the broadcast personnel also began to change. In 1949, there were 13 native Ghanaian managers and 46 technicians working in the GBC. By 1956, these numbers had increased to 163 native managers and 445 technicians (Tudesq, 1983). In 1985, GBC had a total of 2,888 Ghanaian employees in both radio and television broadcasting. These included 404 program and journalistic staff, 1,473 technical staff, 751 administrators, and 260 supporting staff (UNESCO, World Communication Report, 1989).

The indigenizing of Ghana’s broadcasting intensified during the post-colonial period and well into the 1970s. The post-independence government of Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) reiterated the importance of broadcasting in consolidating the new nation. In the early 1960s, the government, with the support of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), launched development plans intended to expand radio broadcasting to rural areas (UNESCO Paper No. 51, 1968). Educational radio was established to promote rural education and development. Radio listening clubs in native languages were also established to bring about awareness among rural peasants of the new government and its development plans (Coleman & Opoku, 1968). Tudesq (1983) explained that the use of mass media, particularly radio, for development was a highly salable idea in the 1960s. The idea of rural radio broadcast in native languages appealed to the new elites in the new independent Ghana because it permitted the elites and government to communicate directly to the majority rural peasants and to re-orient them toward the central government and its policies. However, critics argued that the Nkrumah government’s efforts to indigenize broadcasting and
to establish rural radio projects in native languages were propaganda plots to politically sensitize the rural populations (Ansah, 1979, 1988; Coleman & Opoku, 1968).

By the late 1960s, the novelty of rural radio broadcasts had begun to wear off. As more and more Ghanaians acquired radio sets, interest in group listening began to wane. Many of the rural radio projects began to fail due to poor conceptualization and implementation. For instance, some adult literacy programs were ill received by adult audiences who objected to literacy lessons originally designed for school children (Coleman & Opoku, 1968). In addition, most of the early rural radio projects were insufficiently integrated into the existing national broadcasting services. Consequently, the government abandoned most of the rural radio services.

Nonetheless, radio broadcasting continued to expand, albeit slowly, in the 1970s and 80s because it was too important a tool to be ignored. In the 1980s, Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) increased its radio transmitters for its regional FM services. The transmitters were provided through bi-lateral aid in support of rural-based community education projects (Amakyi, 1988). During the same period, GBC focused also on using native languages and programs in its regional FM services. A UNESCO survey of the broadcasting content of Ghana from 1975 to 1988 revealed that news bulletins produced originally in English language were increasingly translated into rural languages (UNESCO, World Communication Report, 1989). By the late 1970s, news on GBC Radio was translated into six native languages -- Akan, Dagbani, Ewe, Ga, Nzema, and Hausa (Ansah, 1979). News represented at the time close to 50 percent of broadcasting on radio. The UNESCO survey on Ghana again revealed that cultural programs (dealing with traditional Ghanaian festivals and folklore) represented less than 15 percent of broadcasting in the 1980s; educational programs occupied about 20 percent of radio broadcast time; religious broadcasting by major Christian and Muslim groups averaged
less than 5 percent of broadcast schedules; advertisements carried on GBC radio services, in order to help stem budget deficits, took up an average of 2 percent of broadcast time (UNESCO, World Communication Report, 1989).

The development of radio broadcasting in Ghana has not occurred in a smooth political environment. In the early 1960s, political pressures began to mount against President Nkrumah and his Convention Peoples’ Party (CPP) government as the population increasingly showed their disappointments with the unfulfilled promises of the early post-independence era. The government began to find means to curb media access and to consolidate central power through repeater stations that disseminated messages from the capital cities where broadcasting could be more carefully monitored and controlled. Ultimately, a pattern emerged in Ghana that favored direct government control of broadcasting and the use of broadcasting to disseminate government propaganda (Ansah, 1985; Bourgault, 1995). By the 1970s, the state-owned Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) had been firmly placed in control of the government. This control and GBC’s monopoly were broken in 1995 when the erstwhile government of Jerry Rawlings and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) liberalized the Ghanaian economy and allowed for broadcast pluralism and privatization.

The Development of Private Radio Broadcasting

In the mid 1990s, Ghana’s structural adjustment policies turned into a long term goal of establishing a democratic, liberal and free market economy (Gyimah-Boadi, 1999). The public broadcasting system also came under intense criticisms and ultimately to its reform. The reform was the result of external and internal pressures. Externally, it was associated with a new era of political pluralism and neo-liberal economic policies that swept across the sub-Saharan African continent in the
decade following the collapse of the Soviet Union. After decades of state control and limited choice of media, liberal rhetoric that associated democracy with private media and a free market was particularly attractive to both the general public and business community (Heath, 1999, 2001). In addition, there was pressure from international donor agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank who made democratic and liberal reform a condition for continued external loans (Gyimah-Boadi, 1999).

The internal pressure came mainly from the Ghanaian academic community in the form of organized conferences that aimed at putting democracy and media liberalization on the public agenda (School of Communication Studies, 1993). For example, at the opening ceremony of a conference organized by the Unda/OCIC (International Catholic Organization for Cinema and Audiovisual) in Accra on September 6, 1992, the academic community realized a change in government attitude towards the media in a speech delivered by the Information Minister of Ghana when he declared a major policy change:

> The political changes taking place on the continent are likely to lead to the review of state monopoly in the electronic media. We in Ghana have, within the framework of our national communication policy, proposed a degree of deregulation in the electronic media set within clearly defined guidelines (Bonnah-Koomson, 1994:85).

This official policy declaration signaled a change in the attitude of the government of Jerry Rawlings and the National Democratic Congress (NDC). It also inspired the School of Communication Studies, University of Ghana, with support from the West Africa Regional Office of the International Development Research Center in Dakar, Senegal, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, and the Panos Institute, to organize two conferences, first in March 1993 and a follow-up conference in November 1994, on broadcast pluralism and privatization. The conferences highlighted the need for broadcast pluralism and publicly criticized the government for its disregard of the constitutional rights of Ghanaians.
by not allowing for press freedom and independent broadcasting as guaranteed by the 1992 Fourth Republic Constitution of Ghana (Bonnah-Koomson, 1995). Article 162 of the 1992 Constitution guaranteed freedom of expression and forbade the licensing of any medium of mass communication, including radio and television. It stated:

There shall be no impediments to the establishment of private press or media; and in particular there shall be no law requiring any person to obtain license as a prerequisite to the establishment or operation of a newspaper, journal, or other media for mass communication or information (Republic of Ghana, 1992 Constitution, Article 162 [3]).

The conferences also set a public agenda around arguments for and against the introduction of independent and private broadcasting in Ghana. Proponents urging constitutional rights and broadcast liberalization, mainly from the academic community, argued that independent broadcasting was needed to assure genuine pluralism, social development, and national unity. They further claimed that broadcast pluralism would promote program diversity and competition and encourage the development and use of Ghanaian cultural products and languages. But those opposed to broadcast pluralism, mainly government officials, invoked a cultural argument and expressed concern about the negative effects commercial broadcasting could have on Ghana’s culture, local talents and native languages (see Ansu-Kyeremeh, 1995; Bonnah-Koomson, 1995; Heath, 1999; Karikari, 1994).

Nevertheless, in 1995 the National Democratic Congress government reluctantly authorized private ownership and operation of broadcasting (Blankson, 2000; Heath, 1999, 2001). This action broke the decades of monopoly enjoyed by the state-owned Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) and set a pace for the establishment of independent private radio in Ghana. By late 2002, 14 new private FM radio stations had received licenses and were operating in Accra alongside the state owned stations: the short wave stations Radio One and Radio Two, and the FM service Radio GAR. The
private radio stations included Joy FM, Radio Gold, Radio Univers, Choice FM, Radio Atlantis, Groove FM, Radio Vibe, Peace FM, and Channel R. Several other applicants were awaiting approval and licenses from the Ghana Radio Frequency Distribution and Registration Board (GRFDB).

These private stations began to provide channel and program diversity for the first time in Ghana’s history. However, they were very similar in many ways and followed almost the same broadcast format. Music, particularly Western and Caribbean music, interjected with talk accounted for between 75 percent and 80 percent of the radio air time (Blankson, 2000). Though the radio stations played a number of “hip-life” (Ghanaian version of rap music), noticeably absent were traditional Ghanaian folk music such as “boboobo,” “kpalongo,” and guitar music or “highlife.” The Ghana Broadcasting Corporation continues to be the primary source of local and foreign news. However, some of the private radio stations retransmitted foreign or world news through exchanges with international stations such as the Voice of America (VOA), British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and Radio Netherlands. Almost all stations aired their local and foreign news in English. Besides music and the news segments, the stations introduced a variety of interactive phone-in or talk programs that actively engaged the public. These addressed a wide array of social, health, environmental, and political issues. Others engaged in mobilizing citizens for community work.

Despite the diverse, interactive, and entertaining content of the emerging radio stations, their overwhelming dependence on English and the relatively limited use of Ghanaian native languages and cultural programs are issues that need to be addressed.

**Insensitivity of Radio to Ghanaian Culture and Native Languages**
Ghana has about 79 living native languages. However, English has historically been the predominant language for broadcasting since the colonial days. Though post colonial governments introduced native languages into broadcasting, for years the predominance of English over native languages and its possible effects on native language use in broadcasting were ignored. As broadcasting pluralism became a reality in 1995 and more vibrant and competitive commercial radio stations emerged for the first time in Ghana’s history, Ghanaians hoped (as was promised by proponents of broadcast pluralism) that their native languages and cultural talents would be promoted and utilized by the new radio stations. On the contrary, the emerging radio stations, earlier in their operations, opted to broadcast solely in English. Both the public and private radio stations neglected to use any of the country’s 79 native languages solely or predominantly to air their programs. Ghana’s radio environment began to experience what the former Deputy Minister of Communication, Commander (rtd) Griffith, described as the “foreignization” of Ghana’s radio broadcasting. The Minister observed that some of the radio stations, particularly Vibe FM, were so dominated by English when they started that listeners phoned in to inquire whether the stations were foreign (personal communication, 22 October 1999).

By late 2000, none of the Accra radio stations was broadcasting solely or predominantly in any Ghanaian native language. However, in response to public criticism, some stations began to develop and air one or two programs in a native language. Stations like Radio GAR, Radio One, Radio Two, Joy FM, Radio Gold, Peace FM and Radio Univers began re-broadcasting their news bulletins in either the Twi or Ewe native language. Between 1995 and 2000, all the stations that had developed audience participation programs used predominantly English. Early in 1997, the University of Ghana station, Radio Univers, successfully introduced a Twi talk-program ‘Obiara Nka Bi.’ Following its success, Radio GAR developed an Akan talk program, ‘Agoro Na Me Pe,’ that received public acclaim.
Others such as Vibe FM, Groove FM and Joy FM followed the successful lead provided by Radio Univers and introduced similar audience participation programs that actively engaged the public. For instance, Radio Gold developed an *Akan* program that discussed the *Akan* culture and traditions. By late 2001, Peace FM and Radio Gold had begun to air their news in English and two native languages *Twi* and *Ga* in response to public criticism. Radio Gold and Joy FM also started airing some of their phone-in programs in *Twi*. However, few stations allowed their contributors to use their native languages though the program host spoke in English. This format required the program host to be multilingual. It also required the listeners to have the ability to comprehend what the host said in English. The state-owned Radio GAR did not have an audience participation program aired exclusively in any of the Ghanaian languages until mid-2001, though its policy guidelines called for 80 percent of programming in vernacular languages. The public expectation that their emerging radio stations would encourage the predominant use of more Ghanaian native languages in broadcasting was, however, thrown into question.

**Discussion**

The emerging cultural and linguistic character of radio broadcasting in Ghana, and many other African societies, raises important issues. Does the emerging character of radio pose a threat to the cultures and languages of the societies within which they operate? Is there a culturally appropriate broadcast language in multilingual African societies? Is there a justification for the continued overwhelming reliance on Euro-imperial languages in Africa’s radio? Or does such dependency prevent the development and use of native languages in broadcasting?
The importance of national languages in broadcasting systems globally cannot be disputed except in Sub-Saharan Africa, where broadcasting relies heavily on foreign languages. This raises concern over the effects the continued dependence on foreign languages have on the continent’s emerging broadcasting, particularly radio. Schudson (1994) reminded us that language is itself the fundamental human mass medium. It is the mass medium through which all other media speak. No other medium is so deeply rooted, so emotionally fraught, so insistently the basis for political aspirations, or so much an impediment to the efforts of states to use modern media for hegemonic control. Thus, in Africa, as in other societies, the use of a native language should not be seen as neutral medium for communication but a highly charged cultural object to be harnessed for development and civic participation. How has this characterization of language played out in African broadcasting systems?

Some media critics have charged that the emerging private stations have become “Trojan horses of Anglo-Saxon culture and music and, thus, for hastening the disintegration of local cultures” (Senghor, 1996:97). Others disagree. Senghor (1996), for instance, claimed that the success enjoyed by radio stations bears witness to listeners demand and need for entertainment and pleasure, something that the state-run stations did not know how to address. However, evidence from Ghana, Burkina Faso, and several other African societies does not support Senghor’s claim. In Ghana, radio stations had become competitive grounds for program hosts and news readers to prove who could speak with the best foreign accent. Consequently, a phenomenon known in Ghanaian popular culture as LAFA (Locally Acquired Foreign Accent) had emerged where program presenters and hosts, who had never traveled to the United States or the Caribbean, were mimicking American and Caribbean accents. In their attempt to do so they mispronounce common Ghanaian names and words. Not surprisingly, the Ghanaian youth picked up on it and begun to mimic foreign accents and American slang (Blankson,
Negotiating the Use of Native Languages in Emerging Independent Broadcast Systems in Africa

2000). Similarly in Burkina Faso, Horizon FM’s musical programs, mostly reggae, rock, and pop music were hosted by a disc jockey, who, wearing a baseball cap spoke in a jargon of “franglais” (Senghor, 1996:97). Nevertheless, some contemporary African private broadcasters and media scholars have refused to acknowledge the negative effects these developments have on the societies’ languages and on broadcast professionalism in general. Perhaps, African private and commercial broadcasters should begin to acknowledge that they have the obligation, as do public broadcasters, to protect and promote their societies’ native languages and harness them to encourage more public participation in the media.

Like their African counterparts, Ghana’s radio broadcasters have downplayed the importance of local languages. Their insensitivity to native languages has contributed to the erosion of early post independence efforts in the 1960s and 70s to intensify the indigenization of broadcasting. This raises the critical question of what constitutes, if any, an appropriate broadcast language in developing African democracies that are reforming their broadcasting. This issue is even made more critical because it is asked in the context of societies that are multilingual, that has for decades depended on Euro-imperial languages, English or French that are unintelligible to over half of their populations.

Interestingly, some Western media scholars have defended the predominant use of Euro-imperial languages as the most appropriate broadcast languages in African societies. For example, Spitulnik (1992) argued that English and French are the only languages that are “ethnically neutral” and, thus, non-native to the indigenous ethnic groups. He also claimed that English or French have become the predominant broadcast language of choice in countries colonized by Britain or France to resolve competition among linguistic groups. Unfortunately, these arguments have been used successfully to discourage African broadcasters and policy makers from promoting the development of their native
languages in broadcasting and as national languages. Some African broadcasters and media scholars are convinced that Africa’s diverse native languages do not serve its broadcasting institutions well since it excludes minority languages (see Senghor, 1996). Using Senegal as an example (Senegal uses six of its twelve spoken native languages to broadcast radio programs), Senghor for example argued that the exclusive use, on national radio, of widely spoken local languages excludes linguistic minorities from the audience. She further claimed that in broadcasting systems where several local languages are used, the dominant local language (that of the largest population group or that of the most powerful social group) tends to overshadow the other languages. Therefore, she cautioned, “imagine the situation in other African states, with their multitude of languages” (Senghor, 1996:85).

Unfortunately, this negative view towards the use of native languages in Africa’s broadcasting is shared by many broadcasters and media policy makers in Africa. This view has affected African broadcasting development in significant ways. First, for decades it succeeded as a valid justification for efforts to deepen what Mazrui (1996:4) called the “domestication of Euro-imperial languages” in African broadcasting. And, secondly, it succeeded in discouraging legitimate attempts to promote the use of more native languages in broadcasting on the grounds that using a native language would exclude other linguistic minorities from the audience. But how valid or legitimate are these arguments? Those who hold such a negative view towards native language use in broadcasting fail to realize that these arguments can also be used against the use of English or French in African societies. The case of Ghana, though not unique in Africa, provides a good illustration. In Ghana, Akan, one of the major native languages, is spoken by 44 percent of the over 19 million Ghanaians (Nkansah-Kyeremateng, 1996; Akan Dictionary Project, 2001) compared to functional English which is spoken by only 36 percent of the total population (UNESCO, 1996). Yet some Ghanaian broadcasters and media scholars continue to
believe that the use of a native language like *Akan* for broadcasting would exclude more linguistic minorities from the audience. It is clearly obvious that the use of English in Ghana’s radio actually excludes more minorities, including the majority of the 65 percent rural peasant population, from participating in radio broadcasting. According to UNESCO, over 60 percent of Ghanaians were illiterates in 1996. Literacy rate was 36 percent. It is quite obvious that the majority of Ghanaians does not, and cannot use English to participate effectively in civic discourse on radio.

Evidence from Ghana, Namibia, Mali, and other countries suggests that African radio audiences actually prefer programs aired in their native languages over those aired in the languages of their former colonizers. They also feel more comfortable participating in programs that are broadcast in a native language. In Ghana, for instance, my investigation revealed that the most popular programs were not the “entertaining and pleasurable” musical programs Senghor (1996:97) claimed. Rather they were the interactive programs that engaged the audience in discussions on social, health, economic and even political issues in one or two native languages (Blankson, 2000). Stations like Joy FM, Radio Gold, and Radio GAR were popular because of their interactive talk programs in native *Akan* languages. Radio Univers particularly attracted listeners with its educational and news bulletins and press reviews in *Ewe* and *Twi* native languages. It was no surprise that over 65 percent of the audiences surveyed (n=408) disliked the predominant use of English on the radio airwaves. The majority of them considered the dominance of English as a hindrance to both the promotion of Ghana’s native languages and the participation of many Ghanaians in radio discussions. Only 28 percent of those surveyed considered English language appropriate for radio broadcasting. These cited the country’s multi-lingual character and the neutrality of English language to ethnic boundaries to justify their response. The remaining 17 percent respondents were indifferent.
Senghor (1996) even acknowledged that the popularity of Namibian Broadcasting Corporation since its transformation in 1993 was the result of the successful interactive programs it developed in various national languages to encourage open public debate among Namibians and their leaders. The programs were broadcast (via satellite) over a larger area to reflect the country’s multicultural nature. Similarly in Mali, Radio Bamakan, which started to broadcast in September 1991 without authorization, immediately aroused the enthusiasm of the people of Bamako because it translated simultaneously in the local language, Bamanan, the debates of the democratically elected parliament, conducted in French, which less than 30 percent of the people of Bamako understood. It even broadcast every week, also in Bamanan, a review of the national and international press with equal success (Senghor, 1996). Finally, the popular Senegalese station Sud FM exhibited considerable multilingualism that it was common to hear a listener, as well as the host, switch languages in one and the same show.

Unfortunately, many contemporary African broadcasters and media scholars have confused what they perceived as the audience’s need for entertainment and pleasure with foreign programming and the use of foreign languages and accents. Others have even characterized Africa’s emerging radio as a factor of cultural change because they not only record, preserve, and file traditions particular to the territory, land, or community in which they broadcast but they also manage to create or encourage the creation of new and popular verbal or musical forms (see Senghor, 1996). Furthermore, it has been argued “by preserving and creating local popular culture, radio stations succeed where the state and the elitist civil society of experts and intellectuals seem to have failed” (see Senghor, 1996:81).

Though these characterizations are interesting my research in Ghana suggests otherwise. In Ghana the overwhelming majority of the radio stations have not succeeded in appropriating, preserving or creating cultural forms and languages indigenous to the people. Rather, they have collectively
succeeded in fortifying the domination of English over native languages, and in mimicking foreign accents at the expense of broadcast professionalism. Though it is important to acknowledge the positive developments associated with the emerging radio stations as pointed out by Senghor, it is equally important to critical examine their failures, especially at it relates to the use and promotion of more native languages in broadcasting. After all, this is one of the major arguments raised in support of the development of independent media in many African countries, including Ghana. (see Ansu-Kyeremeh, 1995: Bonnah-Koomson, 1994, 1995). In a sense, what African societies need is a broadcasting environment that would provide multiple forums for its people to freely engage each other in languages that the majority, if not all, would understand and feel comfortable with. They also need a broadcasting environment that would recognize the importance of local languages as well as protect and promote their culture and languages, something that Africa’s emerging private radio collectively have failed to do.

**Conclusion**

Undoubtedly, in Ghana and other parts of Africa, radio broadcasting is more competitive and diverse in terms of program and channel choice. Radio broadcasting has become an entrée into civic discourse and socio-political awareness. It has also become a powerful force for social and political integration. Through the efforts of private radio, politics has become nationalized and civic discussions on varied issues intensified. But on a more critical level, Africa’s emerging radio has become avenues for corroding their societies’ languages and cultures. While they have collectively been insensitivity to their native languages and cultural talents, they have been successful in domesticating English and Western broadcast content. Thus, for Africa’s broadcasting to be useful to the majority of its people, and for it to develop an identity of its own, the language and cultural policy question must be seriously addressed.
Clearly, what is happening in broadcasting is a reflection of African governments’ failure to provide broadcast policies that seek to protect their cultural integrity and promote native languages. It is also a consequence of the negative views broadcasters and media scholars have on the multi-linguistic character of African societies, especially as it relates to broadcasting. Thus, African broadcasters, both private and public, should have a mandate to protect and promote their societies’ cultures and languages. This is important because culture is a means of communication that provides language (Mazrui, 1996) for meaningful interactions. The potential of indigenous African languages as cultural expressions and identity formation cannot be overlooked by media policy makers in this critical time of broadcast transformation. Contemporary African broadcasters cannot continue to rely overwhelmingly on Euro-imperial languages for their discourse if they hope to engage the majority of the people. It is even doubtful that a “true” African broadcasting system would emerge if it continues to be so tightly held hostage to the languages of their former colonial powers. Mazrui (1996:4) reminded us that “no country has ascended to the level of economic power by excessive dependence on foreign languages.” The claim that broadcast pluralism and independence in emerging African democracies would automatically encourage the growth of local cultures and the use of native languages cannot be realized unless private broadcasters realize they have the same obligation as public broadcasters to promote the culture and languages of the societies within which they operate. It can also be realized only if emerging African democracies reforming their broadcasting systems towards commercialism develop deliberate policies to promote their native languages and cultures. African broadcasters and media policy makers should be mindful of the experiences of Asian countries where deliberate language and cultural policies successfully guided broadcast reforms and protected Asian languages from domination of Western languages and cultural products (see Lee & Youn, 1995; Servaes & Wang, 1997). As media scholars concerned with
the cultural and language direction of Africa’s broadcasting systems, we cannot but raise these issues at a critical time that African broadcasting is at its early stages of transformation towards pluralism and privatization.


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Abstract:

What’s in a Name?
Investigating the effect of explicit naming on cognitive representation

The cognitive representation of perceptual phenomena requires the activation of features across a distributed network of conceptual and perceptual domains. These features include concrete modality-specific representations appropriate to the perceptual features associated with the target, as well as abstract representations specifying its conceptual properties. The present experiment is aimed at assessing the degree to which lexical representations differentially activate conceptual vs. perceptual features of the categories they reference. Subjects were asked to name triplets of figures (naming task) and judge their similarity using an alternative forced choice paradigm (similarity task), with task order manipulated across subjects. Triples were constructed such that each contains two perceptually similar targets (e.g. a pear and a light bulb) and two conceptually similar targets (e.g. the pear and a banana). As predicted, subjects who explicitly named the figures prior to judging their similarity were subsequently more likely to group the conceptually similar pair as compared to subjects who performed the similarity task first. Conversely, subjects who performed the similarity task prior to naming the figures were more likely to utilize superordinate category labels (e.g. “fruit”) than were subjects who performed the naming task first; the latter overwhelmingly preferred basic level names (e.g. “pear”). These findings are attributed to a model of cognitive representation in which category activation by way of explicit lexicalization (e.g. naming, reading, hearing) privileges the conceptual features associated with the target over that of their perceptual features. Such a model can provide the groundwork for a causal mechanism able to explain socially relevant phenomena—notably racial stereotyping. For example, it may help explain findings that young children—though aware of racial categories—appear to understand relatively little about the perceptual correlates of those categories and learn them primarily on the basis of verbal cues. The present experiment suggests a clear explanatory mechanism for such findings in terms of differential activation of perceptual vs. conceptual features as a function of whether targets are explicitly named. This differential activation should be observable in terms of disparate patterns of neural activation, suggesting avenues for further research utilizing brain-imaging techniques.
Abstract of a Research Paper:

**Topic Area:** Area Studies (Africa)


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To be Presented to: THE 4th ANNUAL HAWAII INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL SCIENCE

Waikiki Beach Marriott
HONOLULU, Hawaii
(June 13-16, 2005)
Ideally, natural resource wealth should help, not hinder economic performance, yet a body of empirical evidence from some developing nations has revealed negative correlation between natural resource abundance and economic growth. As such, during the last several months, a great deal of attention has been paid to what has been referred to in the literature as resource curse as found in some developing countries, especially those in Sub-Saharan Africa (Afty; Collier, P. et al.; Collier & Hoeffler 2000). The characteristics of this phenomenon include:

- Endowment of natural resources considerably increases the chances of civil conflict in a country.

- A country that has little or no natural resources faces an insignificant probability of conflict, and has a better chance of economic growth.

- Economies experiencing natural resource booms, either through price increases or new discoveries, appear to experience unsustainable economic growth rates.

- As such, natural resources appear to be detrimental to institutional quality, and so may have a negative impact on growth rates.

The paper attempts to critically examine the relationship between endowment of natural resource boom and increased chances of civil conflicts and/or unsustainable economic growth. Using Botswana and Ghana as an example, an effort will be made to find out the reasons why some economies with a high ratio of natural resource exports to GDP tend to have low growth rates, while others escape the so-called resource curse.
Title: WILLING SUBJECTS: Academic Africana Lesbians "Out" And About

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Workshop Presentation/discussion

The purpose of this workshop is to discuss the phenomenon of black lesbians being out within academia: how black lesbian professors make the decision to be out within academia and how that decision affects them in three professional areas:

1) research
2) pedagogy
3) career
This study does not address the participants' personal lives.

1) In the area of research, the workshop leader will involve participants in a discussion exploring the phenomenon of whether being out affects the choices that black lesbians make in regard to the topics/areas of their research, and if so, what that effect may be; how their methods in conducting their research might be affected by their (in) visibility as out lesbians; and the effects that their (in) visibility might have on their access to publishing opportunities.

2) In the pedagogy area, the discussion will address whether the subjects/informants teach lesbian issues and if so, whether they address experiential and sociological as well as theoretical lesbian issues in the classroom; whether they incorporate political and philosophical discussions also; and whether they reveal their sexual orientation within the classroom--and if so, what methods they use in their approach; and whether those discussions affect their relationships with students, and if so, how.

3) In the career area, the workshop leader will relate how being out affects black lesbians' relationships with colleagues and administrators, and consequently and ultimately, their careers within academia.

This workshop is based on an ongoing set of interviews which will culminate in full individual essays by a number of "out" academic Africana lesbians whose total number of years laboring in the "knowledge factory"* number 76, with the number still climbing.

An Empirical Analysis of Attitudes toward Women as Managers in the People’s Republic of China

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Abstract

China has become a popular host country for multinational corporations since joining the WTO in 2001. However, there is a general lack of understanding of the Chinese culture and lack of empirical study on perception of women as managers in China. This study provides historical, cultural, social, and legal contexts of the Chinese society and empirically compares attitudes toward women as managers among students and workers. Results show significant gender and sample effects. Further analysis revealed that the gender effect was stronger than the sample effect. Women have a much more positive, liberal, and egalitarian attitude toward women as managers than men. Implications of these results are discussed based on the cultural and social contexts. Managerial implications are provided.
Women managers who wish to attain senior level positions in multinational corporations (MNCs) find that international assignments provide the visibility required for advancement (Caligiuri & Tung, 1999). The host country’s attitudes toward women managers are among the four important predictors of success for women managers on global assignments, along with individual characteristics, organizational policies and practices, and family adjustment (Caligiuri and Cascio, 1998). Unfortunately, there are few empirical studies on attitudes of women as managers in non-English speaking countries. China is, without a doubt, the most powerful and mysterious one among them.

China is changing very rapidly. With a population of 1.3 billion, and a GDP of 1.2 trillion dollars, its emergence as an economic power is having a huge impact on global trade. China’s accession to the World Trade Organization in December 2001 not only provides the world with unprecedented access to China’s markets but also turns it into the biggest manufacturing base in the global economic chain (China Survey, 2002). China has become a popular host country for many MNCs; however, there is little empirical research on the Chinese people’s attitudes toward women as managers. This study is specifically designed to fill this gap by providing empirical evidence on attitudes toward women as managers in China. Attitudes toward women as managers in China can be understood only through an appreciation of the larger historical, cultural, social, and legal contexts in which they live.

Historical Background of People’s Republic of China (PRC)

The Communist government established power in 1949 and attempted to eradicate poverty, illiteracy, and premature mortality through modernization, land reform, and abolition of
private ownership. The All-China Women’s Federation (ACWF) was also established in 1949 at the national, provincial and local levels to oversee policies targeted specifically at improving the status of women. ACWF continues its fight to improve women’s equal access to education, training and employment (Korabik, 1993). Although there has been a long-standing constitutional commitment to sexual equality, the Chinese Communist Party has not successfully eliminated the remnants of feudal thinking. Stereotyped views about the nature of women and men are still ubiquitous and often serve to perpetuate discrimination and keep women in inferior positions (Xi, 1985).

The economic reform launched in 1978 shifted the basic economic unit from the people’s communes back to families, thus intensifying the traditional triple burden of women: jobs, housework, and caring for both children and the elderly. With the increasing privatization of state-owned enterprises starting in the 1980s, the status of women in Chinese organizations has deteriorated. The combination of traditional attitudes toward women and increasing economic pressures to enhance efficiency led to discrimination against women in terms of layoffs. Official state statistics from the middle of the 1990s indicate that 63% of employees laid-off by state-run enterprises were women and that, once laid off they had only a one-in-three chance of finding a new job (Plan to Fight Discrimination, 1995). Laid-off female workers were told that they could best serve the state by tending to the needs of their families at home (Reese, 2003).

**Chinese Culture**

Confucius was born in 551 B.C. but, his far-reaching and unquestionable influence is still felt strongly in the daily lives of ordinary Chinese people. The Chinese communicate with each other not only through a shared, standard written language but, more importantly, through a shared, common world-view based on Confucianism (Mah, 2001). Confucius is partially
responsible for women’s status today. The clear and explicit preference for male children contained in his teaching remains a fundamental aspect of Chinese society. This may be seen for instance, in his famous adage that, ‘Only women and petty men are difficult to deal with. Be close to them and they are not humble. Keep them at a distance and they complain.’ Confucius clearly viewed and treated all women in the same category as petty men, back stabbers, or men with inferior qualities.

‘One of the most serious violations of filial obligations is not having a male heir’ is also rooted deeply into Chinese mentality. Continuing the family name is still of paramount importance and only a son is able to do that. This undoubtedly helps in large part to explain the skewed sex ratio observed in China. The ratio of males to females worldwide is 101:100 while in China it is 107:100 (World Population Prospects, 2002). The deleterious effects of this powerful ancient teaching are multiplied by the Chinese government’s “One-Child Policy” in which each family is only allowed to have one child, and any additional child will result in loss of health care, education subsidy, and other benefits. With the help of advancement in modern medical technology, such as the gender selective conception and gender selective abortion that are widely available in urban areas on one hand, and widely alleged female infanticides in rural areas on the other, the patrilineal system lives on.

Another famous common saying which could be attributed under Confucius’ influence is ‘A woman’s virtue relies on her lack of talent.’ A woman is thus held in high regard as long as she manages the household well (i.e., her husband and the in-laws are served, children are fed, and the house is clean). At the same time, she is positively discouraged from pursuing any intellectual development.
The Nu Erh Ching (The Classic Women’s Guide), composed in the Han Dynasty (206 B.C. – 221 A.D.), listed ‘Three Obediences: When she is with her family, a woman obeys her father. When married, she obeys her husband. When widowed, she obeys her son’ (Lin, 1938). Women are socialized to modestly yield to others; respect others and put others first and themselves last. Such cultural stereotypes not only are socialized into how women perceive themselves but, also how parents treat their female offspring. Due to the Chinese feudal tradition, women are less likely than men to get educated, especially when family financial resources are limited. Education is considered a form of investment. The family invests in male children, where the payoff will continue over time, because males will remain in the family to continue the patrilineal tradition whereas females will marry out and leave to become part of a new – via the husbands – economic unit (Hildebrandt & Liu, 1988). The effects of this differential treatment between girls and boys can be seen in Table 1, which shows the gender ratio of enrollment in different levels of schooling. The trend is clear that the higher the education level, the more disparity women face. Even taking the gender ratio (male: female) of the overall population (107:100) into consideration, the gender ratios of high school enrollment (138:100) and college enrollment (144:100) still clearly show that women are less likely than men to get educated beyond the mandatory nine-years of education (Educational Statistics Yearbook of China, 2000).

For those girls who are fortunate enough to graduate from high school, more obstacles lie ahead. A quota system exists in university admission policies to make sure that the ratio of male to female students remains favorable toward males. For instance, it is not uncommon for universities to require women to achieve higher scores than men on the university entrance examinations to gain admissions (Günthner, 1995; Pearson, 1995). Higher education is an important factor in an individual’s career potential and personal development, therefore stunting
or obstructing women’s entrance to higher education may have severe consequences for women’s career development later on.

In short, traditional Confucius teaching, low perceived value of female offspring, gender role socialization, and fewer educational opportunities all contribute to the difficulty women have to endure in Chinese culture.

**Chinese Social Norms**

The traditional division of labor within the Chinese family is that men are in charge of outside affairs and women are in charge of household chores. Women are left solely responsible for the entire family while men run businesses, society, and even the country. Family becomes an integral part of women’s identities. It is socially unacceptable for a woman to refuse taking on family demands, such as cooking, cleaning, raising the young, and tending to the old. Both men and women accept this is the way things should be (Günthner, 1995). Therefore, a career is considered more important and appropriate for men than women. A woman’s career ambition is tolerated only when she can find a way to satisfy and balance the work and family demands simultaneously.

Advancement in career is related to advanced degrees. In addition to institutional obstruction of women’s opportunities to enter into higher education, women frequently decide not to pursue advanced degrees. One reason is that it is difficult for highly educated women to find a husband. ‘Male superior and female inferior’ is maintained by the common practice of a woman marrying a husband who is more educated and has a higher income (Bowen, 2003). Most Chinese men do not want to marry a woman who is more intelligent or better educated than they are. Remaining single is just not a feasible alternative for Chinese women in a society.
characterized by extremely high levels of conformity to well defined, commonly shared social norms.

**Chinese Legal System**

The legal position of Chinese women has improved considerably since the fall of the last empire in 1912. Laws and regulations were established to grant women equal rights in the family and society, which they were deprived of by the feudal tradition. Article 48 of the Chinese Constitution states:

*Women in the People’s Republic of China enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of life, political, economic, cultural and social, including family life. The state protects the rights and interests of women, applies the principle of equal pay for equal work for men and women alike and trains and selects cadres from among women.*

However, the Constitution and its amendments, including the Law for Protection of Women’s Rights and Interests established in 1992, have been criticized for their lack of penalties and general imprecision (Pearson, 1995).

Although the Constitution expressly stipulates the state’s obligation to ensure wage equality, and the slogan “equal pay for equal work” is often cited, a women’s social status survey conducted in 2000 by the All-China Women’s Federation and the National Bureau of Statistics painted a different picture. Women’s income improved dramatically between 1990 and 2000, however, the gender gap in pay widened. The working women in urban areas earn about 70.1% of what men earn and working women in rural areas earn about 59.6% of their male counterparts (*The Second Phase Chinese Women Social Status Survey Main Statistics Report*, 2001). Paid maternity leave has been increased from 56 to 90 days with 70 to 80% of their wages. Although some actions such as dismissing women or cutting their wages in connection with pregnancy,
delivery, and breast-feeding are illegal, in reality the constitution’s equal rights protection does not adequately help women’s status in the workplace. These supposed protections actually work as a double-edged sword, especially in a workforce where supply is greater than demand (i.e., as a consequence, employers often see women as less productive and less desirable employees). In 1984, 30% of all work units wanted to accept only men; frequently, even less qualified men are preferred to women (Borchard, 1995). Korabik (1993) reported that 80 to 90 percent of women college graduates had difficulties securing work assignments. Hiring women was viewed as a costly and ill-advised practice for both public and private employers.

On the home front, the marriage laws of 1950 and 1980 stipulate a woman’s right to obtain a divorce and to choose her mate freely. A widow’s right to remarry was explicitly guaranteed. The inheritance laws of 1985 also stipulate a woman’s right to inherit property (Borchard, 1995). These women’s rights to start or end a marriage and to obtain inheritance were deprived from them before.

In summary, the historical background of the political and economic systems of China, deep-rooted Confucius’ influence on favoritism over boys, widely accepted and rigidly defined social norms, on top of the weak and vague women’s rights protection laws all contributed to women’s bleak status in China. In addition, institutional obstruction of women’s opportunities to higher education and stereotypical preference over male employees make women managers few and far between. Women hold only 11% of the managerial jobs in China, and negative attitudes are common regarding women as managers (Honh, 1995).

Women as Managers

Despite the implementation of equal employment laws in the PRC, and the Communist ideology of gender equality, women are covertly prevented from advancing to powerful positions
in the Communist Party, government, and businesses (Ebrahimi, Young, & Luk, 2001). In state-owned business, access to managerial positions may be conferred as a reward for Party loyalty. But this route into management has been less available to women than to men: 86% of Party members are men, (Korabik, 1993).

Another discriminatory practice also impedes women managers’ chance of making it to the top. The mandatory retirement age for civil servants, as stated in ‘The Ordinance of National Civil Servants for the Present,’ established by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, August 14, 1993, is 55 for women and 60 for men. Private corporations and non-government organizations usually refer to this ordinance to decide non-entry level employees’ retirement age. Entry-level workers’ retirement age is 50 for women and 55 for men. In every position, women are forced to retire five years earlier than men. The women’s early retirement age truncates their career advancement and may prevent them from reaching senior management levels (Borchard, 1995). Even for the few women who do climb to the top, the early retirement age ensures that they will not stay there for long.

Many men and women believe that women bosses are unfair, disorganized, narrow-minded and hard to work with, compared to men (Wolf, 1985). Stereotypical perceptions of gender differences in competence, commitment, and work attitudes – particularly those held by men, who are predominantly the managers making personnel decisions affecting women’s careers – appear to underlie much of the sex discrimination in the workplace (Bowen, 2003). Unfortunately, Chinese men tend to hold significantly more traditional views of gender roles than Chinese women (Yang, 1987). This pattern applies to employment roles as well as education roles, marital status roles, parental status roles, and social roles. Male recruiters are more likely than female recruiters to base their selection decisions on gender stereotypes (Tang,
Women tend to hold more liberal or egalitarian views than men toward women as managers (Pek & Leong, 2003). Men viewed advancement of women’s status as a threat while women viewed advancement of women’s status as an opportunity.

In Chinese society, women are expected to carry the primary family responsibilities. They are the ones who leave work behind when their loved ones are sick or need their help. Women are thus seen as less committed to their careers and more likely to quit or be absent from their jobs due to family crises, and are less likely to be rewarded or promoted for their job performance (Chang, 1995).

Overall, Chinese women are facing overt discrimination in the workplace. First, women are less likely to be hired by work units. Once they get hired, the law truncated their career by five years compared to men in the same positions. Stereotypical perceptions and expectations for women to solely shoulder the family responsibilities interfere with their career commitment and advancement. Despite all of the literature on the stereotypical perceptions of Chinese women in general, empirical evidence of perceptions of women as managers in the People’s Republic of China is lacking.

This current investigation is specifically designed to measure the perceptions of women as managers in the People’s Republic of China, and to provide empirical evidence to show how people view women as managers. Attitudes toward women are influenced by age, sex, education, and socioeconomic status (Spence & Hahn, 1997). Sex discrimination in educational institutions creates severe consequences for women’s career advancement in the workplace. Sex discriminations in academics and industry are disparate but, interdependent. Careful comparisons of perceptions of women as managers between these two sectors are essential to shed some light into the reality of the workplace and assist future managers to better equip themselves for the real
world of business. Today’s college graduates are likely to become tomorrow’s managers. Understanding the differences between students and workers can provide insights into attitudes toward women as managers from diverse perspectives. Understanding the perceptions of college students might help to understand the leading edge social perceptions for years to come. It is also probable that differences in work experience and life experience may reshape people’s attitudes toward women as managers. Based upon this backdrop of previous research on the PRC and women as managers in the PRC, the following two hypotheses are proposed:

\( H_1: \) University students’ attitudes towards women as managers are different from workers’ attitude towards women as managers.

\( H_2: \) Females’ attitudes towards women as managers are more positive than males’ in both student and worker samples.

**Method**

*Student Sample*

There were 502 students from four different universities in Beijing who participated in the study. The age distribution of the students was concentrated with a mean of 20.38 and standard deviation of 1.56. The majority of these participants were full-time students and did not have work experience. The mean reported work experience was 0.10 year and standard deviation was 0.92. Four hundred seventy-six students were single, three were married, and two were divorced. There were more female students (n = 271) than male students (n = 203) in the sample. The number for each answer did not add up to the total of 502 due to some missing data for each demographic question.

*Worker Sample*
Workers participated in this study through training sessions conducted by one of the authors and most of them were employees of the People’s Bank of China (PBC) which was established in 1948. Participants completed the questionnaire during the training sessions and returned it at the end of the sessions.

A total of 385 workers completed the questionnaire. Forty percent were female (n = 132), sixty percent were male (n = 198). The age distribution of workers was much wider than the student sample with a mean of 32.88 and standard deviation of 8.85. The workers’ education background was diverse. There were 24 workers with a high school diploma, 57 with a community college degree, 206 with a bachelor’s, 32 with a master’s, and 8 with a doctorate degree. The majority of workers were married (73.3%), 25.1% were single, and 1.6% were divorced. The number for each answer did not add up to the total of 385 due to some missing data for each demographic question. The work experiences of the participants were wide spread with a mean of 11.54 years and standard deviation of 9.50.

Translation Procedure and Instrument

The 21-item ‘Women as Managers Scale’ (WAMS; Terborg, Peters, Ilgen, & Smith, 1977) was translated into Chinese using the translation and back translation procedure (Brislin, Lonner, & Thorndike, 1973; Candell & Hulin, 1987; Hwang, Yan, & Scherer, 1996). First, two bilingual (Mandarin Chinese – English) members of the research team independently translated the WAMS to Chinese then the two researchers reviewed their translations to assure equivalency of some words and phrases in Mandarin Chinese. Any discrepancies were discussed and resolved between the two researchers. Second, a third bilingual member of the research team translated the WAMS from Chinese to English. All three bilingual researchers reviewed discrepancies in the back translation with the original scale to assure equivalency. Third, the WAMS was piloted
on a small group of workers in Beijing whose only language was Chinese. These participants were interviewed by one of the bilingual researchers to determine the ease of comprehension of the Chinese WAMS. Minor adjustments to the Chinese WAMS were made before administration to the entire student and worker samples.

The WAMS was used to measure stereotypic attitudes towards women in managerial positions. The WAMS contains 21 items, 11 positively worded and 10 negatively worded. Responses were collected using a seven-point Likert format ranging, from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Negatively worded items were reverse coded so higher scores reflected more favorable attitudes toward women as managers.

Results

To test the first hypothesis, ‘university students’ attitudes towards women as managers are different from workers’ attitude towards women as managers,’ we used a principal components analysis with varimax rotation as the primary analytic technique to determine the dimensionality of the WAMS scale. The resulting principal components were used to test the comparability of attitudes towards women as managers in student and worker samples. Based on the Rotated Component Matrices, we found that Factor 1 in the student sample had almost the same items as Factor 2 in the worker sample, and Factor 2 in the student sample had the majority of the same items as Factor 1 in the worker sample. The items that loaded on Factor 3 were identical in both samples. Table 2 contains the results from the principal component analysis and provides rotated matrices for student and worker samples with the number of components limited to three. Similarities and differences of these matrices were further analyzed.

The three components in the student sample explained 51.15% of the total variance of the WAMS, and the three components in the worker sample explained 44.94% of the total variance
of the WAMS. The three components were labeled as ‘Ability,’ ‘Acceptance,’ and ‘Physical Constraint’ (see Table 3). Ability is defined as the perceptions of women’s abilities to succeed as managers. The ability component includes items such as ‘women are not ambitious enough to be successful in the business world,’ ‘women are not competitive enough to be successful in the business world,’ and ‘women are less capable of learning mathematical and mechanical skills than are men’ (with 8 items, Cronbach’s a = .85 in the student sample, Cronbach’s a = .80 in the worker sample). Acceptance is defined as the society’s acceptance of women as managers. The acceptance component includes items such as ‘society should regard work by female managers as valuable as work by male managers,’ and ‘the business community should someday accept women in key managerial positions’ (with 5 items, Cronbach’s a = .85 in the student sample and Cronbach’s a = .84 in the worker sample). Physical constraint is defined as perceptions of women’s unique reproductive functions as road blocks to their success as managers. The physical constraint component includes items such as ‘the possibility of pregnancy does not make women less desirable employees than men,’ and ‘problems associated with menstruation should not make women less desirable than men as employees’ (with 4 items, Cronbach’s a = .69 in the student sample, Cronbach’s a = .60 in the worker sample). Cronbach’s a usually needs to be higher than .70 to be acceptable. In this exploratory study, WAMS was first tested in China. To avoid losing valuable information, we continued the analyses of the physical constraint component even though the internal consistency was marginally acceptable in the student sample yet questionable in the worker sample. The complete WAMS items are listed in the Appendix.

To test the second hypothesis, ‘females’ attitudes towards women as managers are more positive than males’ in both student and worker samples,’ we used t-tests. Table 4 shows the
results of t-tests on Ability, Acceptance and Physical Constraint in both samples. Significant and consistent gender differences persist across all three subscales with more favorable attitudes toward women as managers from females than males in both samples.

So far, principal component analysis and t-tests supported both hypotheses and showed consistently significant main effects of ‘sample’ and ‘gender’ for ‘Ability’, ‘Acceptance’ and ‘Physical Constraint.’ A multivariate analysis of variance was conducted to investigate the interaction of these two independent variables: sample and gender. The results of the MANOVA (Table 5) revealed a significant interaction between gender and sample on ability, acceptance and physical constraint. Gender explains 22.8% of the variance for the three dependent variables and is a much stronger predictor than the sample which only explains 2.8% variance. Further analysis reveals that Gender has a significant main effect on all three dependent variables and that the sample’s main effect is only significant on ability, but not the others. Further univariate analyses showed that female students have the most favorable attitudes toward women as managers, and female workers have the second favorable attitudes, while male students and male workers do not differ from each other and both have the least favorable attitudes toward women as managers. The differences between female students and male students are much wider than those between female workers and male workers.

Discussion

The first hypothesis, ‘students’ attitudes toward women as managers are different from workers’ attitudes toward women as managers,’ was supported by the results of the principal components analysis. The similarities of the factor loadings on the first three components between the two samples demonstrated that students and workers were indeed from the same ‘population.’ After all, both students and workers were from the same culture, sharing the same
tradition, using the same language, and governed by the same laws. Although the first three components were similar in both samples, their prominence in terms of explained variances was different. The most important component in students’ attitudes was ‘the perception of women’s ability to succeed as managers’, but the most important component in workers’ attitudes was ‘society’s acceptance of women as managers.’ Students are young (average age 20), and idealistic and have not been through the anguish of harsh reality in the workplace. They are more likely to think that as long as women have ‘what it takes’, they can climb up the corporate ladder just as men, and only abilities will set the limits on how high women can go. Workers on the other hand, are older (average age 32), more experienced and understand the reality of office politics and practices. They tend more to think that the collective perception of society’s acceptance of women as managers is the determining factor of women’s success in the workplace. ‘Physical Constraint’ is the third principal component in both samples.

The first two components were identical to Cordano, Scherer and Owen’s (2002) factor analysis on WAMS using U.S. and Chilean samples. The physical constraint component was unique in the Chinese culture. Because of the maternity leave law, female reproductive function is viewed by employers as an obstruction to young women’s work commitment and an obstacle to their promotions.

The gender effect is much stronger compared to the sample effect according to the MANOVA results. The gender gap in attitudes toward women as managers observed in the student sample is wider than the gender gap in the worker sample, which deserves further speculation. One possible explanation is that young full-time male students who are mostly single do not have much exposure to women as managers. Their attitudes are formed mostly from stereotypes, traditions, and social norms. The feudal system has worked to men’s advantage
for centuries, especially for the privileged young and educated men. They simply do not perceive any need to challenge the traditional thinking about what women can and should do in society. They would even fight to maintain that status quo. On the other hand, young educated women who are more liberal in their thinking about gender roles and have fought the odds against them to be admitted into a university, observe and perceive the inequality and disparity in the society. They are highly motivated to improve the attitudes toward women as managers, probably even idealize such perceptions. Therefore, the naïve perceptions of young educated college students create a more extreme dichotomy between female and male students.

The second explanation of the narrowed gender gap in the worker sample should be focused on the fact that there are no differences between male workers’ perceptions and male students’, but significant differences between female workers’ and female students’. As female workers enter the workplace, get older while gaining more experience, they go through the struggle with harsh reality regarding what women can and should do in the workplace. Female workers adjust their attitudes toward women as managers. Female workers still have high aspirations but just not as idealistic as those of female students.

**Limitations**

There are still different perspectives from which to interpret the results. Since the data collection was done in a one-time cross-sectional manner, we are not sure which way the future will lead. We would prefer a forward looking point of view in which students are seen as change agents who in their future roles as managers and workers will improve the lot of women in the workforce. It may be more realistic, however, to take a more backward looking point of view in which workers are seen as former idealistic students whose ideals have been tamed by the harsh reality of office politics and practices.
Most of the workers’ data were collected from the PBC whose employees were in the financial services from a public sector. Whether the same pattern holds for the private sector employees or other public sectors remains unknown.

Suggestions for Future Research

Longitudinal research is needed to investigate the social trend of attitude change toward women as managers in China. The scope of the investigation also needs to be broadened to cover different jobs from different geographic areas. Empirical research investigating potential gender differences in actual job performance may be used to correct stereotypical perceptions in the long run.

Managerial Implications

Overall, the attitudes toward women managers in China were much lower than the attitudes toward women managers in the US and Chile (Cordano, Scherer, & Owen, 2002). Female expatriates must recognize the differences that exist as a result of the Chinese culture, social norms, and legal system. Such deep-rooted sex stereotyping as occurs in China cannot be emancipated overnight. Women managers from other countries working in China are apt to experience much more difficulty and be far less effective in China without adequate training and understanding of Chinese culture. The negative gender stereotyping of women’s abilities and physical constraints due to reproduction as well as society’s lack of acceptance for women as managers could be corrected slowly through individual interactions, persuasion, policy changes, and upgrades in society’s awareness about the damages resulting from discriminatory and biased hiring, compensation and promotion practices (Bowen, 2003). The bottom line is that Chinese society simply cannot expect to make great progress by leaving its women behind.
The remarkable gender difference in the attitudes toward women as managers may be unique to the Chinese culture. The difference is expected and can be explained by the Chinese historical, cultural, social, and legal systems. It seems to fit the political motto ‘One Country, Two Systems’ perfectly, one for the men and the other for the women though the motto was not originally intended to refer to gender. The ‘Two Systems’ refers to the Chinese society where women are required to have higher exam scores to get admitted to universities, less likely to be accepted to work units, more likely to be laid off, and by law, forced to retire five years earlier than their male counterparts. All the disparate treatment against women leads to the differential attitudes between men and women. This sharp contrast of men and women’s attitudes toward women as managers needs to be handled carefully. The status quo that makes men comfortably numb and women struggling with the basic rights to be equal need not last for long and it is in the best interest of China, and its people, to be completely reformed.
References


Appendix

WAMS Scale Items

1. It is less desirable for women than men to have a job that requires responsibility. (R)
2. Women have the objectivity required to evaluate business situations properly.
3. Challenging work is more important to men than is to women. (R)
4. Men and women should be given equal opportunity for participation in management training programs.
5. Women have the capability to acquire the necessary skills to be successful managers.
6. On the average, women managers are less capable of contributing to an organization’s overall goals than are men. (R)
7. It is not acceptable for women to assure leadership roles as often as men. (R)
8. The business community should someday accept women in key managerial positions.
9. Society should regard work by female managers as valuable as work by male managers.
10. It is acceptable for women to compete with men for top executive positions.
11. The possibility of pregnancy does not make women less desirable employees than men.
12. Women should no more allow their emotions to influence their managerial behavior than would men.
13. Problems associated with menstruation should not make women less desirable than men as employees.
14. To be a successful executive, a woman does not have to sacrifice some of her femininity.
15. On the average, a woman that stays at home all of the time with her children is a better mother than a woman who works outside the home at least half the time. (R)
16. Women are less capable of learning mathematical and mechanical skills than are men. (R)
Appendix (continued)

WAMS items

17. Women are not ambitious enough to be successful in the business world. (R)

18. Women cannot be aggressive in business situations that demand it. (R)

19. Women possess the self-confidence required of a good leader.

20. Women are not competitive enough to be successful in the business world. (R)

21. Women cannot be assertive in business situations that demand it. (R)

Chinese translation is available from the authors.

R = Reverse coded item.

Table 1

*Gender Ratio of Enrollment at Different Educational Levels in People’s Republic of China*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enrollment</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male to Female Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>130,132,500</td>
<td>68,186,900</td>
<td>61,945,600</td>
<td>110:100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle School</td>
<td>61,676,500</td>
<td>32,690,725</td>
<td>28,985,775</td>
<td>113:100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>12,012,600</td>
<td>6,974,543</td>
<td>5,038,057</td>
<td>138:100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>5,560,900</td>
<td>3,282,000</td>
<td>2,278,900</td>
<td>144:100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data compiled from the *Educational Statistics Yearbook of China 2000*. 
Table 2

Rotated Matrices of the Women as Managers Scale in Student and Worker Samples

| Item | Component | | Component |
|------|-----------| |-----------|
|      | 1   | 2   | 3   | 1   | 2   | 3   |
| Q2   | 0.43 | 0.34 | 0.32 | 0.38 | | |
| Q4   | 0.72 | | 0.74 | | |
| Q5   | 0.75 | | 0.74 | | |
| Q8   | 0.72 | | 0.69 | | |
| Q9   | 0.76 | | 0.76 | | |
| Q10  | 0.71 | 0.31 | | 0.79 | | |
| Q11  | | 0.75 | | 0.63 | | |
| Q12  | | 0.62 | | 0.65 | | |
| Q13  | | 0.75 | | 0.75 | | |
| Q14  | 0.42 | 0.54 | 0.34 | 0.52 | | |
| Q19  | 0.34 | 0.40 | | 0.36 | | |
| Q1R  | 0.48 | 0.42 | | 0.51 | 0.32 | |
| Q3R  | | | 0.67 | 0.65 | | |
| Q6R  | 0.32 | 0.66 | | 0.67 | | |
| Q7R  | 0.51 | 0.34 | 0.46 | 0.36 | | |
| Q15R | 0.42 | | 0.32 | | |
| Q16R | | 0.72 | | 0.61 | | |
| Q17R | | 0.75 | | 0.67 | | |
| Q18R | 0.31 | 0.61 | 0.63 | 0.36 | | |
| Q20R | | 0.72 | | 0.68 | | |
| Q21R | 0.40 | 0.63 | 0.72 | | |

Note: Based on the sample sizes, factor loadings of less than .30 were omitted. Q1, Q3, Q6, Q7, Q15, Q16, Q17, Q18, Q20 and Q21 are reverse coded. Full text for items is in the Appendix. Bolded items were included in the three subscales based on the results of the reliability analyses.
Table 3

Eigenvalues, Percent of Variance, Means, Standard Deviations and t-Tests for the Three Components in the Student and Worker Samples*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Student Sample (n = 449)</th>
<th>Worker Sample (n = 344)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eigenvalue</td>
<td>% Variance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ability</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>10.21</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acceptance</td>
<td>7.44</td>
<td>35.42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>5.52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** p < .001

* Based on the results of the principal component analysis and the reliability analyses, items were assigned to three subscales. Ability scale includes Q3R, Q6R, Q15R, Q16R, Q17R, Q18R, Q20R and Q21R, Acceptance scale includes Q4, Q5, Q8, Q9, and Q10, and Physical Constraint scale includes Q11, Q12, Q13, and Q14.
Table 4

*Gender Differences for Ability, Acceptance, and Physical Constraint Scales in Both Samples*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>s.d.</th>
<th>t</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Student</strong></td>
<td><strong>Ability</strong></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>5.09</td>
<td>1.18</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>13.626*</td>
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<tr>
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<td><strong>Acceptance</strong></td>
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<td>6.38</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>5.58</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>7.960*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Physical Constraint</strong></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>5.84</td>
<td>1.04</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>4.95</td>
<td>1.32</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Worker</strong></td>
<td><strong>Ability</strong></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>4.46</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>3.52</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Acceptance</strong></td>
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<td>6.11</td>
<td>1.01</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>5.72</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>3.463*</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Female</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>5.46</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>5.03</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>3.264*</td>
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</table>

*p < .01
Table 5

**MANOVA Results of Sample Source, Gender, and Their Interaction on Ability, Acceptance, and Physical Constraint Scales**

### Multivariate Tests

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Effect</th>
<th>Wilks Lambda</th>
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<th>P</th>
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<td>.975</td>
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<td>78.56</td>
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<td>.228</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sample</td>
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<td>7.68</td>
<td>3; 797</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.028</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gender X Sample</td>
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<td>3; 797</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>.018</td>
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</table>

### Tests of Between-Subject Effects

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<th>SS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>Corrected Model</td>
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<td>125.99</td>
<td>98.29</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Acceptance</td>
<td>91.11b</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30.37</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Ability</td>
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<td>Acceptance</td>
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<td>26,630.14</td>
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<td>.000</td>
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<td>Physical Constraint</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>21,313.80</td>
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<td>.000</td>
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</table>
Table 5 (Continued)

**MANOVA Results of Sample Source, Gender, and Their Interaction on Ability, Acceptance, and Physical Constraint Scales**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV</th>
<th>DV</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
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<td>268.91</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Physical Constraint</td>
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<td>81.62</td>
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<td>.000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sample</td>
<td>Ability</td>
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<td>26.82</td>
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<td>Gender X Sample</td>
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<td>1.28</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>1,101.29</td>
<td>799</td>
<td>1.38</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ a \text{R}^2 = .270 \quad b \text{R}^2 = .098, \text{ and } c \text{R}^2 = .097 \]
Cellmate Suicides:
A look at current treatment programs for adolescents in correctional and detention facilities

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Abstract

This paper provides a double case-study of the suicides of two incarcerated adolescents at the California Youth Authority (CYA) in Ione, California. Drawing from information published in six privately-funded evaluative reports on the Preston Youth Correctional CYA facility commissioned in response to ward suicides, as well as legal documents pertaining to lawsuits against the CYA on behalf of the families of the deceased, I outline and discuss the implications of two particular suicide cases to encourage future research dealing with the safety and rehabilitation of juvenile detainees. This study examines the design and use of current behavior modification treatment therapies given to incarcerated adolescents, and reviews media coverage surrounding the deaths of two youth offenders receiving these treatments. I provide definitions and explanations of psychological theories as applied to juvenile recidivism and rehabilitation to illustrate the need for improved treatment programs in juvenile correctional and detention facilities.
I. INTRODUCTION: OVERVIEW

Juvenile crime is a frustrating and often depressing topic in the academic and professional fields. As populations grow, so increases crime rates, incidents of violence, drug use and delinquency. The most recent published statistics from the U.S. Department of Justice showed that nearly 2 million children and adolescents in the United States were involved in the juvenile court system in 1996 (Calhoun, 2001). Minors within the system are often times housed in detention facilities over capacity. In 1995, just over 56 percent of youth admitted to detention centers for holding and treatment procedures, entered overcrowded and understaffed facilities (Wordes, 1998).

Overcapacity inhibits education services for inmates, more or less negating the prime mission of “correction” through “correctional facilities” as offered by the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Overcrowding depletes budgets, forcing institutions to discontinue treatment programs and specialized therapies for inmates. Removal of funding from departments in charge of delinquency prevention initiatives and behavior therapy treatment programs in youth facilities inevitably diminishes the undeniable human rights of incarcerated adolescents by reducing their opportunities for rehabilitation. While incarcerated, low budgets and past-capacity facilities deny juvenile detainees access to even the most basic human liberties. Youth in one jurisdiction audited by the U.S. Department of Justice (Office of Justice Programs) in 1997 discovered that youth were forced to sleep on mattresses pulled out on the floor in dayrooms. Further investigation linked crowding of centers to increases in staff/youth altercations and increased rates of injuries to the youth (Wordes, 1998). More recently, officials of the California Youth Authority (CYA), an institution overseeing ten juvenile prisons, four youth camps and sixteen parole offices across the state of California admitted to feeding minors
in solitary confinement what are known as “blender meals” (Broder, 2004). A bologna sandwich, an apple, and a carton of milk are pulverized and fed to the inmates by straw through a slit in the cell door.

Actions such as this mentally and emotionally degrade the children who witness and receive such punishments. Psychologists use the theory of “learned helplessness” to account for the psychological and emotional damage an individual develops after a repeated failure to have any control in absolving the emotional distress of an unfavorable situation (Davison, 2004). This effect leaves adolescents housed in inadequate facilities at an extreme risk for the onset of psychological mental disorders. The concept of attribution, the process by which a person evaluates his or her own behavior and thus produces an explanation for that behavior plays a large role in accepting responsibility for one’s actions. Rehabilitation from a psychological standpoint serves to manipulate and redefine a person’s perceived self-efficacy, their understanding and belief that they can achieve desired goals (Davison, 2004). It is this willingness and desire of the adolescent to abide by stated rules in the future that is the goal of psychological behavior modification. Treatment programs for youth offenders must take into account the psychological effects of incarceration when determining which programs work best.

Typically, evaluative reports on such programs and services provided by institutions such as the California Youth Authority are authored by internal researchers, staff and administration. One federally funded evaluative report on the Preston Youth Correctional Facility confirmed that “procedures for peer review, quality assurance, quality audits, and quality management had not been developed to adequately assess the competence, practice, or quality of services provided” (Trupin, 2003). Investigations by expert psychologists, government officials outside the realm of juvenile jurisdiction, medical practitioners and public advocacy groups are conducted as a form
of peer review and to supplement audits from an unbiased perspective, however, they seem to garner media attention only under severe circumstances of violations to the juvenile detainees. Under such severe circumstances, the failure of the treatment programs may be fatally obvious.

The National Juvenile Detention Association, in an attempt to rectify the reputation of juvenile incarceration, released a revised definition of the term “juvenile detention” by declaring,

“Juvenile detention is the temporary and safe custody of juveniles who are accused of conduct subject to the jurisdiction of the court who require a restricted environment for their own or the community’s protection while pending legal action” (Wordes, 1998).

Numerous legal, social, psychological and practical variables add to the already complex and entangled process of providing juvenile offenders with a safe yet restricted environment, such as that offered by the National Juvenile Detention Association. The research and discussion presented in this paper attempts to further dismantle the complexity of the issue by focusing on one facility, the Ione, California CYA center and the suicide deaths of two adolescents in custody.

This paper questions the effectiveness of large-scale treatment programs in high-population institutions in their attempt to rehabilitate youth offenders. By isolating this paper’s focus to the factors involved exclusively in the suicide deaths of Deon Whitfield and Durell Feaster, I examine the treatment programs mandated through juvenile detention centers, particularly the Preston Youth Correctional Facility as a compound of the California Youth Authority. I investigate how youth recidivism might be reduced through effective behavior modification therapy. What personality factors differ or remain constant throughout diverse samples of juvenile offenders, and how do these factors facilitate or negate the effectiveness of behavior modification therapies? By discussing the environmental variables surrounding Deon
Whitfield and Durell Feaster at the Preston Youth Correctional Facility, as well as the personal factors each teen faced before and during his incarceration, I emphasize the need for program directors and facility therapists to better serve the youth within their centers.

II. METHODOLOGY

An overview case study is presented in this paper of the suicide deaths of 18 year old Durell Tadon Feaster and his 17 year old cellmate, Deon Whitfield. The case study is qualitative in nature and draws from a collaboration of information regarding the dual case as well as information from past suicide cases. News media and press releases published immediately following the suicides provide environmental clues regarding the Preston Youth Correctional Facility in which the boys were housed and treated.

A more general overview of the state of the Youth Authority juvenile corrections system is provided through state-funded reports by medical, psychological, and arbitrary legal experts. Previous psychological research on juvenile behavior, criminal recidivism and Cognitive Behavior Therapy (CBT) is included in this research as a comparative platform from which treatment therapies implemented at the California Youth Authority have been measured against standards available from the United Nations, the Welfare and Institutions Code, the American Correctional Association, the Council of Juvenile Correctional Administrators, and the National Institute of Corrections (Krisberg, 2003).

Finally, a brief analysis of litigation documents filed on behalf of families of suicide victims at the California Youth Authority will be used to highlight various treatment and supervision deficiencies found in Youth Authority centers across the state.
III. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: TREATMENTS FOR JUVENILES

Psychological evaluations and individual screening tests on each detainee upon their entrance to a facility is extremely important in the classification and assignment of the adolescent to the correct department and treatment programs within the correctional facility. Extensive research has been done on such screening instruments and risk-assessment models to ensure the accuracy of their results. Misdiagnosis could potentially deny a child the treatment they need to rehabilitate, and the assignment of a detainee to the wrong department of a detention facility could put the safety of other detainees in jeopardy.

Ashford and LeCroy (1990) compared three such risk-assessment models which were routinely used by corrections departments to predict recidivism in incarcerated juveniles within the Juvenile Justice system. By looking at later reports of the individuals’ re-incarceration rates following release, Ashford and LeCroy were able to measure the prediction accuracy of the three risk-assessment scales. Recidivism, or criminal re-offense, is closely related to rehabilitation through treatment programs in that if a treatment program is successful the offender will be less likely to re-offend. The accuracy of a risk-assessment model which measures recidivism then, is equally important in assessing the success of treatment programs. Ashford and LeCroy’s study examined one-hundred and seven records for juveniles from the Arizona Department of Corrections. The risk-assessment models used to score the individuals upon incarceration between 1963 and 1967 were then analyzed against statistical recidivism 20 years following their release, to determine which model had most accurately predicted criminal re-offense of each of the participants. Variables measured by each of the three models included demographic information, school performance as measured by grade point average (GPA), and self-reported
criminal activity prior to incarceration. While two models were successful in predicting recidivism, the success of both models failed to be statistically significant (1990).

More recent research by Katsiyannis, Zhang, Barrett and Flaska (2004) extended the scope of variables included in such risk-assessment scales by identifying psychosocial traits found in 299 incarcerated male adolescents which contributed significantly to the prediction of recidivism in youth crime. Psychosocial personality traits isolated in the research by Katsiyannis et al. included person-variables such as cognitive structuring among the adolescents and the concept of succorance, or the act of alleviating distress through consolation and reassurance. By taking into consideration a diverse range of individual personality traits, rather than focusing solely on more demographic-type variables, and adding these measurements to the models already being used to predict recidivism, corrections departments became more able to identify and target youth who were at the highest risk for recidivism. Research along these lines has added tremendous exploration and literature to the topic of preventing juvenile re-offense. The increased knowledge has also provided guidance for improving treatment programming within juvenile detention centers and rehabilitation facilities.

A meta-analysis of numerous recidivism predictors was conducted by Kingree, Phan and Thompson (2003) among 272 adolescent detainees in Georgia. The researchers attempted to narrow the growing list of predictors used to anticipate recidivism to a more concise and efficient list of successful predictors. Participants completed multiple personality and experience tests to measure risk factors of recidivism. Tests included the Problem Oriented Screening Instrument for Teenagers (POSIT) and a condensed version of the Weinberger Adjustment Inventory. Results revealed that emotional neglect of the adolescent, broadly including child maltreatment prior to and throughout their incarceration, was the greatest predictor of juvenile recidivism.
These findings advance a complex, yet logical description of the failure of juvenile treatment programs currently in use. Kingree et al. offer,

If negative associations between physical neglect and recidivism continue to emerge in future studies, then attention can be given to the possibility that the adolescents with physical neglect [might] have lower rates of recidivism because they [would] receive relatively high levels of therapeutic attention in the juvenile justice system. In contrast, it seems the needs of emotionally neglected adolescents are not being fully recognized and addressed in this system (2003, emphasis added).

It is my hope that this paper offers a vivid representation, through the suicides of Deon Whitfield and Durell Feaster, of the effect each factor of juvenile incarceration has on adolescent rehabilitation. Therapeutic attention must not be neglected to children detainees. Diagnostic screenings upon incarceration and consistent re-evaluation of treatment effectiveness and psychological needs throughout the youth’s sentence will ensure successful rehabilitation.

Federally hired evaluators reported in 2003 that a focus on rehabilitation as a means to reducing recidivism was duly needed yet severely lacking. Trupin and colleagues reported:

“We observed youths that were in clear distress and, in a few cases, mental health staff who recognized this distress attempting to address the youth’s issues, only to have the custody response be based on ineffective punitive approaches which only altered the youth’s non-compliant behavior temporarily and did not reduce the likelihood of a re-occurrence” (Trupin, 2003).

While most research to date attempts to measure levels of recidivism directly, it is important to note that lower recidivism comes only with better treatment programs.
IV. CASE STUDY: A PARENT'S WORST NIGHTMARE

On the afternoon of January 19, 2004, a prison guard at the California Youth Authority’s Preston Youth Correctional Facility in Ione, California, east of Sacramento, found two wards hanged together in their cell by their bed sheets (Chong, 2004; Mercado & Paz, 2004). The deaths of seventeen year old Deon Whitfield, committed to the CYA facility in August 2003 for possession of hard narcotics and attempted burglary, and his cellmate Durell Tadon Feaster, 18, committed in October 2001 for grand theft, fraud, auto theft and receiving stolen property, highlight the importance of providing adequate treatment and counseling to vulnerable juveniles while incarcerated.

An emphasis on the legal action behind suicide cases such as those of Deon Whitfield and Durell Feaster advance an increased timeliness in policy change and facility reform as more and more government pressure is placed on juvenile correctional facilities to meet and surpass their missions of safely and effectively supervising and rehabilitating youth offenders. Legal action for injunctive and declaratory relief filed in 2003 against Jerry Harper, then Director of the California Youth Authority, filed by Margaret Farrell, a relative of CYA ward Edward Jermaine Brown, compelled defendant Harper to “remedy the illegal, inhumane, discriminatory and punitive conditions that exist throughout the CYA [through] wasting of taxpayer funds on illegal policies, practices, and procedures” (Specter, 2003). Ms. Farrell further sought an injunction requiring defendant Harper to meet his constitutional and statutory obligations in providing resources, staff and management controls to maintain appropriate assistance, services and treatment programs for the state wards (Specter, 2003).

The failures of rehabilitative treatment programs within the juvenile justice system are more strikingly illustrated, and are conveyed to the mass public more often than civil lawsuits.

Eric Trupin and colleagues documented in 2003, long before the suicides of Deon and Durell, the specific shortcomings of the Preston Youth Correctional Facility’s Suicide Prevention Program. The release stated:

“The suicide prevention program, although improved, continues to need system-wide implementation. There have been efforts by the CYA to develop standards for suicide assessment, suicide watch, and post-suicide management. The post-suicide management process has not yet been effectively instituted but is in the process of implementation across institutions” (Trupin, 2003).

Reviews of CYA suicide-watch policies regularly deemed the procedures inadequate and improperly implemented (Krisberg, 2003; Trupin, 2003; Specter et al., 2003; LAO, 2004). One report advanced that the development, implementation and consistent monitoring, supervision and quality assurance needed to sustain [a post-release follow-up] policy in practice at a high level of performance compliance was vital to the CYA’s plan for an aftercare (after suicide watch) component (Trupin, 2003). The component was never successfully implemented, thus denying those youth whose scores on psychological evaluations designated them “high-risk for suicide” as well as youth who had actually attempted suicide while incarcerated, from receiving important mental health screening and treatment attention.
Unfortunately, the currency of Deon and Durell’s case, and legalities protecting the confidentiality of the records of the deceased, prohibit access by the media and the general public to most of the information particular to their case. Investigative reports and research in this paper in particular, employ litigation and expert testimony from previous suicide cases as a generalized backdrop for the particular case studies of Deon and Durell.

V. COMPOUND EVALUATION AND DISCUSSION

Six federally and privately funded reports by numerous experts in a variety of fields were commissioned from 2001 to 2003 to investigate the suicide deaths of wards housed throughout the California Youth Authority institution, preceding the deaths of Deon and Durell. These reports investigated each of the adolescent suicide deaths, and subsequently criticized the Authority for “falling short of meeting many recognized standards of care for youth with mental health … disorders” (Trupin, 2003). Criticism in one report on mental health treatment services to youth in CYA facilities traced the institution’s failures to the initial screening and entrance procedures where psychological testing is executed on each adolescent to identify emergent suicide risk, psychiatric, medical, substance use, or developmental and learning disorders (Trupin, 2003). When a child is rated a “high-risk candidate” in any one of the above categories, a fully competent facility will design and implement a proactive treatment regime for the adolescent’s health and protection.

Ninety-seven percent of the wards housed within the CYA have one or more mental health problems, according to the Legislative Analyst’s Office, a nonpartisan fiscal and policy advisor to the state of California, making the need for proactive treatments and adequate therapy
essential (LAO, 2004). Expert evaluations prior to the deaths of Deon and Durell found the CYA only partially meeting this standard:

“Information [collected through psychological testing of the entering adolescents] was often not communicated to the youth’s case manager in a way that would allow the development of a practical intervention plan” (Trupin, 2003).

While the files of each detainee labeled a “high-risk” for suicide may in fact spell out the necessity of 24 hour surveillance and consistent therapy, important information useful to youth correctional counselors (YCCs) and case workers is often not shared due to perceived confidentiality issues (Trupin, 2003).

Case management involving such conflicts prevent the security officers and day guards who in reality have the most day-to-day contact with the wards from ever knowing which youth are at high-risk for various psychological conditions, including suicide. A review completed at the request of the California Attorney General to examine issues cited in federal and state court lawsuits found that the initial screening reports completed by Reception Center staff “were very comprehensive, and potentially of great value in determining institutional placements and treatment planning” but perceived as unclear whether or not the “excellent diagnostic and assessment effort was readily and routinely utilized by those YA staff who supervise the wards on a daily basis” (Krisberg, 2003).

Trupin’s 2003 report criticizing mental health care also denounced the actual physical supervision of youth considered high-risk for suicide by making apparent questionable safety issues concerning detainee surveillance. Areas of concern included the poor utility of video observation systems in cells with video monitoring, undersized observation panels in cells, and inadequate lighting. Installing surveillance cameras in areas with less than effective fields of view, or simply not using video surveillance cameras at all, which is the case for the majority of
cells assigned to youth who are not considered high-risk for suicide, places vulnerable youth at risk for self harm. Such was the case for Deon and Durell who were not evaluated as high-risk suicide cases upon initial screening at the time of their entrance to the Preston Youth Center. Basic video surveillance providing constant observation of their cell would have alerted staff immediately and thus prevented their successful suicides.

According to a state-sponsored report on the Youth Authority’s infrastructure, which was commissioned immediately following their deaths, the department issued a plan to construct and/or modify hundreds of new cells in order to prevent ward suicide attempts (LAO, 2004). Interestingly, the department had already developed an implementation plan titled *Strategic Plan 2001-2004 Mental Health Services for Wards and Parolees: Creating a True Continuum of Care System* three years prior to the suicides in January 2004 (LAO, 2004). The plan was authored to guide the department’s expansion of mental health services which would have renovated existing space for 400 beds in which to house wards in need of special mental health treatment and suicide-risk supervision (LAO, 2004). The department’s organization at the time of the deaths of Deon and Durell required staff and administration in charge of making decisions and requests to transfer youths to more restrictive settings (in certain cases where youth were overtly displaying warning signs of suicide) to probe large and cumbersome files for each ward. The disarray of information pertaining to a single case required institution committees to puzzle over when and where certain events, such as attempted suicides, took place (Krisberg, 2003).

In addition to heightened cell surveillance and detainee supervision, consistent and systematic check-ups on the adolescents throughout their entire incarceration sentence would enable a more fluid and successful case management structure. At the time of Eric Trupin’s report, the CYA’s case management infrastructure entailed “the coordination and monitoring of
all rehabilitative needs [of the adolescent] identified in the findings of the court, as well as the treatment and educational needs accessed through screenings and assessments” (2003). These standards were found to be inconsistently applied across facilities, questioning the accuracy of the management of ward cases such as that of Durell Feaster. Initial screening tests upon his entrance to the system in 2001 may have identified educational needs, as well as psychological needs, specific to that time of his life, but with inconsistent management of his care and no re-evaluation of his psychological needs, there would be no way of knowing if the treatments mandated upon his arrival were still having a positive effect on him three years later.

VI. CONCLUSION: MODEL FOR IMPROVEMENT

My research petitions scholars and professionals in the future to explore delinquency prevention and youth treatment programs in more depth as a means to an end. Juvenile recidivism will decrease only when youth offenders achieve complete rehabilitation. Complete rehabilitation depends on a complex system of cooperative and interdependent strategies. Families, schools and communities represent the first step in promoting positive youth development and perpetually thirst for ways to combat juvenile delinquency. Detention and correctional facilities, who are next in line to receive troubled youth, incessantly seek effective behavior modification techniques, successful therapeutic treatment programs, and dependable methods of detainee supervision to ensure ward safety. It is not enough to statistically analyze the criminal records of individuals from youth through adulthood and tally up the number of reoffenses. It is much more important to develop and utilize intervention plans immediately following the first offense.
The literature referenced throughout this paper reveals a trend in most academic and professional work dealing with juvenile detention and corrections methods. To date, such research focuses almost exclusively on reducing offender recidivism upon release. Fluctuations in the rates of recidivism are widely used as measurements of the success or failure of treatment programs in detention facilities. The cellmate suicides of Deon Whitfield and Durell Feaster illustrate the deficiency of this model and further solicit a shift in academic and professional attention. If youth in detention facilities continue to take their own lives, how accurate will rates of recidivism be? It is impossible for a deceased adolescent to commit crimes in the future; disturbingly, it is also impossible for a deceased adolescent to ever get a second chance at living without crime. It is necessary for researchers to convert from seeing youth offenders as simply numbers, to perceiving youth offenders as living, breathing, resilient adolescents.
VII. REFERENCES


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Abstract

The evidence is overwhelming that African American children are overrepresented in the foster care system in the United States as well as in the state of California. The record shows that of the children in foster care in California for more than three years, over 44 percent are African American. In both the national and the state data, African Americans account for the largest percentage of children in foster care. In 1986, there were 280,000 children in foster care in the United States. That number had increased by more than 200,000, to 486,000 in 1995. In September 2001, the number of children in foster care in the United States was 565,000 (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2002).

In an executive report that examined the foster care system over a 15 years period, (Matlick 1997) the conclusion was reached that the state had failed in its efforts to improve its foster care system. The annual expense of the child welfare system has risen to $1.7 billion. Since fiscal year (FY) 1988-89, overall funding of child welfare services has risen by 80% over the 15 years period. He further argued that foster children remain in the system for too long. In addition to the failure of the family preservation services, he pointed out that since FY 1988-89, the amount spent by the system on family preservation services has risen by 450%.

From the beginning, the social work profession has been concerned about issues of social justice and the plight of the poor and less fortunate (Bremmer 1956). Dependent children were cared for in orphanages even before the establishment of an independent America (Zietz 1959). Even in those early years, black children were treated differently
than their white counterparts. Those children that escaped being sold into slavery were
cared for by local almshouses rather then orphanages where children were only placed
with other children. After facilities were created for these black children, some were
destroyed by rampaging white mobs (Billingsley 1972).

Over the years significant efforts have been made to foster family preservation.
This was done primarily through the passage of historic legislation (Beardslee 1989).
Despite the efforts to encourage family preservation, African American children are
significantly over represented in the foster care system at both the national and state
levels. Some have argued (Bart 1997) that strong evidence suggests that two decades of
family preservation efforts have not resulted in increase in adoptive placements for
African American children. As the issue of African American children in foster care is
discussed, one factor related to placement that is evident is the idea that there are many
African American children in the foster care stem because they do not exit proportionally
with their entry.

Entry and exit rates are influenced by factors such as social worker’s discretion,
family functioning, as well as perception about family resilience. This study will examine
the extent to which social workers, supervisors, and managers in the public child welfare
system recognize or identify worker discretion and family resilience as contributing to the
number of African American children entering and exiting the foster care system this
study will also examine the recommendations for reducing the number of African
American children in the foster care system as offered by the same workers.

The history and tradition of the social work profession is replete with stories
about the pioneers working for the relief and betterment of the disadvantaged (Zastrow
The current crisis involving the large number of African American children in the foster care system, the level of discretionary decision-making by workers at the various levels of the system, as well as the challenge to examining the concept of resilience in the family of the African American children being placed in the foster care system all form part of the basis for this research effort.

The research design consisted of a self-designed 120 items survey instrument entitled “Social Worker Recommendation Survey”. This survey was distributed for self-administration by public child welfare social workers, supervisors, and managers in four Northern California Counties (County A, County B, County C and County D). Because of the low response rate from Counties B and D only the data gathered from questionnaires returned from Counties A and C were used for this study. The instrument consisted of 9 items to elicit demographic data and 112 items on a 5 point Likert-type scale addressing the two main questions. There was also a section on the questionnaire where respondents were able to write their own opinion and recommendations.

The study involved an examination of factors identified by the social workers as contributing to the overrepresentation of African American children, as well as their recommendations for reducing the number of African American children in the California foster care system. The study also examined the written recommendations that were made by the social workers to identify the extent to which they recommended solutions that considered family resilience as well as worker’s discretion in the decision making process.
References


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In the globalised capitalist economy union membership is declining but the numbers of women employed in paid work is growing, particularly in non full-time, insecure jobs, many of whom are not unionised. Women workers internationally have a long history of involvement in unions either as members of mixed unions or by forming separate women-only unions. Women-only unions formed in countries including Australia, Canada, Denmark, England, the US and Ireland as early as the 1880s but were generally short-lived. A ‘second wave’ of women-only unions reformed once again in Canada, the United States and India in the 1970s. In 1990 women-only unions formed in Japan and Korea, and by 2003 twelve women-only unions had formed throughout Japan with the largest Josei Union, organising 250 members. In Korea there are 3 women-only unions all of which formed in 1999. The Korean Women’s Trade Union is the largest comprising 9 regional branches and approximately 4200 members. Why have women workers in Japan and Korea formed women-only unions?

This research is part of a much larger project looking at the development of women-only unions in Japan and Korea, and in this paper I analyse their formation and compare them with contemporary women-only unions in Denmark, the US and India. By comparing women-only unions in Japan and Korea to women-only unions existing in other countries allows for an understanding of whether the formation of women-
only unions in diverse cultural contexts reflects women workers broadly similar experiences of unions. In conducting this research I interviewed union officials and members of two unions in Japan, and two unions in Korea in 2003 and 2004, as well as interviewing an official from KAD in Denmark in 2003. I conducted participant observation of bargaining sessions and union meetings (Japan) and recruiting campaigns (Korea). An examination of women-only unions and particularly those in Japan and Korea is significant because it focuses on women workers creating union strategies rather than having them imposed by male union leaders. The research also contributes to dispelling the notion which has developed in industrial relations literature that women workers, particularly women workers in some Asian countries, are passive, docile and disinterested in industrial issues and union activity.

Women-only unions in Japan and Korea are smaller in membership than their longer established international counterparts and their status as ‘second’ unions exacerbates the difficulty for their ability to expand into unionised workplaces and gaining recognition by employers. Their focus on unionising non full-time workers and unemployed workers, the majority of whom are women, and workers who are not organised by existing enterprise-based mixed unions still provides a large pool of potential members. By organising greater numbers of women workers into unions run by women with a women-centred focus the impact of politicising women workers is significant for the form and configuration of social and welfare policies. Women-only unions increase the number of unionised workers and thus raise awareness of collective organisation as well as the conditions experienced by women workers which may have a transformative effect on the broader existing union movement.
**Problem Statement and Literature Review**

Traditional retailing formats (in-store) are growing at a stagnant rate while non-store retailing formats (Internet, catalog, TV home shopping channels) are growing exponentially (Dickson, 2000; Mathwick, Malharta, & Rigdon, 2001; Scally, 2000; Sim & Koi, 2002). Retailers are realizing that the retail format in which the shopper first sees a product may not necessarily mean that the purchase will be made through that retail format (Noble, 2001; Sim & Koi, 2002). Now, more than at any other time, retailers are aware that integrating two or more retail formats is their best chance for longevity and profitability (Reda, 2000; Scally, 2000; Sinioukov, 2001; Thomas, 2001). Non-store retailing formats are being adopted by some retailers in order to generate additional sales, offer additional benefits and build store loyalty without detracting sales from the existing core business (Hanover, 1999; Reda, 1999).

Regardless of the retail format used, it is the shopper who ultimately determines the retailer’s success. A retailer is successful when shoppers’ perceptions of the store’s products and services lead them to make a purchase. Understanding the social and psychological motivations
behind a shopper’s purchase behavior is the key to better meeting their wants and needs. Traditional retailers who are considering adopting some type of non-store shopping format in conjunction with their in-store format need to know what shoppers want and expect prior to embarking on the expansion.

Because shoppers have different attitudes and perceptions it stands to reason that different types of retail formats will appeal to different types of shoppers. The question becomes one of which differences are key to understanding purchase behavior. Segmentation is one way that researchers can distinguish types of shoppers based on purchase patterns, attitudes and preferences (Shim & Bickle, 1994). Several researchers have used shopping orientation as a conceptual framework and method of segmenting shoppers based on similarities in consumer characteristics and market behavior (e.g., Burgess, 2003; Bellenger and Korgaonkar, 1980; Hennerberg, 1993).

Although much research has been conducted on attitudes of shoppers, little is available regarding a comparison of traditional and non-store shoppers in terms of their perceptions of the benefits of one type of shopping format over the other. Using shopping orientation as the framework, the purpose of the proposed research is to determine whether shoppers can be distinguished according to purchase behavior and attitudes regarding retail formats (traditional and non-store) and to then compare the types of shoppers based on their perceptions of the benefits of each format. To guide the study the following research questions have been constructed.

1. What attitudes do shoppers hold regarding traditional retail formats, non-store retail formats and retailers who employ a combination of the two?
2. Can shoppers be profiled based on traditional and non-store shopping behavior? And if so, do the resulting shopper types differ based on perceived benefits of those formats and do the general attitudes of the resulting shopper types differ for traditional and non-store retailers?

**Methodology and Data Collection**

A pretested quantitative survey will be mailed to 6,500 randomly selected female consumers (aged 18 and older), selected from the National Demographics & Lifestyles (NDL) survey population. Two techniques will be used to maximize the response rate. First, survey questions will be formatted in the appearance of a booklet. This format has been used in previous research and is believed to have enhanced the response rate (e.g., Bickle, Eckman & Kotsiopoulos, 1998). Second, three weeks after the first mailing, consumers who have not responded will be sent a reminder letter and survey.

An extensive review of the literature as well as the researchers’ previous research on traditional and non-store retailing will act as the foundation for the development of the survey. The survey will be divided into five parts, each focusing on a construct under investigation. For part one a series of recall questions relating to past shopping experiences will be used to ascertain shopping behavior. These questions will center on information specifically related to behavior in traditional and non-store retail formats and is likely to include information search, browsing habits and purchase habits. Part two of the survey will focus on general preferences for traditional and non-traditional formats and will likely include items related to specific characteristics of each format. Part three will measure shopper’s perceptions of benefits of traditional and non-store formats including services, products, ease of shopping and completing the transaction. Measurement items regarding shoppers’ attitudes will comprise part four of
the survey and will focus on general shopping attitudes as well as attitudes specifically related to traditional and non-store shopping formats. The final section of the survey will include demographic statements. With the exclusion of the demographic section each construct will be measured through the use of likert-type scales, including some reverse scored items to reduce response bias.

**Planned Statistical Analyses**

To analyze the data a variety of statistical tests will be employed. Consumer shopping experiences and general preference items will be reduced into more closely relate constructs through the use of principle components analysis with varimax rotation. This test will produce sets of characteristics that can be identified as typical of shoppers of traditional formats, non-store formats or combination of the two. As a result, shoppers will be categorized into groups according to similarities between their answers. Cronbach’s alpha tests will be used to determine reliability. Resulting shopper types will then be compared to identify similarities and differences based on perceptions of benefits, attitudes and demographics by using Kruskal-Wallis tests. Descriptive statistics will be used in providing a general description of the sample.

**Anticipated Outcomes and Practical Conclusions**

Implications resulting from this study will directly benefit the retail industry by providing insight into shopping behavior. More specifically, this research will provide retailers with descriptions of shopper segments who possess similar qualities which will assist retailers in adjusting or generating plans for expanding into a non-store shopping format. Implications regarding resulting shopper types in relation to perceptions of the benefits associated with the retail format will also be examined in an effort to produce findings with practical implications.
Additionally this study will serve as a foundation for future research, lending a better understanding of shopping as a socio-psychological behavior and uncovering additional directions for future study.

**Proposed Timeline**

Following is a timeline for the completion of the proposed study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>May</td>
<td>Jun</td>
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<tr>
<td>Literature review</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Survey development &amp; pretest</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>Data collection</td>
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<td>Data analysis</td>
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<td>Interpretation of results</td>
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<tr>
<td>Write final report</td>
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<td>Manuscript submission</td>
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References


Abstract

The main objective of this study was to explore clothing trends and attitudes of Southeast Asian students in an American university with the purpose of determining areas for future research. Of primary interest was whether students’ attitudes relating to wearing their culture’s national dress was related to their association with American students and western media. A group of 150 Southeast Asian students of an American university completed a written survey. The survey questions related to students’ attitudes toward national heritage and dress, interaction with American students and western media usage. Results showed significant negative correlations between wearing national dress and two variables: use of western media and interaction with American students.
Introduction

Until a few years ago the number of international students studying in the United States (U.S.) had been growing each year. Statistics show that the total number of in international students applying for visas to study in the U.S. has been adversely affected by the events of September 11, 2001 with a decrease of 27% between the years of 2001 and 2003 (“International Student Enrollments,” 2004). In 2003-2004 there were 572,509 international students enrolled in U.S. universities (“Surveys Show,” 2004). While India is the country representing the largest number of international students in the U.S. (“Surveys Show,” 2004), the greatest portion of international students attending the university used in this study were from Southeast Asia.

The purpose of this study is to identify areas for future research by exploring hypothesized relationships between international students wearing their national dress and their interaction with American students and western media. Findings from this study and the implications for future research may be beneficial to an institution of higher learning for a better understanding of the social and psychological makeup of international Asian students, their personalities, their development during their early university years, and how institutions could adapt and be aware to these intercultural issues.

Literature Review

Living and studying in another country involves many socio-cultural, environmental, and physiological adjustments. It is not unusual, during this process of adaptation, for international
students to experience stress-related psychological difficulties (Chen, 1999; Rahman & Rollock, 2004). For some stress becomes an unavoidable psychological factor for international college students, and has been shown to be more intense than stress experienced by their American counterparts (Ebbin & Blankenship, 1986).

Rahman and Rollock (2004) discussed how most international students enrolled in American colleges and universities have similar concerns and problems related to culture, language, academic background, and social customs. Newly arrived international students need to be informed about American customs and beliefs including clothing, food, and housing to assist them in acclimating to the culture and reducing feelings of stress and isolation (Dunnett, 1981).

Asian international students experience problems that, if not unique to Asian international students, are often amplified with them. These include language problems, culture shock, adjustment to social customs and norms and lack of self-confidence (Rahman & Rollock 2004; Yeh & Inose, 2003). When compared to other international students, Asian international students have been found to interact less frequently with Americans, handle stress less effectively, have more difficulty with language barriers and to rate their adjustment experience in the U.S. lower than Latin American and European students (Barratt & Huba, 1994; Rahman & Rollock 2004; Yeh & Inose, 2003).

Yeh and Inose (2003) suggested that foreign students need to learn how to communicate in a new culture. In order for there to be an effective line of communication, the individual must be able to understand cultural norms, nonverbal behavior and the intentions of others. One way to do this is through media usage (Woo & Dominick, 2003). Watching movies and television programs and looking at magazines are easy ways to learn about the culture
without having to interact. This may be especially important to students who are newly arrived or those who are self-conscious in their English language skills. These experiences can lend confidence to international students in developing interpersonal relationships with Americans.

Herskovits (1972) explains that for Asians friendship is reserved for a very few people since it is based on mutual love. In the United States, friendship has a meaning of doing things with other people whose company one enjoys. Therefore, both American and international students must understand cultural norms from the point of view of the other to communicate effectively. Since friends play an essential role in an international student's life, finding other international friends as well as American friends are important for understanding and knowing the new culture as a step toward making adjustment to study abroad life.

Studies have documented cross-cultural fashion interaction between the West and developing nations, in which indigenous clothing norms were preserved or abandoned to varying degrees based on the nature and background of the national struggle or the underlying perceptions associated with adoption of Western dress. Similarly, studies have recorded trends in modifications of indigenous dress in which there is a preservation of indigenous clothing styles while incorporating elements of the Western fashion (Craik, 1994). Most studies have concentrated on international contacts in developing nations, though some studies, however, have addressed the changes in clothing norms from short-term cultural contacts, such as international students studying in the West.

Due to the increasing complexity and diversity of international student populations in higher education in American universities and colleges most international students often experience stress and nostalgia for their native country when they could not fully adjust to their new environment. Wearing national dress can serve as a psychological link to home and family.
**Hypotheses**

Based on the literature review the following hypotheses were developed.

H1: There is a relationship between wearing national dress and Southeast Asian students’ interaction with American students.

H2: There is a relationship between wearing national dress and Southeast Asian students’ exposure to western media.

**Method**

**Instrument**

A written survey was designed to collect data and was divided into four sections. The first section asked six questions related to the student’s attitudes towards national/cultural heritage and national dress (Table 1). The second section included seven items related the Southeast Asian student’s use of western media sources including television, movies and magazines (Table 1). Section three was comprised of six items designed to measure Southeast Asian students’ peer interactions, whether with mostly American or other Southeast Asian students (Table 1).

Questions in these three sections were scored using Likert type choices ranging from one (strongly agree) to seven (strongly disagree). The final section of the survey was designed to gather socio-demographic information including age, gender and region/country of origin. Prior to administration, the survey was pre-tested for face validity by asking international students for their input on wording and layout to improve readability and decrease potential problems.
Data Collection

Subjects were randomly selected from a list of currently enrolled international students at a small Midwestern university. This list was reduced to include only students of Southeast Asian origin. The expected age range of these college-enrolled individuals was approximately 20 to 35. Using the list, the researcher contacted each student individually by email and asked them to participate in the study. Students who agreed to fill out the survey were asked to come during specific hours to the university library to participate. During the course of time students were filling out the surveys, a researcher was present to answer any questions that arose.

Sample

Of the 310 students identified as Southeast Asian, 150 agreed to complete the survey. All returned surveys were complete and usable for a response rate of 48.39%. The sample consisted of students representing seven countries. The greatest number of students was from Malaysia, at 33%, followed by Thailand and Indonesia, which each represented 23%. India was the home country of 10% of students. Pakistan and the Philippines tied with 3% each.

Fifty-six percent of the respondents were female while 44% were male. With respect to income, most of the students served were categorized as moderately high to high-income backgrounds in their home countries. This could be explained by the high cost of education for most international students coming to the U.S. for higher education. Most of the students (93%) were completing graduate degrees.

Results

To test each hypothesis the items representing each variable were combined, giving each subject a mean score for “national dress,” “peer interaction,” and “media usage” (Table 1).
Hypothesis 1

H1: There is a relationship between wearing national dress and Southeast Asian students’ interaction with American students.

To test the first hypothesis, a Pearson’s correlation test was used. The variables were “peer interaction” and “media usage.” The test revealed a correlation coefficient of -.1943 and a p-value of .018, lending significant support for the hypothesis. There was a significant negative relationship between wearing national dress and Southeast Asian students’ interaction with American Students. It appears that as interaction with American students increases, wearing of national dress decreases.

Hypothesis 2

H2: There is a relationship between wearing national dress and Southeast Asian students’ exposure to western media.

To determine if exposure to western media was related to wearing national dress in the U.S., a Pearson’s correlation test was performed. The variables used were “media usage” and “national dress.” Results showed a correlation coefficient of -.2856 and a p-value of .000. This shows a significant negative correlation between wearing national dress in the U.S. and the use of western media by the Southeast Asian students. It appears that as the use of western media increases, the wearing of national dress decreases.

Discussion/Implications for Future Research

The purpose of this study was to identify possible areas for future research by exploring the relationships between national dress, peer interaction and western media usage. The findings showed that Southeast Asian student’s attitudes toward wearing their national dress were related
to their use of western media including television, movies and magazines. Additionally, findings showed that wearing national dress was inversely related to interactions with American students.

By confirming relationships between the variables of study (i.e., wearing national dress, media usage and interaction with American students) several questions were raised. Of primary interest are mediating and other factors that affect the found correlations. First, further study is needed which distinguishes separate cultures within Southeast Asia. Different countries and cultures have quite distinctive national dress, related to their long histories. It is likely, and should be expected that culture will have differing affects on international students’ desire and willingness to adapt national dress and interact with Americans and western media. One cultural influence that may be especially telling is religion. In some cultures religion is strongly related to national dress and may greatly impact the findings of future studies.

Secondly, international students of many countries are influenced by western culture (media and dress) prior to studying abroad. For these students interaction with American students may be more related to differences in political, economic and social systems stemming from ideological differences (e.g., communism versus democracy, controlled economy versus free economy). These factors may greatly influence international students desire to interact with their American counterparts. Related to this is the idea of fashionable dress. Although international students’ daily dress in their home country may have strong western influences, there still may still be concerns, such as dressing fashionably by American standards, which future study could address.

A third avenue for research involves language. Living and studying in a foreign country with unique cultural traditions and customs and studying with people from different cultures is not easy or simple. The short-term adaptability and acculturation process of international
students should also be examined in relation to English language proficiency. For instance, students of some nationalities may arrive in the U.S. with proficiency in English while others, who have more language barriers, would have show the different progress of adaptation. This may greatly impact their desire to form American friendships.

Finally, the Southeast Asian students surveyed in the current study represent a small number of international students in general. The results may differ in the case of different cultures, as the dress standards may vary from one culture to another. In order to obtain accurate representations of the international student’s attitudes toward clothing, it is necessary to conduct a study that gives more students of that category an opportunity to respond. The small number of students surveyed in the current study may not provide the true responses of all student groups of similar backgrounds, thus the findings should not be generalized beyond this sample.
References


http://www.aacu.org/aacu_news/AACUNews04/November04/facts_figures_print.cfm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Survey Items</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Dress</td>
<td>1. National dress is a very important part of the culture in which I was raised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Maintaining my national heritage is important to me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Prior to my study in the U.S. I often wore my national dress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Since I came to the U.S. I wear my national dress with the same frequency as I did before coming to the U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Since coming to the U.S. I wear my national dress less often than I did at home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Wearing my national dress makes me feel connected to my heritage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Usage</td>
<td>1. My favorite television shows are American-made.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. I have a subscription to an American magazine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Since I have been at school in the U.S. I read more western magazines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. I watch American television shows on a regular basis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Most of the movies I watch are American-made.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. I continue to read magazines from my own country since coming to the U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. I often go watch movies at a theater.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer Interaction</td>
<td>1. Since I have been at school in the U.S. I have made mostly friends that are American.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Most of my friends in the U.S. are American.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Most of my close friends in the U.S. are American.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Many of my friends in America are from my home country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Many of my friends in the U.S. are from Southeast Asia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. I prefer to spend my free time with friends from my home country and other Southeast Asian countries.</td>
</tr>
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</table>
I build on Anthony Giddens’s and Charles Tilly’s theories, which emphasize the importance of war in the origins and transformation of states. The Tilly-Giddens thesis has found strong support for European cases, but as of yet, it has had promising, but limited tests outside of the European instances. I also rely on Weber’s two major historical works on Monsoon Asia: The Religion of China, and the Religion of India in building my theory. Weber, employing secondary historical sources, particularly the work done by historical specialists of the societies he was studying, used these materials to theoretically reconceptualize the dynamics of the societies he was investigating. I use a similar methodology in this paper in developing my theory. Given his preoccupation with the rise of capitalism in Europe, Weber tended to underestimate the degree of political change in Asia: Giddens’s and Tilly’s social dynamics theory of state formation gives an engine of social change to the largely social statics theory of Weber. Likewise, Weber develops a theory of states in Asia, which stresses the importance of religion, in legitimizing political structures. The approach offered in this paper deals with the empirical quandary posed by Weber’s formulation of the concept of religion. In Weber’s work it is not clear as to what exactly makes a creed religious. I replace Weber’s theoretical concept of religion, with the theoretical concept of religioethical system. A religioethical system refers to the profound and fundamental Weltanschauungs, philosophies, rituals, moral principles, rules of conduct, and practices that are embraced by the state, state challengers, state builders, or societies under investigation. Unlike the concept of religion, religioethical systems may or may not encompass a belief in one or more deities. Additionally, I define ethic-making as the enforcement or promotion of these specific beliefs and
practices of religioethical systems in their political contexts.

Drawing on the Tilly-Giddens principle and the neo-Weberian concept of religioethical system, the theory that I develop, is that the interaction between war and religioethical systems, at the micro, societal, and world societal levels, across time, formed Asian states, Asian empires, and the modern Asian state system. Using ideal-typical constructs, I theorize, throughout this analysis, that the interaction between warfare and religioethical systems, within Asian societies, among clusters of Asian societies, and outside of Asia, causally built the modern Asian state system consisting of India, China, Japan, Korea, and the states within Southeast Asia. I examine the way in which external and internal war-making and religioethics interacted with the dynamics of classes, genders, societies, and institutions to form the modern Asian state system. I hypothesize, moreover, that the victorious war-making forces do not invariably thrust a hegemonic cultural religioethical system on the subordinated society. To be sure, the general tendency of the conquering groups is to have the advantage in the political and cultural restructuring of the societies they conquer. Nonetheless, both groups, the conquered and the conquering societies, through their struggles and interactions, determine the structure of states.
Title of the Submission: “Cognitive Processes: Their Influence on Varying Pathways to Recovery”

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Abstract:

Cognitive processes have been known to have a significant impact on recovery from alcohol and other drugs. From a study of self-changers (natural recoverers) without treatment or self-help groups, analysis of the data has identified beliefs that influenced the change experience---from the evaluation of reasons for drinking and the consequences that instigated the motivation and determination to take action, to the individually-conceived strategies to implement and maintain abstinence, and the perceived consequences of abstaining. Belief systems and strategies of recovery are compared across three pathways to recovery---self-change, cognitively-oriented treatment, and Alcoholics Anonymous.
TITLE:
Factors Associated with Anti-War Sentiment in Military Families and Implications
Coping Skills

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Factors Associated with Anti-War Sentiment in Military Families and Implications for Coping Skills

The psychological impact of war on soldiers has been studied from WWI, where it was termed battle fatigue, through the PTSD of Viet Nam, up to the combat stress of today’s Iraq War. The military now deploys teams of combat stress units in the field with the realization that addressing problems in situ assists soldiers in dealing with their emotions and reduces later psychological problems. But families, waiting at home, receive little if any assistance beyond support groups facilitated by non-professionals. During previous wars, there have been some anecdotal references made to the possibility of psychological and social consequences to family members who have loved ones involved in war. Recognition of this problem is slowly gaining momentum partially due to that fact that the Iraq War has several characteristics which make it even more difficult on military families. For example, in previous wars, approximately ten percent of the military were on the front line at a given time and this provided a modicum of relief for those at home that the soldier was not always in imminent danger. However, in this conflict, there is no discernable “front line” as those serving are in danger of being injured or killed at any time. Convoy truck drivers, guards at check points, even soldiers sleeping in barracks are all in peril. This vulnerability of loved ones exposes more families to their own form of combat stress. Another factor is the uncertainty and anxiety caused by stop-loss, tour extensions, and re-deployment. An increasing number of families are finding themselves opposing the war while at the same time supporting their soldier. This dichotomy of emotion, and society’s reactions to it, necessitates examining what factors are associated with anti-war sentiment and the identification of coping mechanisms for the military family.

Characteristics of Military Families Who Oppose the War

While supporters of military action tend to accept the moral rationales provided by politicians and believe that war is a moral option, military critics frequently reject these arguments for initiating war. (Calhoun, 2001). In a study
conducted on one hundred and forty military families by the author, the most common reason for opposing the war given by military families was that they felt the original justification for the invasion, the threat of weapons of mass destruction, was a lie. In European intellectual tradition, war is to be justified only when it is necessary for the maintenance of peace and order. This is known as the “Just War” tradition, generally expressed as a set of rules stating: (1) war must be fought for a just cause, (2) it must be conducted by proper authority, (3) it is to be proportional to the ends it seeks to achieve, and (4) it must be conducted in a just manner, with discrimination between those who are subject to attack and those who are immune (Stroble, 1996). These rules are commonly known as jus ad bellum (justice to go to war) and jus in bello (justice in war). For those who follow this doctrine, a just war must be “publicly declared by a legitimate authority, for a just cause in the interest of peace and only after non-violent means to resolution of the dispute have proven infeasible” (Calhoun, 2001 p. 37). Anti-war military families do not believe the Iraq War meets the jus ad bellum and jus in bello criteria.

Doty et al, (1997) examined how personality factors shapes political attitudes, and found that those who demonstrated aggressive support for U.S. policy, (up to and including using nuclear weapons), during the Gulf War tended to score high on the authoritarian scale in contrast to those who scored lower and were against the war.

Those who score high on authoritarian scales, according to Altemeyer(1988), display three basic characteristics: conventionality, acceptance of authority and aggression. Winter (1996) suggests that, “these characteristics may arise from a fundamental sense of threat, which arouses intolerance of ambiguity leading to a more simplistic outlook which differentiates good ‘leaders’ and ‘bad’ enemies, finally permitting the ‘good’ to punish the ‘bad’ (p228). Conversely those who score low tend to be non-conventional, question authority and be non-aggressive. Studies suggest that authoritarianism is associated with moralistic hostility toward unconventional points of view ( Winter, 1996). To those who are authoritarian, military families opposing war is the epitome of unconventional thought.
One of the major factors isolating anti-war military families is the attitude by some that they are unpatriotic. Statements by pro-war activists like, “when American troops are in harm’s way, true patriots will be hard-pressed to stand shoulder to shoulder in demonstrations with those who hate this country and all it represents” (Chavez, 2003), attempt to equate anti-war sentiment and anti-Americanism, further alienating and denigrating pro-peace families.

A survey was conducted by the author of families who had soldiers, marines, and navy personnel currently stationed in, or recently returned from, Iraq. Characteristics of the families who stated they were against the war included: feelings that it was very likely that their loved one would be injured; constant, sometimes debilitating fear for the combatants safety; helplessness and loss of control over the situation; substantial increases in their levels irritability and anger; a majority reported crying frequently; and most responded that they had not found effective support systems or resources to help them with their emotional stress.

Implications for Counseling Approaches and Coping Mechanisms

Most Westerners believe at some level that war is justified only when it is absolutely necessary and it presents the lesser of two evils. A major basis for anger and sense of futility in the anti-war military families is that they also adhere to the Just War theory but do not find the rules being met in the Iraq War. A treatment approach in assisting them to cope would be to help them understand their underlying belief (it is not always readily apparent to the client) and to realize there is another philosophical attitude toward war. The Confucian school views war as not being instrumental in creating social order, (which should instead be derived from the prior establishment of cultural and political authority. This ancient Chinese philosophy views war not as a means to create social order, but instead as a sign of the failure to achieve such order. If the client can reframe their anger that the war is not justified to accepting that this war is the failure of having a “well-ordered concord” (Stroble, 1998), they can direct their anger at a more tangible source and therefore focus actions on correcting that source. This
activism is more positive and provides a sense of action, and possibly some sense of control in determining the outcome of the situation. Becoming involved in positive actions is one of the most beneficial therapies for those who suffering from grief, lack of control or feeling of powerlessness.

The client who demonstrates low authoritarianism will need to address the complex uncertainty resulting from being told a mixture of lies and truths. Time will have to be spent sorting out fact and fiction, looking for the “just” points and dealing with anger toward the unjust lies.

Educating the client on the differences between the authoritarian and non-authoritarian personality would serve two purposes. First it will normalize the fact that questioning authority and low aggression are correlated behaviors. Secondly it may help families to understand the authoritarian personality and why they react the way they do.

Studies have shown that people who score low in authoritarianism are more likely to be able to express regret about war and its effect and are more likely to verbalized the damage done and sadness over loss of life. (Doty, 1997). Counselors can help the family recognize that this is strength, not a weakness.

Also from the strengths perspective, counselors should point out that the family has the ability to deal with the ambiguity of supporting their soldier and at the same time being against the war. It is their critics, with authoritarian, pro-war personalities that avoid ambiguity and therefore are intolerant of those who can accomplish this.

Realizing that there is a phenomena of “rally forces” to which many people respond with non-critical support for governmental policies, can help the anti-war family to understand that criticism toward them is not personal, but a social/psychological response to a situation. De-personalizing criticism assists in dealing with adversarial comments.

Another frustration for anti-war families is their inability to comprehend how pro-war supporters seemingly accept the administrations rationale for the Iraq war and how it is progressing because they view much of that rationale as exaggeration or lies. Hannah Arendt (2001) states that lies frequently tend to be
more appealing than reality if the public is confronted with issues or facts that are not what they want to hear or are not prepared to hear. If anti-war families are made aware of this phenomena it could help them to understand why so many have a different view than they have.

Calhoun (2001) views “rallying events”, (exogenous shocks such as wars) as situations that invoke feeling of allegiance, loyalty, and promoting patriotism. In this state, citizens see policies and public officials in a more positive, less critical light than a non-emotional examination would allow. Families can be made aware how by taking more rational approaches are not as susceptible to the rallying effects.

One problem with much of the information and suggestions proffered to families by the government and some agencies is that it tends to be platitudinal, and is not specific enough to provide concrete transitional steps to help a person go from what they are experiencing to where they can actually apply the suggested actions or thought processes. Guidelines given to families who feel helpless often include such vague advice as to detach themselves from things they cannot control (Quick, 2003). While this would work if they could achieve it, most find it very difficult to do. Several behaviors can create some feelings of control: establishing a daily routine and modest to-do lists; working with groups to collect needed articles for soldiers; and volunteering to baby-sit for soldiers’ spouses result in feelings of accomplishment and usefulness. One group of parents established an anti-recruitment program in which they talk with high school students who have been solicited by recruiters and share their experiences having a child involved in war. Their actions served to give them a sense of accomplishment and control in the situation.

Conclusion

Military families opposed to the Iraq War suffer the pain and anguish of having a loved-one in a war zone. In addition, they are also subjected to criticism by pro-military factions who question their patriotism and motives, resulting in emotional stress and dysfunction. By examining factors associated with how
others view anti-war families, and how these families perceive themselves, counselors can help instill viable, positive coping skills, and restoration to emotionally healthier lives.

References


ABSTRACT

Factors Associated with Anti-War Sentiment in Military Families and Implications for Coping Skills

As the conflict continues, an increasing number of military families have become opposed to the Iraq war. This opposition creates additional stressors on the anti-war military families, often resulting in social isolation and psychological trauma. Traditional support groups and therapy are not meeting the needs of this population. The purpose of this paper is to identify the factors that create anti-war sentiment in military families and develop interventions and skills that can help them cope.

Objectives for this presentation:
- To identify factors associated with anti-war sentiment in military families
- To determine how these factors exacerbate social isolation of the anti-war military family
- To identify coping skills that will reduce isolation and negative emotions
Abstract. This research was based on the conceptual framework that students’ low mathematics achievement in school is related to their poor study habits. Thus, the intervention titled Mathematics Self-Regulated Learning Program aimed to help selected children from Southeast Asia (the Philippines) improve their Mathematics achievement, Mathematics self-regulated learning, and Mathematics school grade. This research focused on the following difference scores: 1) Mathematics achievement, Mathematics self-regulated learning, and Mathematics school grade between experimental and control groups (N = 60); and 2) Mathematics achievement, Mathematics self-regulated learning, and Mathematics school grade between younger and older groups (N = 60). The main result supports self-regulated learning theory which states that when students are given opportunities to self-regulate and explicitly taught of self-regulated learning strategies, academic achievement is more likely to be positively affected. The presenter would like to content that students as active agents of their behaviors can be trained to be responsible learners and thus acquire the goal of life-long education which is learning not just what to learn but more importantly how to learn. Insights of the presenter about the behavioral self-regulatory response of Southeast Asian children will be described during conference presentation.

Why do some people approach learning tasks eagerly while others avoid them or work half-heartedly? Why do some seek and enjoy learning, while others are afraid to learn?

Educators and parents long have been plagued by the problem of students’ low achievement in school. Many have had the frustrating experience of watching a child undermine his or her chances for a good performance simply by not trying. A student who performs poorly as a consequence of not studying or not completing assignments is usually perceived by his teachers as a hopeless case.

Many students who encounter achievement problems in school frequently warrant the concerned scrutiny of teachers and parents alike. They are victims of pre-judgment that they can do no better.

The researcher in her three years of teaching in the elementary grades encountered colleagues and parents who have lost hope in teaching children who were branded as “lazy”; “just don’t like to try”; and “take for granted studying.” This experience served as a challenge to the researcher. She likes to contend that children can be taught of self-regulated learning skills and thus improve their performance in school.

Teachers have the responsibility to teach students not just what to learn but more importantly how to learn. Teaching students of self-regulated learning strategies is reflective of the life-long goal of education which is teaching students the will as well as
the *skill* in learning (Pintrich & de Groot, 1990). As the old aphorism would say “… teach a man how to fish and you have fed him for life.”

This study helped students realize that it is possible for them to generate and direct their own learning experiences rather than act in response to external controls. That they are self-initiators who can exercise personal choice and control of the methods needed to attain the learning goals they have set for themselves. That they function as *origins* of their own behavior rather than *pawns* controlled by outside forces (de Charms, 1987). In this way, their fullest potential will be developed.

Teachers can use self-regulated learning strategies on their students and therefore change the traditional perception of teachers that some students just cannot learn what they teach. The researcher hopes that the teachers will internalize within themselves that students come to school to learn and should be taught how to learn. The teacher should contribute to the development of student’s positive self-image, rather than to the establishment of a self-defeating behavior.

*Conceptual Framework*

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<td>Self-Efficacy</td>
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<th>2. KNOWLEDGE OF SELF-REGULATED LEARNING STRATEGIES</th>
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<td>Why to use?</td>
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<td>When to use?</td>
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<td>Rehearsing and memorizing</td>
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| PERFORMANCE OUTCOME |

Figure 1. Self-Regulated Learning Program
Research indicated that students’ low achievement in school is related to their poor study habits. Figure 1 illustrates that training the students to be self-regulated learners through the Self-Regulated Learning Program (SRLP) will help them improve their Mathematics achievement and study habits.

The SRLP, conceptualized specifically for this research project, is a training program consisted of four main components. The first component refers to the knowledge and beliefs of the subjects. Subjects introduced to the learning goal (Dweck, 1986), attribution to effort (Weiner, 1979), and self-efficacy (Bandura, 1986) are hoped to be oriented to the idea of self-direction (Bandura, 1989), self-responsibility, personal causation (de Charms, 1987), and self-regulation (Zimmerman, 1989) of their own learning. The orientation also includes knowledge of what, how, why and when to use the learning strategies needed to become self-directed, self-responsible and self-regulated learners. The second component refers to the explicit instruction of the self-regulated learning (SRL) strategies. This learning strategies are based on Zimmerman’s (1986) SRL strategies which encompass both the cognitive and metacognitive aspects of the learning process. Zimmerman (1989) identified 14 self-regulated learning strategies which were derived from the social cognitive theory (Table 1). The purpose of each strategy is to improve students’ self-regulation of their a) personal functioning, b) academic behavioral performance, and c) learning environment. For example, the strategies of organizing and transforming, rehearsing and memorizing, and goal setting and planning focused on optimizing personal regulation. Strategies such as self-evaluation and self-consequences were designed to enhance behavioral functioning. The strategies of environmental structuring, seeking information, reviewing, and seeking assistance were intended to optimize the students’ immediate learning environment.

The third component is the SRL opportunities given to the subjects which parallels the conceptual definition of self-regulated learning (Zimmerman, 1994). Subjects must be given the opportunities to freely use and have the appropriate environment to practice the SRL strategies to qualify as self-regulated learners. The fourth component states that with the use of SRL strategies, subjects’ performance outcome must be consistently monitored (Butler and Winne, 1995). Monitoring generates feedback that provides information for confirming or re-examining and modifying strategies, thus, select and use more productive procedures.

Subjects

The subjects for this study were selected by purposive stratified sampling from a suburban private school in Southeast Asia (the Philippines). Sixty elementary grades four and six students with low grade point average in the third quarter of the school year 1998-1999, low mathematics achievement score and poor study habits were chosen from four heterogeneous classes.

Grade four subjects have a mean age of 10.62 years while grade six subjects are of 12.85 years. Both grade levels obtained below 50% mark in Mathematics Achievement Test and Mathematics Self-Regulated Learning Scale. Grade point average of grade four subjects is 75.40 while grade six is 73.44.
### Table 1  
Self-Regulated Learning Strategies (Zimmerman, 1989)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of Strategies</th>
<th>Definitions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Self-evaluation</td>
<td>Statements indicating student-initiated evaluations of the quality or progress of their work, e.g., “I check over my work to make sure I did it right.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Organizing and transforming</td>
<td>Statements indicating student-initiated overt or covert rearrangement of instructional materials to improve learning, e.g., “I make an outline before I write my paper.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Goal-setting and planning</td>
<td>Statements indicating student setting of educational goals and subgoals and planning for sequencing, timing, and completing activities related to those goals, e.g., “first, I start studying two weeks before exams, and I pace myself.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Seeking information</td>
<td>Statements indicating student-initiated efforts to secure further task information from nonsocial sources when undertaking an assignment, e.g., “Before beginning to write the paper, I go to the library to get as much information as possible concerning the topic.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Keeping records and monitoring</td>
<td>Statements indicating student-initiated efforts to record events or results, e.g., “I took notes of the class discussion.” “I kept a list of words I got wrong.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Environmental structuring</td>
<td>Statements indicating student-initiated efforts to select or arrange the physical setting to make learning easier, e.g., “I isolate myself from anything that distracts me.” “I turned off the radio so I can concentrate on what I am doing.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Self-consequences</td>
<td>Statements indicating student arrangement or imagination of rewards or punishment for success or failure, e.g., “If I do well on test, I treat myself to a movie.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Rehearsing and memorizing</td>
<td>Statements indicating student-initiated efforts to memorize materials by overt or covert practice, e.g., “When preparing for a test, I practice a lot to remember the computation process.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 – 11. Seeking social assistance</td>
<td>Statements indicating student-initiated efforts to solicit help from peers (9), teachers (10), and adults (11), e.g., “If I have problems with math assignments, I ask a friend to help.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 – 14. Reviewing records</td>
<td>Statements indicating student-initiated efforts to re-read tests (12), notes (13), or textbooks (14) to prepare for class or further testing, e.g., “When preparing for a test, I review my notes.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Other</td>
<td>Statements indicating learning behavior that is inhibited by other persons such as teachers or parents and all unclear verbal responses, e.g., “I just do what the teacher says.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Methodology**

A two x two factorial quasi-experimental design which consisted of two independent variables, namely: treatment (with treatment and no treatment) and grade level (grade 4 and grade 6) was used. The purpose of the research design is to investigate the effects of Mathematics Self-Regulated Learning Program on the Mathematics achievement, Mathematics self-regulated learning and Mathematics school grade of low achieving students.

In a private school, the research drew a sample of 60 students matched by socioeconomic backgrounds, location, teacher qualifications and skills, school evaluation procedures, physical facilities and degree of parental involvement. Fifteen students were randomly selected to comprise the experimental group for each grade level and the remaining 15 into the control group of each grade level. Two grade levels were chosen, namely: grade four and grade six.
From the population of 152 grades four and six students, middle-class socio-economic status, 60 subjects were selected using the following criteria: low Mathematics achievement score, low grade point average and poor study habits. These were measured using instruments specifically designed for this study. After the treatment was completed, post-tests using Mathematics Achievement Test and Mathematics Self-Regulated Learning Scale were used to determine the effect of experimental manipulation.

Data Gathering Procedure

This study took effect on the Fourth Grading period of the school year. Data for the baseline past of the research design were collected on the first three days of the said period. Grades from the report cards were gathered through the coordination of the subject teachers with the permission of the school officials. Parents of the chosen subjects were given letters asking their permission to include subjects for the experiment.

The pre-tests for Mathematics Achievement and Mathematics Self-Regulated Learning were given by the School Guidance Counselor inside the classroom during the Mathematics class.

The experiment proper was conducted in the school’s elementary library after regular classes in the afternoon. The Mathematics Self-Regulated Learning Program was used by the researcher for one and a half months time, everyday from Monday to Friday, grade four sessions were conducted at 2:00 – 3:00 p.m. while grade six sessions were at 3:00 – 4:00 p.m.

The School Guidance Counselor administered the post-tests using the Mathematics Achievement Test and Mathematics Self-Regulated Learning Scale when treatment was completed.

Mathematics Self-Regulated Learning Program

The Mathematics Self-Regulated Learning Program designed and facilitated by the researcher was done within 6 weeks time, for a total of 30 sessions. Detailed lesson plans for 30 sessions were also written to ensure effective implementation of the program.

Learning strategy instruction started with the development of the students’ self-regulation belief system. The facilitator helped the students develop the important belief orientation to understand, acquire and execute target learning strategies. The purpose of self-regulated learning strategies, how, and when to use them were discussed and explained by the facilitator. The facilitator explicitly taught and demonstrated how the strategies were used with the aid of the appropriate self-instructions techniques. The self-instructions included the combination of problem definition, planning, strategy use, self-evaluation, coping and error correction, and self-reinforcement statements. Collaborative and independent practice of the students were used to monitor the efficient use of the self-regulated learning strategies.

The first five sessions oriented the students to the value of personal responsibility, self-efficacy, learning goal and attribution to effort. The facilitator delivered lectures with the aid of story telling, picture presentations and group sharing of ideas. Participants were asked to share their goals and ambitions in life through the lessons discussed.

Sessions six to eleven were conducted to formally introduce Zimmerman’s (1989) 14 self-regulated learning strategies. Each strategy was explained emphasizing its use and
importance to learning. Participants were given opportunities to practice each strategy on their own. They were explicitly taught how to write learning goals as well as how to properly pace, sequence and plan activities. The facilitator demonstrated the think-aloud strategy for rehearsing and memorizing information and then asked volunteers to do same. The students collated records of quizzes, seat works and assignments to monitor their performance and progress in schoolwork. A self-evaluation form was provided to help them assess how they were doing in their Mathematics class. A discussion about strategies to remedy low performance was initiated by the facilitator. The value of rewarding oneself when a task was accomplished was taught through games and with the use of the “If-then Contract.” The “If-then contract” made the students thought of the rewards they would like to give themselves on certain conditions. The facilitator guided the students for the self-consequating to be fair and to call for and reward accomplishment rather than simply obedience. As for the last strategy, students were encouraged to seek assistance from their peers, parents, teachers, and tutors as well as to use the school library to seek additional information.

Sessions 12 – 30 were facilitated for the participants to apply the self-regulated learning strategies in their Mathematics lessons. During the remaining sessions, students were guided to monitor and evaluate their own progress with the proper use of self-regulated learning strategies. Each week they have to complete forms for goal setting, self-evaluation and self-consequating. In each session, the facilitator observed the students in terms of how they performed during the class activity. A case report was provided for each student.

Results

As predicted, there are significant differences in the Mathematics Achievement between treatment and no treatment groups, F (1, 56) = 15.51, and between younger and older groups, F (1, 56) = 7.26, p < 0.01. There are significant differences in the Mathematics Self-Regulated Learning between treatment and no treatment groups, F(1, 56) = 132.99, p < .01 and between younger and older groups, F (1,56) = 5.59, p < .05. The result shows no significant difference in the Mathematics School Grade between treatment and no treatment groups, F (1.56) = 0.08, although there is a significant difference between older and younger groups, F (1, 56) = 32.02, p < .01.

Fifteen grade four and fifteen grade six students were observed during the 6-week training program. Each student was observed and interviewed in terms of their progress in the use of self-regulated learning strategies. The results for each student’s case were reported on the bases of their improvement or decline in Mathematics Achievement Test (MAT), Mathematics Self-Regulated Learning Scale (MSRLS) and Mathematics School Grade (MSG) scores; behavior during the sessions; attitudes toward learning Mathematics; and use of self-regulated learning strategies. Table 2 shows the summary result of the case reports in terms of the number of students who improved and did not improve in Mathematics achievement, Mathematics self-regulated learning and Mathematics school grade.
Table 2
Number of Students in the Experimental Group in Terms of Improvement and No Improvement Scores in MAT, MSRLS & MSG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Mathematics Achievement Test (MAT)</th>
<th>Mathematics Self-Regulated Learning Scale (MSRLS)</th>
<th>Mathematics School Grade (MSG)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grade IV N = 15</td>
<td>Grade IV N = 15</td>
<td>Grade IV N = 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grade VI N = 15</td>
<td>Grade VI N = 15</td>
<td>Grade VI N = 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With improvement</td>
<td>10 (67%)</td>
<td>15 (100%)</td>
<td>9 (60%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15 (100%)</td>
<td>15 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9 (60%)</td>
<td>15 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No improvement</td>
<td>5 (33%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>6 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The performance of the students in the experimental group, using the three measures: MAT, MSRLS, MSG, generally improved. Improvement in grade six cases is on MAT, MSRLS, and MSG. However, in grade IV, five and six cases showed no improvement in terms of MAT and MSG, respectively. A remarkable result in the MSRLS shows improvement in both grades four and six cases.

Discussion

A. Differences in the Mathematics Achievement, Mathematics Self-Regulated Learning; and Mathematics School Grade Between Treatment and No Treatment Groups.

The results show that there is significant improvement in the Mathematics achievement and Mathematics self-regulated learning of the students in the experimental group after thirty sessions of training in the use of self-regulated learning strategies. This supports Zimmerman’s theory that when students are given opportunities to self-regulate and explicitly taught of self-regulated learning strategies, academic achievement is more likely to be positively affected. Similarly, this finding confirms the results of studies (Hattie, Biggs & Purdie, 1996; Schunk, Hanson & Cox, 1987; Zimmerman & Martinez-Pons, 1986; Bandura & Schunk, 1981) done with the use of the theory of self-regulated learning.

This implies that when students were taught to focus attention on the processes and strategies that help them acquire knowledge and skills, they tend to engage in activities they believe enhance learning such as: exert effort, persist and use effective strategies. As a result, students were observed to exercise control over their learning as they acquire knowledge and skills. This further indicates that students remember and learn more when given the opportunity to use deep processing strategies that enhance conceptual understanding and require cognitive effort, such as integrating information and monitoring comprehension.

The results also support the theory that individuals are considered to be active agents of their behaviors, which mean that students can manipulate and control their own behaviors. Thus, students in the experimental group were able to achieve the desired goal of learning mathematics. It was observed that students were influenced by the major sources for the development of self-regulated learning. It can be inferred that Bandura’s (1989) interaction of the personal, environmental and behavioral factors allow opportunities for the students to exercise control over their own learning. At the personal
level, students were seen to exercise self-directedness, they selected, influenced and constructed their own study habits. Students become origins of their own behavior rather than pawns controlled by the external factors in the environment (de Charms, 1987). The metacognitive strategies were manifested through the use of self-instruction strategies of the students. Strategic planning guided students’ efforts to control learning and was affected reciprocally by feedback from these efforts. This is the same with the use of self-observation and self-judgment as behavioral processes of self-regulation. Students monitored their own progress through keeping records of quizzes, assignments, and examinations. They used self-evaluation by checking procedures, such as re-examining their answers to mathematics problems. With all these, the type of environment, particularly the structure of the learning context, triadically reciprocated with the expected personal and behavioral self-regulation of learning and performance.

During the training program, as a student progresses, he gradually realizes his capability to do better, thus enhances his interest, attributional beliefs to effort, self-efficacy and performance. The chain of effects appeared to be cumulative in effect. Aside from self-assessment, subjects learned how to observe behaviors of their peers. By unintentionally comparing their performance with those of others in the treatment group, they were made to believe that they could do the tasks. Likewise, personal choice and goal setting engaged students’ involvement and interest and gave them more responsibility for their own behaviors. It helped students learn how to set realistic goals which is considered as an important skill in achievement settings (Schunk, 1989). They involved themselves in selecting and administering their own reinforcements by praising or rewarding themselves.

The results which show improvements in the Mathematics achievement and Mathematics self-regulated learning further imply that low achieving students are possible to be equipped of self-regulation. Low achievers who are deficient in all of the essential defining attributes of good information processing, can be trained to be task-oriented with strong motivational beliefs about the importance of learning. Students in the experimental group were told that effort is responsible for their successes, thus, they overcome prior difficulties in learning mathematics skills by simply not giving up to be able to accomplish the assigned tasks. This is a fascinating picture that confirms social cognitivists’ claim. This states that adopting personal challenges in accordance with one’s perceived capabilities and seeing oneself make progress toward the hoped goal endure self-regulation.

The findings in terms of the significant improvement of scores in the Mathematics achievement and Mathematics self-regulated learning are in line with the assertion of self-regulated learning theorists that students can be developed and have the capacity to:

a. discover, develop and apply their own strengths and capabilities;
b. identify and set personally meaningful goals for their own learning;
c. work independently and/or with others to achieve their learning goals;
d. develop and use wide range of learning strategies appropriate to different learning tasks;
e. understand, plan, monitor and evaluate their own learning;
f. access and apply knowledge sources and information systems;
g. persist and overcome obstacles to achieving their learning goals; and
h. apply new skills and knowledge appropriately in practice.
Inconsistent with the hypothesis, the result shows no significant difference between treatment and no treatment groups in terms of Mathematics school grade. This can be explained through the consideration of several other criteria in the grading system of the school. The classroom environment is also a factor to examine if it provides self-regulated learning opportunities. Research (Ames & Archer, 1988; Zimmerman and Martinez-Pons, 1986) discussed that teachers’ role is a big factor in enhancing students self-regulated learning. Although intervention programs have focused on enhancing students’ use of learning strategies, these efforts may have short-term benefits for students who have motivational problems or skill deficits. They are likely to have a limited impact unless teachers can create a classroom environment that supports principles of self-regulated learning.

Classroom studies have noted the strong emphasis on memorization and rote-learning, even at the upper grade levels (Eccles & Midgley, 1989). Instructional practices that involve simple transmission and recall of facts are not conducive to the development of self-regulation. Based on the instructional plans used by some teachers, the researcher observed that almost all activities do not provide opportunities for students to initiate and to direct their own learning. There was little evidence of allowing students to develop questions for class discussions, to design class projects, to choose learning patterns or to decide on how to complete their work.

Considered as the weakest of the three measures used in this study, the Mathematics school grade result shows implications on the way Mathematics is taught inside the classroom. Emphasis on speed and accuracy creates the view of mathematics as an answer-centered rather than process-centered subject. Instead of learning mathematics, students develop skills in copying and memorizing answers. This implies that a traditional classroom teacher as information giver creates a learning context wherein knowledge flows only one way, from the teacher to the student. Mathematics teachers should adopt methods used in a collaborative classroom and emphasize shared knowledge and decision making. This requires the teacher to share authority with students allowing them to have a voice in setting goals, deciding and planning on activities, as well as evaluating their own performance. This implication also fits the conceptual definition of self-regulated learning, which states that self-regulation of learning is possible only in the contexts that provide for choice and control. If students do not have options to choose among or if they are not allowed to control critical dimensions of their learning, such as what topics to pursue, how and when to study, and the outcomes they want to achieve, regulation of thinking and learning process by the self is not fully possible. Externally imposed conditions then regulate the content, structure, and process of learning. The argument goes on, that is, if students are not allowed to have choice and control, they are not likely to learn strategies for regulating strategy training or willingly self-initiate and control the use of various strategies. Results of this study show that training in such self-regulation strategies as monitoring one’s comprehension while learning, setting learning and performance goals, and controlling negative emotions and cognitions enhance school achievement and performance. But if the major conditions required for self-regulation are not present, schools will actually work against helping learners want to learn and self-regulate learning. Furthermore, reference to teachers’ methods of stimulating student self-regulation to learn, whether in the context of developing or activating it, implies not only methods of inducing students
to adopt mastery of content or skills as a goal, but also methods on inducing students to activate needed cognitive and metacognitive strategies.

B. Differences in the Mathematics Achievement, Mathematics Self-Regulated Learning; and Mathematics School Grade Between Younger and Older Groups

The results show that older students obtained significantly higher means of difference scores in all three measures, Mathematics Achievement Test, Mathematics Self-Regulated Learning Scale and Mathematics School Grade.

Although the Mathematics achievement tests were made to be comparable in terms of content and level of cognitive domains, the result seems to reflect the developmental theorists’ claim that as children grow older they become more capable of understanding concepts and ideas. It can be inferred from the result of the study that because of the spiral elementary mathematics curriculum which was patterned on the country’s National curriculum, older students become more knowledgeable and familiar about the topics covered in geometry, measurement, maps and graphs because they have taken the preliminary concepts during the previous years. This is in contrast to the younger students, in which most of the topics in their lessons were new and were not yet taken from their previous years of schooling.

The result in terms of older students’ higher mean of differences scores in the Mathematics Self-Regulated Scale seems to reflect the theory of Brown and Pressley (1994) that the use of self-regulated learning strategies is coordinated with other knowledge possessed by the students. For example, part of planning for writing is searching prior knowledge for what one already knows about the topic. This seems to be also true in mathematics, which requires the connection of the old knowledge to the new information for the students to successfully perform the tasks. This also confirms Garcia and Pintrich’s (1994) consideration that declarative knowledge about the actual content of the tasks is one of the major components in the conceptualization of academic self-regulation.

This finding also confirms the study of Paris and Newman (1990) which states that age influence how learners regulate their learning. It can be assumed that older students experience more autonomy-oriented activities (Ryan, Connell, & Grolnick, 1992) and are given more freedom, autonomy, and independence to control and direct their own learning thus are more likely to manifest self-regulated skills. It can be inferred that parents, teachers and other adults have a significant impact upon the development of self-regulatory capacities and adjustment in school. As what the developmental theorists claim, each experience brings with it new challenges that directs us to learn strategies for coping with difficulties in life. This returns us to the idea that self-regulation is a developmental achievement that can be either facilitated or forestalled by the interpersonal environment. With the opportunities of independence and autonomy given to children, this study suggests that grade school period is the best time to introduce the training of self-regulatory skills.
Conclusion

The findings support self-regulated learning theory which states that when students are given opportunities to self-regulate and explicitly taught of self-regulated learning strategies, academic achievement is more likely to be positively affected. The results also support the theory that individuals are active agents of their behaviors, which mean that students can manipulate, control, direct, and be responsible for their own learning.

Low achievers who were trained to be self-regulated learners were able to overcome prior difficulties in mathematics skills. Subjects used in this study were able to adopt personal challenges in accordance with one’s perceived capabilities. The self-regulated learning strategy instruction engaged students’ involvement and interest and gave them the opportunity to monitor and evaluate progress of their work; organize and transform information to improve learning; set goals and plan for activities; review, rehearse and memorize information; seek social assistance; as well as select or arrange physical environment to make learning easier.

Inconsistent with the hypothesis, the result shows no significant difference between treatment and no treatment groups in terms of Mathematics school grade. This can be explained through the consideration of several other criteria in the grading system of the school. This also implies that the classroom environment is another factor to examine if it provided self-regulated learning opportunities.

Older students’ higher means of difference scores in all three measures give the conclusion that self-regulated learning can be attributed to developmental factors such as, age and prior knowledge. Social assistance seems to be a contributing factor for older students who were given more independence and autonomy in terms of school related work and decisions.

Recommendations

On Self-regulated Learning

Self-regulated learning should receive more attention as a topic for further research. Its theoretical and educational relevance should not be underestimated. As a theory, it presents linkages of the different components of learning, thus, suggests an integrative framework. Its practical value stresses the importance of personal efforts, self-direction and personal responsibility of learner to their own behavior. This is also worth exploring to determine how self-regulatory processes affect learning and performance.

On Self-regulated Learning Strategy Instruction

The researcher sees the need for continuing the use of self-regulated learning strategy instruction as an intervention to help low achieving students. The use of these strategies will develop a sense of ownership and commitment to the youths of this country. This will help students realize that it is possible for them to generate and direct their own learning experiences rather that act in response to external controls. That they are self-initiators who can exercise personal choice and control of the methods needed to attain the learning goals they have set for themselves. Intervention programs involving
self-regulation needs to move more firmly to the mainstream of school and educational research.

Although the findings imply that grade school period is that best time to introduce self-regulated learning strategy instruction as an intervention strategy, the researcher also recommends the use of self-regulated learning strategy instruction to high school and tertiary levels. Teaching students of self-regulated learning strategies is reflective of the life-long goal of education which is teaching students the will as well as the skill in learning.

On Teaching and Learning

An important maxim in self-regulated learning is that people learn by doing. Mathematics learning will undoubtedly be inhibited if the environment does not provide the opportunities to exert strategic control over personal, behavioral and environmental influences. Instructional activities should provide avenues for a dialogue about the lesson. The instructional conversation elicits social interaction among students, in that it contains the transfer and acquisition of knowledge and skills. Through this, the student enters into the reciprocal interaction resulting in a mutual learning system as opposed to the traditional method of merely accepting information.

It is recommended that, aside from Mathematics, academic self-regulated can be applied to other subject areas. In this way, more students can be benefited in terms of academic deficiency coping and/ or academic achievement.

To the Mathematics Teachers

It is recommended that teachers use self-regulated learning to their students and therefore change the traditional perceptions that some students just cannot learn. Teachers are recommended to consider learning as a process, thus make and encourage students to use self-regulated learning. Teachers can help students maintain a mastery focus and meaningful learning by supporting students’ independent learning efforts. This happens only if teachers reward self-improvement and use a variety of non-controlling type of evaluation. Teachers should also make students benefit from opportunities to work with their peers in the classroom.

Much remains to be done on the part of the teachers. The researcher recommends fellow teachers to exert effort to modify student’s academic motivation and achievement behavior in the classroom. Let us make our students acquire the learning goals orientation rather than the performance goal orientation.

To the Parents

Parents need to be aware of the practical use and value of self-regulated learning. They are recommended to help their children’s progress in school by developing them as self-regulated individuals. This is because parents are the primary source of motivation for self-regulated learning.

Based from the Mathematics Self-Regulated Learning Program facilitated by the researcher, parents seldom assist their children in their studies at home. Most of the time, they hire tutors to guide their children. It is recommended therefore that parents at least should check and monitor if tutors and their children are using principles of self-regulation to facilitate optimal learning.
On Research

Although the researcher sees the need for continuing descriptive research about self-regulation, she recommends further research on self-regulated learning to test its effectiveness in learning and performance outcomes. The researcher recommends more intervention research with students in actual learning settings facilitated by trained teachers.

Case studies involving only one or few students with significant self-regulatory problems should be investigated, in which changes in performance are assessed over time, along with continued use of self-regulatory activities after training is discontinued. This type of investigation will also explore individual differences in covert processes and determine why students with similar attributes and experiences diverge in self-regulation. With respect to strategy use, students may differ in their knowledge of strategies that can be applied, as well as attributions to successful strategy use.

Another recommendation is for greater emphasis on longitudinal studies. Long-term studies are needed to chart the course of development of self-regulatory skills. This particular study made by the researcher limits the teaching of self-regulated learning strategies because it does not guarantee that students will continue to use them. Maintenance and generalization of self-regulatory gains brought about by short-term interventions may require periodic refresher instruction.

REFERENCES


Incorporating environmental content: An online survey of K-12 teachers in Kentucky concerning preferences for education resources

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Abstract:

This paper presents the findings of completed surveys from 2,000 Kentucky teachers, grades K-12. The survey focused on understanding current environmental education practices and identifying resources and professional development opportunities that will help teachers incorporate environmental content into their current teaching practices. Because environmental topics are often not a direct component of the curriculum, individual teachers must develop their own ways to incorporate this content if it is to be included in their teaching.

This survey was conducted in cooperation with the Kentucky Department of Education Environmental Education Council and the Kentucky University Partnership for Environmental Education (KUPEE), who will use the survey results to develop appropriate resources and professional development opportunities that will help teachers across the state expand and improve the environmental content incorporated into current teaching. The survey results will help ensure that the new resources and opportunities are consistent with the expressed needs of classroom teachers.

The survey was web based. The all-electronic format enabled branching for contingent questions, ensuring that teachers would only see questions that are relevant to their teaching. This minimized errors that would otherwise result from confusion over which questions to answer. All school districts in Kentucky and all grade levels were sampled.

Answers to the following questions are discussed:

- What environmental topics are currently taught in Kentucky?
- Why do teachers include or exclude environmental content in their teaching?
- Where do teachers obtain environmental teaching materials?
- What methods do teachers use to incorporate environmental content into current teaching?
- What professional development opportunities relating to environmental content would be helpful to teachers?
- What additional resources relating to environmental content do teachers identify as valuable?

I would like to acknowledge Dr. Tom Greider for providing funding for this research and assistance in facilitating cooperation with KUPEE and the Kentucky Department of Education for this project.
The Reinforcement of Opposition

(A) Opposition
(B) Resistance

Opposition reinforces a previously dislocated stand. By outlining a case against that which originally stood firm (reinforced by free demonstration or communication).

The *opposing factor (A) must compensate and reinforce its position by counteracting and putting forth a method of retribution that would weight out the *resistance (B).

Thus, forming a steady equilibrium between both forces.

This law influences all aspects of... human existence, animal instinct and nature.

The law of opposition however is a relatively used detail of human existence that influences discipline by providing one access and ability to use this law to generate a feasible explanation to life and self discovery.

When understanding the laws of opposition one must identify and form an equation as to what the outcome may be or what the outcome of the opposite encounter may not be. Nevertheless, the forces are endless rivals that will continue to resist as long as one is presumably ahead of the other...

- Two likely daily psychological interactions that are effected by the reinforcement of opposition are:

Right/Wrong (society)
Evil/Good (religion/personal beliefs, morals)

* One natural resource of influence to all aspect of existence is:
Life/Death (Individually)
These factors can remain independent or can be coordinated to form an ideology with the human mind's defined perception of its meaning as a whole. Outside of our realm of comprehension these are labels of a much larger universal law that result from the resistance of life/death of all.

This law does not judge beliefs one way or another... it just provides a fundamental baseline for the birth of such requisition.
The ultimate purpose of existence.

At its peak each side may assume to have overpowered the other. However, that would be impossible when speaking generally about the laws of opposition... considering that once the perception of disadvantage by a resistance occurs, the presumably struggling opposition will take necessary actions to again 'regain the perceptive idea" ("idea" can be defined in a general universal concept...biological/logical/ systematic because our ability to identify and label such explanation is again merely an interpretation of a much larger scale of information therefore, an explanation to the laws of opposition can be applied and defined through many avenues of exploration) that it has overpowered the other in whatever attribute it may consider it so... of course for a limited time because consequently this effect has once again reinforced the opposition.

Focusing on detailed forms of debatable questions, does not make an overwhelming effect on the law it is just a basic outline of a much larger picture.

One can only participate in the reevaluating methods of the struggle for power. Wining is viewed on individual bases and it is not the overwhelming effect of the natural process of opposition resistance. For one to gain power from the other opposing factor all detailed relative to the opposition must coincide simultaneously... which consequently will end all opposition making the so called enforcer non-existence. Because one cannot exist without the other.

Example: Good is defined by the understanding of what is bad. Without "bad" good would not be good, it would just be. Good" as defined by humans is a way of separating two factors of existence. With the ability to label to the extent that we are capable of, what is defined as good and/or bad depends on again the reinforcement of "life and death" and personal interpretation of the label itself.

The opposition's label is originated by the resisting factor that identifies that which is not coinciding with the stand point of it which was previously non-existent. Though it may seem as one may have existed before the other, again, we must recognize that the laws of reinforcement have always existed... we just adapt these laws into our life and outlined a matter of opinions of two oppositions that are formed simultaneously.

In all that one experiences and demonstrates their can be a distinguished label defining it as the right/wrong-good/bad-life/death... course of action in the beginning or at it's conclusion depending on what institution one uses to identify the opposing
reinforcement. As individuals perception may differ from that of society and/or religion and vice versa...

As we all know for every action there is a reaction. For every position stands a disposition challenging it. This epic reinforces the nature of the majority one side or the other.

At a higher scale both opposition continue the struggle for power. A never ending struggle because one is what it is because of the other's position. Though it may not seem the case the cause of either side is suspended in time as long as the challenge stands firm on each side. We as humans have learned to use these laws as a survival tactic to overcome previous unknown obstacles.

Life reinforces death because all that lives must die. Death reinforces life because all that lives is not dead. Once we no longer reject death we are no longer alive. Thus, consequently death indirectly reinforces life by those that continue to live.

This is due to the resistance between both forces, as long as there is a resistance to the opposition; the strain prevents its union.

*However, when a union occurs of two resistances they evaporate and/or disappear. Until an opposition is in need of reinforcement emerges again.

Also with or without our labels or definition the process of the law continues to occur until one of the oppositions no longer exists.

There are many experiences in life that promote a sense of existence in human kind. One emotional aspect that we have adapted to reinforce life is the concept of perceptive fear. Because of what we know as perceptive fear we have learned to reinforce our position on death and in doing so we also reinforce our want to live. Again as shown here one cannot be without the other.

All is constrained in oppositional reinforcement. The end of existence can only end with the end of all life and death.

In life we have merely adopted the concept from the laws that exist beyond our control. In the meantime one is in correlation with the other regardless of our understanding of it or not.

These factors have been used by implementing it in daily interactions within society, culture and of course politics also in explaining scientific phenomena.
a. Title: Cross Maternal and School Language Learning: A review of Recent Research of Children with Foreign Mothers from Working-class Families in Taiwan

b. Topic area: Ethnic, social, and educational study

c. Presentation format: Paper sessions

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Abstract

In Taiwan, more and more working-class men get married with women from south-eastern Asia. Since mothers are not Mandarin native speakers, and are affected by socioeconomic and sociocultural factors, these families face another challenge after the children begin their education cycle. This paper is a case study based on the problematic and increasing phenomenon described above. This paper will demonstrate how the influence of maternal speech in child language development plays an important role in the exclusion of these minority students in the mainstream of the Taiwanese educational and social system. Furthermore, this paper brings to the attention of the educational community the problematic concerned with this particular population, and to make people more conscious and more involved in the education of minority students in Taiwan. For further inquiries, well-organized language developmental plans and counseling for parents and children should be considered.

Key words: maternal language, language development, SES
1) Critical Reflections on Freedom in Education

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6) This paper is a critical reflection on the concept of freedom, its paramount implications for education in the U.S. educational setting and for scholars concerned with the importance of critical thinking and agency of students in school and the larger society. Therefore, this reflection aims to be a place where educators can dialogue on the idea of freedom for the empowerment of students in educational settings. The paper will be centered on the analysis of the concept of freedom as elaborated by three major critical scholars in the arena of critical pedagogy: (a) Maxine Greene, (b) Paulo Freire, (c) and Asante in order to allow the reader to look at these “canvas” and compare and contrast the positionality of these educational thinkers on the importance of power and practice of freedom in schools and the larger social system in the U.S.
TITLE PAGE FOR SUBMISSION OF ABSTRACT

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CHAIX Bénédicte
THE ATTRACTION OF LONDON ONTO YOUNG SICILIAN IMMIGRANTS

Bénédicte CHAIX

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**Introduction**

Although the Italian population is embedded in a long tradition of migration around the world, the push and pull factors have been evolving towards diversification. Whereas in the past, Sicilians tended to leave their native land because of economic problems – forty years ago rural Sicily was a very static and barren society offering no future –, young Sicilians of nowadays consider their migration as a choice of life. Miscellaneous push and pull factors – be they on a cultural, academic or personal level – that trigger departures towards a foreign place have been evolving throughout the XXth century and some of them are deeply intertwined.

In this paper we will present you with one of the pull factors in relation to young Sicilian migrants: the genuine representation of the city of London in the migrant’s psyche. This pull factor represents a very original element insofar as it remains unknown except in the case of a fieldwork on the verge of ethnological research. Because of this hidden characteristics, it probably IS today the most interesting pre-conception in the mind of young Sicilian migrants.

This cultural explanation of such a human trend, on which we shall draw your attention, has been discovered in the scientific frame of a PhD research led by the cited author and supervised by Professors Jean-Pierre Simard (English Department, University Stendhal
Grenoble3, France) and Christophe Mileschi (Italian Department, University Stendhal Grenoble3, France). The experimental study of individual paths, which shall allow us to provide common readers and field researchers with an authentic testimony of the phenomenon, has been carried out both in the host city of London and in Sicily.

The first step of the analysis, as a theoretical starter, will be to present readers with the main sociological views on the concept of the ‘city’ (Durkheim, Marx, Weber, Simmel). Which shall lead us to the following question: what does a ‘city’ represent for young Sicilian migrants? Then, we shall point out the mythical image that the city of London conveys for young Sicilian immigrants today.

At this point, many other questions could be raised because of the feeling of complexity revealed through the diversity of reasons for migrating, such as: can a specific factor have a more or less powerful influence on the migrant’s trajectory? Or else to which extent do the migrant’s aspirations match reality?
Sociological background

So as to be able to give some valid explanation of a specific social and cultural tendency such as the attraction displayed by a city onto a particular category of the population, we shall first provide readers with a theoretical starter, such as the main sociological views on the concept of the ‘city’, so as to reach a clearer idea on what a city can represent for the young generation of Sicilian migrants.

Indeed, one of the many cultural reasons likely to prompt migration towards a specific location seems to be the existence of the urban space with the concept of the ‘city’ giving birth to several aspirations. This scientific exploration of the urban space shall be built on the basis of different historical backgrounds developed in sociology. As a matter of fact, it would be difficult to undertake any analysis on the migration of young people towards cities without even taking into deep consideration the problem of the representations of the city to be found among the young. Once those mental representations established, researchers should be able to reveal some specific conditions for individual choices.

Emile Durkheim’s vision\(^1\) of the city is based on the idea of a changing world and therefore on the interlinked notion of human adaptation. Urban life is always more part of our contemporary reality and the young migration towards urban centres embodies a societal tendency, which leads us as early in time as the 18\(^{th}\) century to find this phenomenon already existing. Basically, this phenomenon stands as a marker of evolution: evolution of our societies leading to the evolution of the individuals as direct components. However, Durkheim emphasizes the patent paradox at the very heart of this tendency: whereas the growing cities gather and blend human beings from here and there, they also tend to separate the citizens in the name of individualism. The subject is not a deliberate free actor, he depends on the structure as the manifestation of social determinism (very close to Marx’s theory).

To some extent, the representation of the city among young Sicilian migrants has appeared because of the modernization and industrialization of the urban world. There is still in Sicily a

deep rift between rural life *di campagna* and urban life *di città*: the former with a negative connotation and the latter with a positive and modern connotation.

Georg Simmel exposed another view of the problem as based on historical reasons for this phenomenon. The difference for him is that the subject has the power over his destiny and actually makes it real. Which could be put in parallel with a rather functional approach in which the actor actually adapts himself to reach a better individual state without any kind of rationality. Such a functional interpretation considers the roles as defined by the system and imposed to the individual. Integrating urban society means accepting the rules to become a constituent element.

Thus, the quest for individuality is a *sine qua non* condition to reach a higher standard of urban life. Indeed, most of the many individual quests for autonomy and self-assertion take place in cities: it is the will to assert one’s own life and the will to differentiate oneself from the others. This distanitation from the others is seen as a positive tool to reach individualisation. Migrants can’t therefore be seen as victims any longer, but as direct decision makers of their own lives.

This sociological trend is opposed to that Durkheim’s in terms of actors, but can also be considered as a complement to the historical and structural backgrounds of a city with the introduction of the notion of the free acting subject.

Max Weber, who proved very interested in the matter of the city especially through his essay *La Ville*, puts forward another dimension of the city though very close to Durkheim’s in terms of social relations and economical evolutions which both influence urban components. He gives a greater role to the individual seen not as a Simmelian actor but as an agent, that is to say that his actions influence the overall society; in addition to that, the city is the embodiment of a modern world which provides a wide range of freedom for actions, and this is an important parameter that could give an explanation for the attraction of London onto young Sicilians. This sociological trend of methodological individualism consists of

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analyzing the agent’s behaviour to see how they assume their roles and develop their aspirations. Its aim is to explain a social phenomenon, such as the attraction of the city of London onto young Sicilian immigrants, as the consequence of individual behaviours. In other words, it implies the analysis of individual acts so as to understand a social tendency. To some extent, the situation we intend to study here corresponds to this theoretical approach.

As a final example, Karl Marx explains the phenomenon of rural exodus and urban attraction through the antithetical vision opposing the city to the rural space. His representation of the city is based on the socio-historical context (from which Durkheim and Weber partly drew their inspiration to establish the notion of a modern world) influenced by the capital and giving birth to the powerful relationship established between capitalist leaders and poor workers. The latter actually follow the development of modern industries, organizing their migration in parallel with capital migration. This specific aspect of economic needs can stand as an explanation to rural exodus and urban attraction. The problem of employment – seen both as an economic push and pull factor – has always been at the very centre of the questioning of migration and inevitably works as an influential element in the destination choice. However, for Marx, urban citizens can’t evolve in a situation that is totally devoid of free will, insofar as their actions are actually the consequence of external constraints: this is the socio-determinist theory according to which the mock freedom is nothing else than a conditioning which eventually leads to alienation. He considers the large industrial city as the place of dependence and a place where the so-called liberties are only illusions and where poverty is an interlinked consequence of capitalist laws. This is the Marxist answer to the urban myth with which our analysis is not at all embedded.

Theoretical comparisons of city representations represent a compulsory stage in a research on migrations and allow us to remind the readers that the city representations display a complete

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5 Ibidem
6 This determinist notion makes him closer to Durkheim’s view. Marx and Durkheim are intellectually far from Simmel and Weber who consider the existence of an interactive relationship of the constituting elements, which means the recognition of free will. For our analysis, we shall however find Durkheim and Weber as complementary.
7 According to Pierre Bourdieu’s thoughts.
variety among the thinkers, just as among the migrants, which eventually makes the approach even more delicate. Although the intellectual basis must be taken into serious consideration, our interest in the attraction of the city of London onto young Sicilian immigrants shall be developed on Weber’s ground which is close to Bourdieu’s structuralist trend in terms of relationships to be studied and also close to Claude Levi-Strauss’ methods through the emphasis on monographies offering many an example of paths of life. Which paves the way for an authentic conceptualization of the phenomena of migration.
The representation of London among young Sicilians

In the twentieth century, the phenomena of massive emigration and rural exodus towards foreign countries have triggered the particular interest we have today in the cultural stakes belonging to the migrating process of populations. Sicily has aroused many scientific questionings owing to the history of the Italian nation and people which is representative of the experience of migration.

It seems difficult however to define precisely how much the sociological meaning of the urban space has been evolving for the new generation of Sicilian migrants. We can take as a starting point the theories developed by Durkheim and Weber who regarded the city as the embodiment of a modern world in perpetual movement; indeed, we know that cities have kept transforming under the effect of industrialisation and the modernization of ways of life; yet, the existence of the urban myth among young Sicilians as a cultural evolution allows us to analyze the phenomenon of rural exodus to the urban space under a definitely less determinist light.

Nowadays, different cultural dimensions (in addition to the economic aspect which belongs to the structural vision) happen to be central in the diversification of individual migratory decisions. The understanding of a migratory process from and to a specific place can’t be reached without taking into consideration the miscellaneous cultural elements gravitating around the process itself and influencing to a certain extent the migrant’s trajectory. Individuals are the very core of the analysis and the study of their individual behaviours should lead to grasp the social tendency that they contribute to feeding. The real fascination that young Sicilians express towards England belongs to the cultural parameters and proves the existence of a mental representation of the host society, which plays an important role in the phenomenon we are studying here. This approach alludes to the notion of cultural clash seen as a positive and sought situation. From the very beginning of the previous millennium, Great-Britain has always proved to be a multicultural nation. Invaders have changed the face of the country and have also contributed to dividing the country with the assertion of regional
identities. Paradoxically, Great-Britain is divided in its unity because of the mixture of people and the blending of cultures. For young Sicilians, this ideal which colours the image of England hides a true inclination to prefer London instead of any other European destination. But the following question remains: why such a specific infatuation for London? Our intent here will be to bring elements so as to bring some examples of answer to the problem.

Whereas the rather complex link between England and Sicily has long remained prisoner of a stereotyped image associated with poverty, new cultural characteristics have been gradually appearing in the past years and now stand as a motivation for choosing London as a host city. Nowadays, Britain holds a particular significance on the scale of attractive places: it is still an island, though larger, which ensures anonymity and a margin of action for migrants.

? Cultural Quest

The Sicilian society is a very particular one: it is an island where every district displays a large and striking variety of populations, but where paradoxically each social category remains rather closed. Young Sicilians deplore this (cultural) homogeneity within age groups. Thus, London as a cosmopolitan city presents characteristics that young Sicilians actually look for. A Sicilian engineer named Rosario once confessed while we were talking about Sicily:

“I perfectly know how Sicilian girls work in their head; I know everything they may think and what they like; yet, you can find something else abroad, other spirits, other states of minds, other visions and this is what is truly interesting where you go to another place.”

These words can testify very well one of the many reasons for migration: it is aimed at bringing forward what one’s own society lacks. This cultural quest finds a hallow in the British and London society, insofar as the multicultural side implies a variety of possibilities to find what one may look for in cultural terms. It can be due to a search for a specific way of life that fits you, or else the propensity to meet the others so as to grow richer. Furthermore,
we can deduce from this testimony that young Sicilians look for a clue to the deep cultural problem of sexual relations: the interviewee evokes the opportunity to meet girls who are free from any kind of cultural burden as an impediment to sexual life. This could be understood as a will to put religious, moral and familial determinism (as Durkheim alluded to it) away. In other words, it is the quest for difference in terms of demeanour added up to the large urban space which appears as the key to their previous situation: the geographical distance leads to creating a mental and symbolical distanciation from their original identity; as Maria Antonia once declared:

“You’re on your own, there’s nobody else, so you are free!”

The erasing of authoritarian power over oneself is part of this process of distanciation, both geographical and symbolical. And all these allow young migrants to remain anonymous and decide for themselves as an experience of freedom. A lighter note should be added to this concept of freedom: it is not intended here that young Sicilians are not free in Sicily, most of them go out more often that we actually do here in continental Europe. However, they probably feel bad in front of their parents if they behave differently from the ideal. Living abroad is just a way of avoiding the taboo by hiding them from the parents’ eyes. It may seem hypocritical, but it is also very respectful to the traditional representation that their parents cherish.

It should be reminded at this point that migrants can often “be those who do not fit into their original society (for anthropological, physical, moral, intellectual or psychological reasons) and who endeavour to come closer to another population to which they can identify better. Often, migrants already feel strangers in their home country and the choice of the host country depends on their own adapting characteristics. This type of migrant, who actually chooses his

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8 On this subject, see E.W. Hofstee, Some remarks on selective migration. The Hague, 1952.
migratory status for reasons of adaptation, seeks the society which shall correspond better to values he has already interiorized.⁹

? Economic quest
The youngest Sicilian migration happens to be deeply linked to the economic and technological role hold by the British capital city. The London area is attractive for its status as financial centre (which offers a wide range of activities belonging to the third sector) and as European capital Today, a high increase in the services has been reported with a gathering of nearly 65% of the working population in this field. We understand better why the majority of immigrants are to be found in the Greater South East (such as the South East, South West and East Anglia): this region gets higher economic and demographic ratio compared to the national average. 81% of jobs in London City and up to 75% of jobs in Greater London directly or indirectly belong to the sector of services. The economy of the South East is run by services which represent for the whole region about 80% of the local working population, in other words 4 persons out of 5. As a consequence, the type of migrants has changed into a variety of professional categories: many workers in the fields of banks or insurance, but also culture and science, choose England as a host country. Another domain could be added, that of catering with the miscellaneous paninerie, caffeterie, pizzerie, ristoranti, gelaterie,¹⁰ which become always more numerous in England.

When regarding the contemporary experience of Sicilians in England, the conception of the European America, which appeared at the beginning of the century in several European countries (France, Germany, Switzerland), is no longer alluded to; indeed, the overall expression of the eldorado in reference to the host country no longer means what it used to mean, even in the collective spirit where England, just like the other European countries, has

¹⁰ Restaurants like Metrogusto in Islington, Osteria Basilico in Portobello, Cecconi in Green Park, XXX in Darlington.
never belonged to the category of countries which allowed to make a fortune very quickly like in North and South America. England just stands as a real and concrete alternative to a non satisfying situation in the original place. Indeed, “the static, poverty-stricken and highly stratified rural society of southern Italy bears very little resemblance to the frequently changing, more prosperous and comparatively open society” of England. Migrants develop successful business and this professional activity allowed him to climb up the socio-economic ladder and to enter society as an entire participant of local and British life. This tendency is also called brain drain. Indeed, hi-tech sectors and enterprises offered young southern European graduates the career possibilities they can’t reach in their original country for many a reason (economic problems in the country, little development, corruption, nepotism, etc.). As Alain Parent, head of National Institute for Demographic Studies, declared in the famous magazine *Capital* in June 2000:

« Le Sud pauvre a longtemps fourni une main d’œuvre peu qualifiée ; il possède aujourd’hui une armée de réserve hautement qualifiée. »

This « professional » or « qualified » migration from southern Europe has developed and then increased for some years now, and can naturally be added to the already existing part of low qualified workers who move to England in search for a job. In other words, Sicilian migration has evolved towards a more elitist side and the tendency is open to diversification: among young Sicilian migrants in London, we now have urban Sicilians, graduate Sicilians, qualified Sicilians, who sometimes have a job in Sicily, but who try to find a better professional situation; we also register semi-urban Sicilians who are not graduated yet, but wish to find a good professional opportunity or wish to improve their level of English so as to have wider professional horizons.

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11 Ibidem.
13 Although manual emigration has become more and more marginal in Sicily: the ‘so-called little’ jobs young Sicilians refuse to have at home are nowadays held by immigrants. It is a phenomenon of turn-over that now reaches Sicily, just as many European countries, which all become a sort of haven for the forgotten of poor countries.
In other words, England is the place of possibilities. It should be added at this point that the organization in British society has contributed to the very process of social and economic mobility; British society has always maintained the tradition of opportunity and openness to new ideas which may have triggered somehow the incredible development of the third sector of the British economy. The miscellaneous career possibilities immigrants have in another place lead to what is called ‘promotional migration’\textsuperscript{14}. Job markets open towards the international owing to globalization, which gives a myriad of chances for workers.

\textit{\textbf{? Academic quest}}

Another ‘model’ in terms of patterns of immigrants can be drawn and is linked to the academic quest. Indeed, the market of studies has been constantly rising in the past years. The area of Cambridgeshire has become a leader in the different fields of culture, research, sciences and high technologies. Nowadays, professionals actually go abroad and specialized workers just export their \textit{know how} and offer it to their host country.

The number of Sicilian migrants who head for London to improve their English represent a large of majority of young nationals. Obviously, the brilliant situation of the sector of services, added to cultural places and seasonal jobs, reinforces the attraction of London onto young Sicilian migrants. The geographical situation very close to the continent contributes to developing tourist migration together with the infrastructures (Eurostar, ferries, London airports like Heathrow, Gatwick, Stansted, Luton) allowing migrants to reach cultural points.

This trend usually means short-term migration; however, many interactions (personal elements, opportunities) take place to influence this trend and make it become long-term stays sometimes.

Whereas in the past the aim was that of having a total sterile situation into a bettered economic state – which matched the ideal of the American Dream – , the tendency today is that of the building of career plans for national brains or else the finding of special land-off occasions (like learning English or having a training course) so that they could realize projects in the future, be it in England or in the home country.

? Paths to reach the quested aim

In an attempt at understanding better how the London myth was born among young Sicilians, the different paths towards its creation in collective imagination should be listed.

First and foremost, we could mention the reality of the fashion phenomena which plays a primary role in cities like Palermo or even in rural places. Fashion (be it concerning clothes or even their colours, restaurants, pubs, technologies, or trip destinations) rules the market and the customs. Fashion imposes some level of standardization. Some traits of the culture of being fashionable precisely nurtured the aspirations or goals towards which the migrant strives. English music, English ways of partying have become increasingly accepted as the right fashionable trend.

Secondly, the construction of an ideal also depends on concrete data – historical, statistical or else – conveyed through the media. Indeed, it seems that the power of the media has been central in its creating a multicultural and liberal image of the city. This gave place to a true London myth among young Sicilians for whom London remains the first destination in Europe with 5 to 6 millions Italian visitors yearly.

Finally, the communication sphere among immigrants – from past migrants towards migrants-to-be – through letters, calls, internet, summary of life experience, etc., has highly contributed to the construction of the myth. Current statistics have proved that about 63% of the Italians

registered in the Italian consulates gather around London (including Wales, South England up to Birmingham).

No matter the research field in terms of individuals or representations of the city, the starting question is interlinked with that of the choice of destination, which remains a fundamental element in the understanding of migratory dynamics. However, it proves difficult to determine and assess the real influence of those many representations for young migrants.
CONCLUSION

Studying migration in time also means studying and analyzing the individual dynamics where personal needs, aspirations, vulnerabilities, family and social life all come together to reach the choice of a path of life, that of migration.

The several reasons for migration mentioned in this work are obviously not exhaustive, the area is just as large as that of interpretations, but shall be completed throughout the final writing of the PhD research led by the author and which should be over within the end of year 2005.

The defining of some of various reasons for the attraction that a city like London has on Sicilian immigrants shall help us understand the choices and schematize contemporary migratory processes. We will thus be allowed to realize to which extent the schema of migration can differ in accordance to the interaction of various types of factors: the push factors – economic, cultural, demographic, family, academic – ; the pull factors – social, economic mobility, cultural aspirations – .

The essential point in the experience of migration and insertion is the ability to give a meaning to the migratory project. Therefore, we understand that the psycho-sociological state of the migrant (how he considers both national and host society; what identity consciousness means for him) happens to be at the very heart of the matter because it eventually influences the final judgment of the migrant on his migration and partially explains the diversity of human trajectories. Cultural liberalism of the 1960s in Great-Britain has revealed the notions of migration with push and pull factors, the concepts of identity and cultural shock, bringing forward moral and societal questionings and calling into question the idealistic conception that people had of their country. The study of the parameters in immigration allows a gradual awareness of the complexity of migrations.
BI BLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES


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DAMS AND SOCIAL DAMAGE:
EXPERIENCES OF INDIAN COMMUNITIES

The fundamental principle of the development is 'sustainability' in the present day context. Development should be open and a participatory process of environmental, social, economic, cultural and political changes that can be achieved through preservation and conservation of ecosystems. The contention of Brundtland Report that development should meet the needs of the present without compromising on the ability of future generations to meet their own needs is the ideal situation that any welfare state should be aiming to achieve. But, the ongoing process in the name of 'development' seems to be going against this definition. The development process, proposals and projects of recent times are in fact facing strong resistance from people since this development is contributing to disturbance and destruction also.

Although the concept of development has been invading the world from different directions, the resistance seems to be more in the case of big dams. Because, construction of major dams causes the disturbance of ecological balance. Secondly, it contributes to dislocation and displacement of millions of people. Now, India has over 4,000 large
dams. Most of them were built after Independence. In 1950 there were only about 300 large dams and the rest were undertaken in the second half of the 20th Century. It is also noted that most of the large dams were undertaken in the period 1970-1990. Powerful voices and arguments have strengthened the anti-dam movements in India. People-oriented research projects have questioned the so-called ‘development’. In this process contributions made by Indian activist scholars for ‘World Commission on Dams’ in the form of independent papers and reports threw light on the darker side of the lives of dam victims. A close examination of these details raises the debate as to whether these dams are temples or graves.

While displacement itself leads to a traumatic and chaotic situation, rehabilitation becomes another major problem for people because the rehabilitation policies are neither thoughtfully and thoroughly planned nor implemented. Throughout the world, well-meaning intellectuals, scholars and activist social workers are vehemently opposing the construction of major dams and the destruction caused by them by debating on environmental, economic, cultural and social loss. World Commission on Dams (WCD) even compiled a report of these concerns by gathering information throughout the world from independent researchers and experts.

People's resistance, civil society campaigns, NGOs and academic researchers no doubt succeeded in articulating their concerns and creating awareness among people to some extent about these issues. In India too, it is a fact that no other movement in recent times has gained momentum and got the people's support as the issue of dams has. No other campaign was covered by print as well as electronic media as extensively as the issue of dams and displacement was. While the work done by these groups is commendable, a serious examination of the same will also raise an important question, that is whether the assessments and analyses of the destruction are examined from all the possible perspectives or not, giving voice to all the social, cultural and ethical issues related to displacement and rehabilitation.

Taking a stand that the debate over development, dams and damage is neither comprehensive nor inclusive of all social, cultural and community perspectives, this paper makes an attempt to highlight the damage and disturbance caused by the displacement in a rural community life which is based on co-existence and mutual dependence. The cultural, economic, ecological and environmental issues related to displacement are being thoroughly discussed and debated. However, it is also important to discuss how displacement and improper rehabilitation can lead to loss of livelihood, identity and professional security in a closely-knit rural situation thus leading to forcible migration. This paper specifically attempts to explain the damages caused to a village community, its life and livelihood which were shaped in the process of civilisation, by examining the past and present of a project-affected village in India. The paper strongly advocates that not only ecology, environment, ethnicity, wild life but also social ecology, community coexistence and professional security are equally important and are threatened much more in the process of displacement.
State Policies:

In post-Independence India, the thrust of development forced Indian leadership to adapt a development model of economic prosperity. In the first phase India felt that the development essentially means economic development and economists focused their attention exclusively on economic growth. The social conditions such as hunger, poverty, unemployment and other rural issues favoured a development model of accelerated economic growth. The rulers and policy makers proposed mega projects like big dams, steel plants, and mining excavations and projected all these major projects as symbols of development and progress. The rulers used to repeatedly tell the people to prepare for ‘sacrifices’ in the interest of nation. Dam building was considered synonymous with nation building.

Politicians played with the emotions of people in order to shape their minds. Jawaharlal Nehru, India’s first Prime Minister, for instance, described big dams as ‘secular temples’ of modern India. On another occasion, he viewed the dam as legitimate and inevitable cost of development, to be accepted in the larger national interest. While laying the foundation stone for India’s first major river valley project, the Hirakud Dam in Orissa in 1948, Nehru gave a message to the people “If you have to suffer, you should do so in the interest of the country” (quoted in Roy 1999). The same sentiments were echoed for 36 years after Nehru’s comments in the words of Indira Gandhi. She wrote a letter to India’s most respected social activist Baba Amte in which she said, “I am most unhappy that development projects displace tribal people from their habitat, especially as project authorities do not always take care to properly rehabilitate the affected population, but some times there is no alternative and we have to go ahead in the larger interest” (quoted in Kotari 1996; 1976). Thus, the rulers motivated the nation towards big dams, diverted all the energies by pumping huge funds into irrigation projects.

Displacement Discourse:

Concentration shifted from environmental issues to individuals in the second phase of the discourse. Probably it is because the western ideology and west-based funding agencies such as World Bank conditions that specifically emphasised the ‘indigenous people's rights’. In fact, the funding agencies were forced to include such a clause owing to the pressure of the global civil society and people's initiatives. The focal point of this pressure is displacement of people. The new development projects particularly in the developing world have caused dislocation of large number of people. The extent and implications of such forced evacuation and relocation are diverse, depending on the nature of the project and density of population, which is being affected. The size of a displaced population may vary from country to country. It is more in the developing countries because of the density of population.

According to some estimates, in India alone around 50 to 60 million people have been displaced in the name of development projects. It is four times the estimated 15 million people exchanged between India and Pakistan at the time of the Partition of the
The subcontinent in 1947. The two countries are yet to get out of that trauma but there is very little consciousness about four times that number of DP/PAP in the name of national development in India alone (Mankodi 1981: 150).

The main problem that arises consequent to displacement is relocation of people. In India, the unfortunate situation is that there is no comprehensive rehabilitation policy. In the absence of statutory rehabilitation laws or even national policy on rehabilitation, there is no legal imperative for state governments or project authorities to integrate comprehensive rehabilitation planning into the planning of a project. More often than not, project authorities are interested mainly in the relocation rather than the rehabilitation of project-affected people, for their primary concern is their physical transference from the submerged zone thus making space for the project rather than the long term welfare of the displaced people. In most cases the social fabric of the rural areas is destroyed when they are relocated in alien surroundings or in a fragmented manner. Most of the studies in India that focussed their analysis on DPs, identified tribals as the worst sufferers because they are the people who directly depend on the natural resources particularly on forests and water sources. In Indian population, tribals were around 8.5% but were estimated to be 40% of the PAPs (Fernandes 1988: 251). In Andhra Pradesh they were 6.6% of the population (1991) but over 27% of PAP and in Orissa they were 22% of the population but 42% of PAP.

The attention and concern of the researchers is more on tribals because of their number and cultural significance. Tribals are less in number, unique in culture including language, settlement, social life and economic activity. Mostly they are "primitive" in lifestyle and distinct from the rest of the society. The second reason could be the compensation package. In India, the only significant reparation for displaced people guaranteed by law is the payment of monetary compensation for the acquired individual assets, particularly the immovable property. However, the manner in which the law is framed and interpreted ensures that the displaced landowner or house owner is always the loser. Lokayan, a well-known organization documented the trauma undergone by 21,094 families in the 100 villages submerged under the Srisailam project in Andhra Pradesh. The report (1982) states: "the government has conceived and executed the Srisailam project...without taking into consideration the human problem seriously.... The disbursement of compensation (in cash) did not encourage plans for settlement...large rich farmers managed to receive compensation, for both houses and land lost, at reasonably competitive terms; people with low economic and social status did not get their compensation for the property lost. The people were neither educated nor taken into confidence regarding the various issues involved in computing compensation, evacuation and rehabilitation."

Compensation for the lost immovable property is paid for at the alleged market rate rater than according to the replacement value thus leading to the devaluation of compensation. Another implication is that the compensation is paid only to the people possessing undisputed legal title and most tribals do not have a land of their own at all. Even if one owns a piece of land, holding a legal title is next to impossible. This problem is not confined to tribals alone. In Indian villages, most of the small and marginal farmers
and agricultural communities are in a similar condition. Particularly Dalits and other lower caste groups who were originally landless or owned very little land, have suffered drastically and are eventually pushed into the category of migrant labourers and construction workers. (Parasuraman 1999: 177)

Particularly in India, individuals and communities are bound together in webs of social and ecological relations. Individual and community life are closely linked particularly in the areas where people live close to nature, more specifically rural areas and tribal communities. This is most typically exemplified by people who are displaced by the projects, whose habitations and lands are submerged, and whose sources of livelihood (non-land based) are threatened. The very important and notable fact about Indian village is that more than 60 per cent of the village population is landless and live in the villages by providing various services. These service castes, artisan communities, agricultural labour castes and other traditional hereditary based occupational castes live in the villages by extending their skills and services to the village communities including farming communities and landlords. Carpenters, blacksmiths, rope makers, cattle breeders support agriculture by providing various instruments and other inputs to farmers. Similarly, potter men, washer men, barber and other ‘service castes’ serve the village with their traditional duties. Even now in most of the villages there is no fixed and standard wages for their services. Generally the farming community compensates or attends to the food needs of the people who serve them by providing goods and services on token and lump sum basis. Thus, the village communities are linked with one another with very deep-rooted and inherited relations based on mutual support and co-operation. In a village, for example, landless labourers who worked on the lands that have been acquired for the project, artisans or petty traders and various other occupational communities such as cattle grazers, liquor brewers and rope makers are displaced after relocation.

This paper focuses on the experience of a Blacksmith from Yaswada a submerged village to reflect on the trauma of a community after displacement. Yaswada is one of the 12 villages fully affected by Lower Manair Dam (LMD) near Karimnagar, a District Headquarters in Andhra Pradesh, one of the best growing States of India where World Bank designed development activity is in swing. LMD is a component of Sri Ram Sagar Project (SRSP), Stage I. SRSP a major irrigation project across the river Godavari which commenced in 1963 with an originally projected cost of Rs.40.10 crores, was revised in March 1994 to Rs.1,519.15 crore and again updated as of November 1998 for Rs.2,425 crores. The project is envisaged to provide irrigation facilities to 3.92 lakh hector of land in Nizamabad, Karimnagar, Adilabad and Warangal Districts of "backward" Telangana region.

World Bank entered into the project funding after completion of the first component of SRSP (main project) on River Godavari and financed two separate packages from 1971-79 and 1987-94 in first phase. The second phase aid sanctioned in 1997 is still in progress. LMD project work started with the first phase aid in 1971 and was completed by 1981-82 and the project came into full utility by 1986. The purpose of LMD is to augment SRSP water supply by capturing the run off from Manair river’s free
catchment and serve as a balancing reservoir for SRSP main reservoirvi. LMD was built on Manair a tributary of river Godavari with a catchment area of 6.475 Sq. Km. And 680.46 M. storage capacity. 18 villages were affected by the project where 12 villages were fully submerged and 6 were partly affected by the dam. Almost 7424 hectares of agricultural land was submerged under the dam, which displaced almost 80,000 people. Let us here the agony of the affected in his own words:

"I am Narayana, Kammari Narayana. I am a blacksmith by caste and I belong to Yaswada village, which was submerged under the Lower Manair Dam. The Dam forced us to leave our village and to flee from our own homes and hometowns like birds without destination. We left our places where our forefathers and we lived with pride and dignity as skilled professionals. Our family used to serve the agricultural needs and supply iron-made tools to the entire village. As a young professional I started my traditional career at the age of 8 years. I won the hearts of more than hundred farmers for more than fifty years. Suddenly they announced the construction plan of Lower Manair Dam and a little compensation was thrown on us like alms to beggars. With that meager compensation, along with my wife and only son, I wandered here and there as a beggar and finally settled here.

After a decade of the settlement in this village, I am a stranger; no one recognizes me and my skills. They still look at me with suspicion doubting my skills and credibility. No one comes forward to give me the carpentry work. My own caste people also do not allow me to take up the works from the local farmers because the village is their Vathan. Traditionally the rights have been assigned to their families for generations. In my village I was a king, Every morning dozens of farmers used to wait in queue before my house to sharpen their instruments. Now I am helpless just sitting outside my hut with my dried up furnace and waiting for a customer who visits once in a blue moon, that too, not to sharpen the iron bars or spades but to dig the graves."vii

Narayana left his native village Yaswada where he enjoyed a very ‘secure’ life. As a traditional blacksmith he used to extend his services to about hundred farmers and in turn the farming community supplied food grains and other utensils to Narayana’s family. This kind of traditional arrangement of goods and services is known as ‘Jajmani’ system, which is an ancestral right of a community over other communities. After the displacement, the traditional arrangement broke down due to the dispersal of the farming families to different places. Narayana with his meager compensation amount could settle in a new village but the village was failed to provide him any work. He struggled for a decade or more and visited the local farmers, but they refused to give him work because they cannot disown their own blacksmith ignoring the rules of “Jajmani” system. All these days every morning Narayana used to sit in front of his firm/furnace with a hope that some one may visit him for his services. Now Narayana is no more. His only son is working as a daily wage labourer in an electrical welding and iron moulding shop in Karimnagar town and struggling hard to feed his wife and two children.
This is not only the story of Narayana of Yaswada but also of many of traditional occupational communities of project affected villages of India which are in a similar miserable condition.

In India, life and life chances are shaped by the caste and community rather than individual capabilities and skills. Indian society cannot be compared with Western or any other modern society as far as the social structure is concerned. The structure and composition of Indian society is entirely different and unique in its nature. The society is divided into number of castes. The people of India are widely divided on the basis of community, occupation and tradition. Each caste is an occupational group and a source of survival. Caste in India is not merely a division of society but each division has a social value. Caste in other words is a ‘real group’ that is to say a sort of social substance existing independently in the system, like a modern individual. Besides, one can only succeed by attaching primary importance to certain features like endogamy, administration of justice, specific customs, etc. But caste and its occupation are very much attached to village and ‘Jajmani System’ where exchange of goods and services are hereditary. Because of this relationship, the sociologists and anthropologists who attempted to analyse Indian social structure considered the village as a unit. The sociologists recognized caste and village and their role in conceptualizing the community structure in India. Caste and village both play a very significant role in providing a space to ‘individual’ in Indian society. Without these two the survival of community cannot be imagined.

The story of Narayana clearly shows the contradictions of ‘development’. At the core of these contradictions is a fundamental disconnection. It shows how the economic development initiatives could be indifferent or hostile to social and sustainable development of a person or a community. It further explains how the development paradigm ignores basic human rights considerations, such as the interests of local communities directly depending on the village and natural resources. Economic development still appears to be promised on theoretical models that subordinate social and human rights concerns to development outcomes.

**Disappeared Village: Consequences**

In India village is not a simple settlement of people. For them, it is life, livelihood, culture, and civilization: it not only provides occupation and income but also a sense of solidarity, support, security and simply it is their own world. In the village social setting people shape their thoughts, traditions, ideas, attitudes, skills, knowledge and lifestyles. It gives position, social status whether it is lower or higher to each person. Each person in the village has concern for others, each activity of village community builds unity and integrity. People share and celebrate each occasion collectively. But displacement simply disturbs the entire fabric of human relations. It destroys the existing modes of production and ways of life social, economical, cultural and political: it affects kinship and community organisation and its networks. It threatens the identities of people, castes and religious practices. The forced evacuation leads to increased socio-cultural and psychological stress and higher morbidity and mortality rates. Population displacement,
therefore, disrupts economic and socio-cultural structures of the village. People who are displaced undergo tremendous stress as they lose productive resources, traditional occupations, livelihood sources and common property resources.

The field observations of Yaswada village (submerged in LMD project) reveal the pathetic condition of the Project Affected People. People who shifted to 15 nearby villages in the district are still suffering from various problems and most of them are not yet settled. After 20 years of their settlement, the ‘host village’ still considers them outsiders. The following major problems were identified in the resettlement of the PAPs of LMD.

1. Inadequate Cash Compensation:

The project authorities pushed the people out of Yaswada from their village by paying inadequate cash mode of compensation. For agricultural lands the project authorities paid Rs. 1360 per acre of dry land and Rs. 2800 per acre of wetland, whereas the oustees have to spend about Rs.10000-20000 per acre in their resettlement villages. The evacuated appealed in courts against the inadequate payments but the cases are not yet settled even after two decades of their displacement. On the other hand, the story of landless communities and dependent castes of the village is more pathetic. There is no such compensation for them except meager amounts for their house sites. The project authorities estimated the market value at the rate of Rs. 40 per square yard of house site, which is less than a US dollar as per today’s currency value. Apart from the compensation, Rs. 5000 was paid to each family as a package of rehabilitation. How can one expect to settle a family with these meager amounts and what would be the future of these families in the process of resettlement?

Most people used this money for the repayment of their old debts and a lifetime of livelihood security or shelter is squandered before they settle in a new place. Thus, most of the villagers were forced into irrevocable destitution. In Yaswada village, out of 587 families only 300 families had own land and rest of the families were landless. Half of the landed families were small and marginal farmers who had less than 5 acres of land. In this project, it is found that more than 60% of families are still vulnerable and unsettled.

2. Disturbed Social Fabric:

The major and unnoticed loss of displacement is disturbance of social fabric. Formation of any village is a historical process and part of civilisation. No doubt, it is the result of people’s effort over hundreds of years to shape a village, its culture and tradition. Accordingly, co-existence, mutual dependency, hierarchy and understandings are evolved. A project simply disturbs the well-built social structure and makes the arrangement vulnerable by dislocation of the village.

People of Yaswada suffered from several such problems. The project not only disintegrated the historical arrangement but also disturbed the economic security of its people. The main source of the village income was its land and agriculture. The farming
community of the village mostly from Reddy, Kapu and Velama castes used to produce various crops not only sufficient to the village but also surplus to supply to the nearby Karimnagar town. The farming community comprises of 119 Kapu, 105 Reddy and 23 Velama caste families who were the main producers of food grains, vegetables, milk and other agro products. They used to supply the surplus to nearby town every day. Since the village was on the banks of Manair, the farmers used to irrigate their lands through canals and streams managed and maintained by the community. The agriculture of the village was not only self-sufficient but also natural means of production systems were used. For these three major farming castes another set of artisan castes used to support in agriculture. About 36 families belonging to carpenters, smiths, basket makers, and rope makers were fully dependent castes on farming community used to live as cluster groups. These caste groups used to supply various instruments used in agriculture like plough, bullock cart, water pumping machines, ploughshares, pots, baskets, leather articles, ropes etc.

In India every occupation is allotted to a particular caste group. That means every caste group will have its own occupation, which is exclusive and hereditary to that particular caste. No other individual or group should take up a similar job. Adopting, imitating and practicing such profession is not only a taboo but also a crime under the sanctions of village Panchayat (court) norms. Each village in India has its own Panchayat where all these traditional rights of the communities are protected and regulated. The blacksmiths, carpenters, rope makers and potters are traditional artisans who supply goods they make to the farming community and in turn the farmers will shell down some food grains to these artisans in each crop season. This relation is almost permanent and comes from one generation to another on hereditary basis. But, after displacement they have lost their protection and the resettled village neither recognised them nor assimilated them.

3. Eco-system and Occupation:

The village eco-system plays a very crucial role in shaping the community and its activity. People and communities depend on village ecology for their activities both for farm and off-farm income generation. Most of the communities survived by extracting the resources surrounding their villages. Fishing, seasonal fruit gathering, toddy tapping, basket making and several such activities supplement the village economy. Since the village was on the banks of Manair with greenery around the riverbed, there were thousands of wild date and palm trees along the Manair. The toddy brewers used to extract hundreds of litres of toddy from those trees. About 66 families of Goud community of the village who enjoy the hereditary rights over these trees used to supply toddy to villagers as well as the liquor lovers of nearby Karimnagar town. Generations together these families were dependent on the profession and their only source of livelihood has been toddy tapping. Similarly, Medari and Madiga communities of the village used to make baskets for agricultural use by collecting raw material from the trees around the village. Generally, the wild date and palm leaves are used in rope making. In Yaswada 9 Medari and 58 Madiga families were engaged in basket making and rope making respectively. The fishing community is also one of such communities, which live
on ecology based resources. As the village was on the riverbank Tenugu community people used to collect fish, gather fruits from the river and its banks.

All such communities simply lost their livelihood after displacement. None of the resettled villages have such ecosystem and no other village accommodated in its fold because the rights over these resources are considered hereditary. These communities have to wait for more than a decade in their resettled village to get the work allotted. In some places the PAPs are still waiting for an assignment related to their community. A skilled person in a specific activity waiting without work for more than two decades can be considered a loss of generation.

4. Loss of Service Rights:

Service rights are primary community rights in Indian village. Each caste will have certain hereditary rights over the families of the village to serve them. For instance a washer man family will wash cloths of several other families in the village by which they earn their bread. This is a traditional arrangement, which cannot be denied or violated from both. For the service rendered by them the community will get an annual payment mostly in the form of kind. In a way it is a structural adjustment, which guaranties the livelihood. Similarly barbers. As a community barber attends the needs of villager and get his annual lump sums. These communities generally distribute the households proportionately and extend the services accordingly.

In yaswada village there were 28 washer men families and 9 Barber families, which used to attend the needs of 587 families of the village. After the submergence of the village the village household were dispersed and resettled in different villages according to their convenient. The service community also dispersed by choosing their convenient place and settled there. But in the new village they faced very tough time to get work. Since every village has its own workmen to serve them these newly settlers could not get household to extend their services. In Malkapur village where two washer men settled after the displacement of Yaswada village were have to wait for a decade to get work allocations.

5. Loss of Common Property Resources:

The rehabilitation packages may compensate for the loss of individual properties but not for common property resources like waterbeds, grass lands, forests etc. Particularly sheep breeders, cattle breeders and fishermen suffered a lot because of the loss of the common property resources. In Yaswada, there were about 35 shepherd families and they have resettled in six different villages along with their sheep. The unfortunate situation is that the host villages never allowed them to share their common property resources like grazing lands and waterbeds, which are essential for sheep grazing. The shepherds were forced to sell their sheep and choose some other occupation. Most of these traditional sheep grazers converted into wage labourers and agricultural labourers. Some of them acquired a piece of land by selling the sheep.
A shepherd is not a simple breeder of sheep. He has the knowledge of sheep breeding; he knows how to feed them and how to protect them from certain diseases. After the shift from his occupation, his experience and knowledge become useless and more over he has to train him-self in new occupations. The forced change of occupation and methods of earning a livelihood can be a source of trauma. In fact, people prefer to follow professions they are familiar with. Where changes are made they are usually made on a voluntary basis, especially in the middle of life it is not easy to give up their old talents and adopt new. There is also an additional trauma of having to adopt a profession in which they are not trained or which does not suit them.

6. Insecurity and Trauma:

Moving to an alien land from their own land is nothing but an adventure. Particularly the rural communities that have never had such exposure to the outside world are placed in a very insecure position. It further forces them to re-socialise according to the conditions and relations in the settled village. Although people of Yaswada settled in different villages as groups (at least 5 to 10 families), they have faced several problems related to adjustment and adaptation. People of the host village used to suspect them for years together and avoid them in social gatherings. In most of the villages, the oustees stated, they were not allowed to take water from village well or pond for decades. They had to wait till the last person of the host village takes the water. There have been many clashes between the host community and the PAPs for simple reasons. This kind of insecurity, problems and conflicts developed certain level of inferiority, submissiveness and social alienation among the settlers.

7. Denial of Basic Rights:

The social tensions and settlement problems adversely affected the living standards of the displaced people and consequently their future prospects. After resettlement, getting an admission in a local school was a major issue for the children of the migrants. Since local schools did not accommodate their children, the settlers had no other option except to stop their education. Although there is a provision to provide certain amenities like schools, dispensaries, roads, community centres etc., the adequacy and appropriateness of these amenities could not be determined. For instance, these facilities were not provided in the villages where people from Yaswada settled.

Ironically, the settlers were denied democratic rights like voting and participation in the electoral process for more than a decade because their names were not entered in the electoral lists. They were denied ration cards on which the subsidised food grains were supplied. The PAPs had to wait for years for electrification, water connection and several such minimum facilities. Central Water Commission, the supreme authority of water resource development in India itself reported that the provision of amenities left much to be desired (CWC 1995).
Conclusion:

In the light of these experiences, a thorough study is needed on the project-affected people in India. Especially, caste and community should be considered important along with the category of tribe. As a principle, large scale displacement should be avoided. If it is really needed the displaced people should be rehabilitated in their chosen livelihoods as far as possible. Where land is available, even landless agricultural labourers have to be assured and given land on relocation. One important mechanism for implementing the land strategy is to identify several possible relocation sites to provide alternative choices to the displaced.

The productive potential, quality of soil, availability of irrigation water and locational advantages of new relocation sites should be ideally better or equivalent to the lost sites in order to make it comfortable and attractive to the settlers. Furthermore, in selecting sites attention should be paid to possibility of ecological resources to suit and relocate the communities depending on traditional eco-based occupations. For this, a clear understanding of and concern for social structure of the village and its cultural, social and economic systems is inevitably required. To minimise the loss, the project authorities should adopt community perspective and recognise the importance of each community in a village social set up.

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**World commission on Dams** (WCD), (2000)


(ii) *Dams, Displacement, Policy and Law in India*: Ravi Hemadri, Harsh Mander, Vijay Nagaraj

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i  Annually about ten million people around the world are being displaced as a result of development projects. In India, latest estimates (Fernandes: 2004) conclude that the number is certainly tens of millions and estimates of dam-caused and project-affected displaced people alone is about 40 million since independence. It is claimed that many of these people have never been rehabilitated. Thousands of villages submerged under these dams have never been rebuilt.

ii  In fact the country lacks a database on number and type of project-affected, displaced and rehabilitated people. This researcher had to depend on estimates based on secondary sources for the data. They begin with an estimate of 185 lakh DP/DAP in 1951-81 which became 21.3 millions in 1951-1990. They then extrapolated data procured from comprehensive primary data based studies on all displacement from 1951 to 1995 in six states and preliminary data from six others and arrived at a probable figure of 50-60 millions till today (Fernandes 2004: 1193).

iii  Because of this, only a third of the DPs/PAPs of planned development have been resettled. The studies on resettlement pattern of DAPs statewide show the implications of resettlement. In Orissa, a state where large dams were built in 1950-60, only 35.27% were settled (Fernandes and Asif 1997: 135). In Andhra Pradesh 28. 82%of the displaced people 1951-1995 have been resettled and in Goa they are 33.23% 1965-1995DP (Fernandes and Naik 2001: 62). In Kerala, the state known for its natural resources a very low 13.18 % DP were resettled (Murickan 2003: 185-189).


v  To consider a typical example, the fact finding committee on Srisailam project 1986) found that the replacement value of one acre of dry land was around Rs. 5000, and for one acre of wet land was Rs. 13,800. In this way, the amount paid as compensation was five times less than the amount that would be required by the oustees to purchase agricultural land of equivalent quality and quantity.


vii  Kammari Narayana cried loudly narrating his story when the researcher visited his place in 1996, as a part of his fieldwork for a documentary on ‘Displacement’ of Lower Manair Dam outskirts in Malkapur village near Karimnagar town.
Successful Response to Crime on National Forests in the U.S.

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USFS, Pacific Southwest Research Station  
Joanne F. Tynon  
Oregon State University, Department of Forest Resources

Though crime has been the subject of much study, including statistics by type of crime, cities where crime is most likely to occur, impacts to victims, and characteristics of criminals, there is surprisingly little in the natural resource and recreation literature about the nature of criminal activity on public recreation lands and how to manage for it. Yet, crime is a part of the forest setting (Chavez & Tynon 2000; Tynon et al. 2001; Pendleton, 2000). Federal land managers are compelled to be alert to incidents ranging from timber theft to methamphetamine manufacture to more violent crimes like arson, homicide, and threats against federal personnel and property. In 2000 the U.S. Forest Service (USFS) dealt with 285,000 incidents, ranging from car accidents to major drug-related crimes. They reported that crime had increased an estimated 200% in the past decade. And, evidence suggests that crime in federal recreation land settings is underreported (Fletcher, 1984; Chavez & Tynon, 2000; Manning, Bacon, Graefe, Kyle, Lee, & Burns, 2001). Crimes and acts of violence make the work of public land managers more hazardous and they jeopardize the safety of recreation visitors to our Nation’s public lands. A good deal of media attention has focused on the safety of the recreating public, yet there is a paucity of peer-reviewed research on this topic. This makes it difficult to determine whether crime on federal public lands and adjacent National Forest communities is a growing problem, is relatively random, or is merely sensationalized by the media.

In addition, success in managing for crime is understudied. In 2001, we conducted three case studies to examine successful management of crime and violence on USFS lands. In the first case study we examined a site that was recovered from criminal elements/crime or violent events, in the second we examined a site of best practices of crime prevention that primarily addressed excellence in communication, and in the third one we examined hot spots and hot issues. Some of the actions taken to manage for crime and violent acts and events were development of sites and the addition of barriers. Control of parking and motor vehicles were enacted at two sites. At all three sites specific actions included adding law enforcement, having closures as needed, and checkpoints. We characterized these actions into key characteristics of success in law enforcement: force of personalities, resources, persistence, collaboration, and communication.
We recognized the need to launch a nationwide research effort to identify and classify the kinds of crime and violence that are occurring on federally managed lands like the USFS, identify successful strategies being used, and disseminate that information to all federal land managers. In 2005, we contacted 400 law enforcement officers on National Forests across the U.S. to further examine successful management of crime and violence on public lands.

Specific research objectives were to: (1) develop, pretest, and administer a quantitative survey instrument at randomly selected USFS sites nationwide to gather information from law enforcement officers, managers, and knowledgeable others about crime and violence; (2) determine the types of crimes and acts of violence occurring on the sites, the extent of crimes, and the impacts they have on public land management, forest management and public safety; (3) determine whether USFS personnel (e.g., law enforcement officers, managers, and knowledgeable others) at the sites perceive that acts of crime and violence are changing, and why; (4) determine USFS personnel (e.g., law enforcement officers, managers, and knowledgeable others) perceptions of the impacts of crime and violence to recreation visitors, and substantiate with on-site evidence, if available; and (5) identify successful strategies used by USFS personnel (e.g., law enforcement officers, managers, and knowledgeable others) to deal with crime in forest settings.

Results from this research will provide significant advances in scientific understanding of the problem. Results will have practical utility resulting in recommendations to federal land management agencies and improved public safety. Public land managers owe recreation visitors a higher level of safety from criminal offenders. Short of not having recreation areas, not feeling safe while on public lands is about as big a threat to recreation as one might imagine.
Abstract
This paper explores the role of faith-based organizations in the development of social capital in ethnic communities, specifically Korean-Americans in Southern California. I address what is the role of Korean Christian churches in forming social capital in the Los Angeles Korean community. This study uses descriptive analysis based on multiple methods including qualitative and quantitative data. I argue that Korean congregations play a pivotal role in building community social capital in the Los Angeles Korean community. While some inner-city local governments are suffering from a lack of other types of capital, the embedded assets in the society may improve the community’s quality of life and safety, and expand business opportunities. The study provides policy implications for minorities and low-income people, the role of faith-based organizations, and the creation of more livable communities.

Introduction
This paper discusses the role of Korean congregations in building social capital. To answer this question, I review the history and organizational capacity of Korean Christian churches in Los Angeles area. I discuss the dimensions of social capital – social networks and trust – found in the Korean congregations in the Los Angeles Korean community. In this analysis, other secular community organizations are compared with Korean Christian congregations. Also, other community assets are described around social capital in the Los Angeles Korean community. I argue that the Korean congregations have been playing a pivotal role in building the community’s social capital through its diverse activities.

This paper uses descriptive analysis based on multiple methods including qualitative and quantitative data. In addition to the existing literature and archival sources, the following data have been collected and analyzed: first, a spatial analysis of the U.S. census and the Korean business directory. Second, the research uses an ethnographic approach that includes close observation and in-depth interviews of pastors and members in select Korean churches and Korean small business owners’ association. The collection of primary data for this study was
conducted over the course of one year. Field work for the research was carried out from October 2002 to May 2003. In this period, I also conducted a literature review, archival research, spatial analysis, and observations.

This spatial analysis is intended to analyze the distribution of the Korean population and their institutions in the Los Angeles area. This analysis maps out Korean enclaves in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, and compares them to diverse Korean institutions. This quantitative and geographic data provides the necessary basic information for further researches. This spatial analysis uses the following data: “The Zip Code Databook for Service Planning Areas 1999,” by the United Way of Greater Los Angeles and Census Data; “The Korean Business Directory 2000-2001,” by the Los Angeles Korea Times; and the U.S. Census in 1980, 1990, and 2000.1 The spatial analysis was conducted with computer-based software, such as Excel spreadsheets linked to a Geographic Information System (GIS) program. This analysis was intended to plot the location and density of ethnic organizations including churches, businesses, and community organizations. Even though this study focuses more on Mid-Wilshire Koreatown, the analysis reviews the entire Los Angeles and Orange Counties.

Ethnographic methods, close observation, and in-depth interviews were conducted in conjunction with an institution-based survey. I participated in and observed some Sunday services as well as other kinds of formal and informal meetings in four selected Korean congregations. The four churches selected for the survey and in-depth interviews were chosen to reflect diversity in congregation size and stature in the Korean-American community. Two large churches, one medium one, and one small one were chosen. The Oriental Mission Church (OMC) and the Los Angeles Young Nak Presbyterian Church (YPC) have over a thirty-year history in the Los Angeles area and over four thousand active parishioners for each church. The Joy Fellowship Church (JFC) has three hundred members with a five years history. The Gospel Church in His Heart (GCH) is new. Created in Torrance, it has less than one hundred members. The ‘snowball chain’ method began by contacting key persons in each church. During my primary field study, I met with members or pastors of each church, and they introduced me to some survey or interview subjects.

History of Korean Christian Church in Los Angeles

One unique and distinctive characteristic of the early Korean immigration history was Christianity. Korean immigrants prior to the immigration law of 1965 did not have enough social networks in the United States, but they had strong religious connections, especially through Protestant churches. Moreover, due to their background and efforts of missionaries, many of them had strong Christian connections in Korea. This early Korean immigrants were recruited in the urban and northern regions of Korea, where Christianity had made inroads. Also, many of non-Christian Korean immigrants gradually became Church members or Christians due to the efforts of American missionaries and Korean Christians. While the highest Christian rate among the population is only twenty five percent in South Korea, almost forty percent of the early

1 This business directory mainly includes Korean-owned businesses and institutions. However, some small number of businesses owned by members of another ethnic group may be included in that list.
immigrants to the U.S. were Christians when they lived in Korea. For these reasons, Korean Christian churches became centers of the social, cultural, and political activities of the early Korean community in the United States. This role of Korean churches continues to the present in diverse and contingent forms.

Table 1. Major Korean Churches in Los Angeles, 1904 – 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Established Year</th>
<th>Church Name and First Pastor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 11, 1904</td>
<td>LA Korean United Methodist Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1, 1906</td>
<td>Jefferson Korean United Presbyterian Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1, 1936</td>
<td>Korean Christian Church (Dong-Ji Hoe Church)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 17, 1941</td>
<td>Christian Home Church (Pastor Jung-Su Kim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 10, 1957</td>
<td>Los Angeles Korean Baptist Church (Pastor Dong-Myung Kim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 6, 1962</td>
<td>Seventh Day Adventist Los Angeles Central Korean Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1965</td>
<td>Independence Presbyterian Church (Pastor Sun-Yeol Son)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1965</td>
<td>Korean United Church (Pastor Ui-Sun Roh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1965</td>
<td>Bethany Korean Church (Pastor Hak-Chul Kim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1966</td>
<td>St. Paul Church (Pastor John Kim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1966</td>
<td>Korean Christ Church (Pastor Kyu-Hyung Park)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 6, 1968</td>
<td>Los Angeles Korean Catholic Church (Father Lawrence Lee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1968</td>
<td>Pomona Korean Church (Pastor Ik-Hwan Kim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1969</td>
<td>Los Angeles Gospel Bible Church (Pastor Byung-Hyuk Han)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1969</td>
<td>Korean Central Church (Pastor Si-Hwa Jang)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1969</td>
<td>Korean Mission Church (Pastor Won-Yong Ko)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1970</td>
<td>Westminster Korean Presbyterian Church (Pastor Nam-Jin Cha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1970</td>
<td>Wilshire Presbyterian Church (Pastor Si-Woo Chung)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 26, 1970</td>
<td>Oriental Mission Church (Pastor Dong-Sun Im)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 7, 1970</td>
<td>Los Angeles Evangelical Church (Pastor Su-Hun Ahn)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Oriental Mission Church 30 Years History 2002

Before 1965, five Korean congregations already existed in the Los Angeles area, as you can see in Table 1. Most early Korean immigrants in Los Angeles eventually became involved with one of these churches, as Givens (1939) describes in her study. “The entire Korean community is of the Protestant faith, with no Catholic affiliates whatever. The original immigrants were for the most part missionary converts in Korea and Hawaii.” (Givens 1939, 36) The churches became the centers of social, educational, and community affairs.²

The emergence of the Bunker Hill and Jefferson Era of Los Angeles Korean Community was closely allied with the presence of Christian churches. The first Korean church was the Los Angeles Korean United Methodist Church (Table 1). This church had a weekly gathering for

² According to literature, the churches provided schools or education entities to teach the immigrants and their children to read and speak Korean. Also, the churches taught elements of Korean culture such as traditional songs and dances to the younger generation. The churches also provided the community with information by publishing newspapers and magazines. During this time, the churches proved effective in perpetuating the traditional values of Korean society. In addition, many ministers became cultural intermediaries serving as interpreters and social workers between the immigrants and American society. Moreover, of equal importance was the fact that the churches were centers for Korean national independence movement, the principal thread unifying the community prior to 1945.
Christian worship and English class starting in 1904. In 1906, a group of eighteen Koreans led by Pastor Augustus Prichard started a Presbyterian gathering on Hill Street near Bunker Hill Avenue in Los Angeles Downtown. Later, this church became the Jefferson Korean United Presbyterian Church in Los Angeles. On March 10, 1957, the Los Angeles Korean Baptist Church was established. It became a good helper and community center for Korean immigrants, businesses, and other churches that moved to the Olympic area. Nowadays, we call this church the Berendo Street Baptist Church, which has become a large Korean church. The first Korean senior pastor was Reverend Dong-Myung Kim. The church and Reverend Kim helped new Korean immigrants, Korean businesses, and new Korean churches. For example, Pastor Kim supports the establishment of the Oriental Mission Church.

The number of Korean churches increased remarkably in the 1970s and 1980s. While fifteen more Korean churches were established from 1965 to 1970, the number increased to over two hundred before 1980. In addition to Christian services, Korean churches in the early 1970s provided important services and a strong social infrastructure during the initial stage of development of the Los Angeles Koreatown community. As more Korean immigrants come to the Los Angeles area, the number of Korean congregations grew to almost one thousand in 2003.

Table 2. Korean Community Institutions in Los Angeles Koreatown

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutions</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious Institutions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant Churches</td>
<td>699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Churches</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist Temple</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Organizations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associations/Service Organizations</td>
<td>427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Institutions</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


According to the Korea Times Korean Business Directory, 2000-2001, the Los Angeles Korean community has over seven hundred religious institutions and more than four hundred service organizations including governmental institutions and functional associations (Table 2). The number of Protestant Christian churches is larger than other types of institutions in the Los Angeles Koreatown community. Since the last century, when the first Korean Christian church was established in the Los Angeles area, the number of churches has grown to about one thousand. According to the business directory of 2000-2001, five hundred and eighty local Korean congregations and about one hundred twenty other types of Christian institutions existed. As shown in Table 3, Presbyterian denomination is dominant in Korean ethnic congregations. More than sixty percent of Korean Protestant churches are inside Presbyterian denominations in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. However, this business directory, which I use in this research,  

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3 This gathering was operated by Mrs. Florence Sherman, a retired Methodist missionary in Korea, at 1620 Magnolia Avenue near the USC campus. Later, this gathering became the first Korean United Methodist Church in Los Angeles.

4 This church still exists at its present location on 1374 West Jefferson Boulevard, near USC. Givens (1939) describe this church as the first Korean church in her research.

5 This church still exist in the Olympic area with over six hundred members.

does not necessarily cover all Korean churches, since churches have to pay fees or participate in the procedures for registering in the directory. Some small Korean congregations, perhaps, did not register with the directory. One interesting characteristic of these ethnic congregations is their small size. Many of the churches may have fewer than one hundred members.

Table 3. Korean Protestant Churches in Los Angeles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifications</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local Church</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Gospel</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adventist</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Institutions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praying Centers and Others</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seminary</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Korean congregations have been the focal points of social interaction for the majority of Korean immigrants and the center of their community life. Through congregational meetings, Korean immigrants made friends, and exchanged information regarding employment, business, social service benefits, and education facilities. As more Koreans immigrated to the new world, many of them faced serious questions and substantial difficulties. The churches were seen as the best place where people could ask questions and receive thoughtful guidance. According to observation and interviews, the primary problems facing Korean immigrants centered on green cards and citizenship issues, locating educational resources for their children, learning English, finding employment, and obtaining insurance. Pastors in Korean churches were charged with helping Korean immigrants. Today, Korean congregations continue to play the above roles, and serve more diverse people as more Korean immigrants coexist.

Nowadays, Korean congregations serve roughly two major Korean groups. First, new Korean immigrants, both illegal and legal, who continue to come to the United States. Since the number of new immigrants remains large, the churches need to continue to provide services and information for them as they did with the earlier immigrants. Second, for many Korean Americans who have lived in the United States for some period, including the foreign-born first generation, the 1.5 generation\(^7\), the 2\(^{nd}\) generation, and the 3\(^{rd}\) generation, Korean churches need to deal with new issues that include the generation gap and inter-racial relations.

\(^7\) The 1.5 generation of Koreans is not America-born. However, since they came to the States at a young age, they have been educated and socialized in American ways.
On this point, I asked two questions. First, “Can Korean immigrants have real faith?” “Are they converted into real Christians?” According to the above historical review, we can see that many Koreans came to Korean churches for socio-economic reasons. Thus, can they have real Christian faith or is the church just a source for social connections? Second, does the Korean church have any problems? Until now, we have discussed only the positive aspect of the Korean church. However, does the Korean church have any negative impacts on the Korean community? Actually, the Korean church may have some negative impacts on the Korean community because of some problems.

When asked the first question, I met with accounts from pastors similar to the following:

    I think that some Korean immigrants come to church because they want to have social connections and business opportunities. But, I can see that some of these newcomers are converted to real Christians. Maybe, one fifth of new-comers keep participating in our church. (Interview with a Korean pastor in Los Angeles, September 2003)

Since our church is located in the middle of Koreatown, I can say our church is one of the churches where many new Korean immigrants can easily visit the first time. Normally, fifteen new families come to our church every week. I can see a quarter of the new comers to our church are new immigrants. (Interview with a Korean pastor in Los Angeles, September 2003)

According to their accounts, they could see that some new-comers showed signs of real Christian faith. Some other pastors and members just told me ‘yes,’ ‘sure.’ The interviewees said not more than the above words. Thus, I can say that many of non-Christian new-comers are converted into real Christians.

In addressing the second question, I overhead and observed negative comments and reports of Korean churches. After the explosive development of the 1970s and 1980s, some damaging things happened, especially, around the conflicts between pastors and members or among members over leadership, and ownership of church property. I met an interviewee who already has changed churches several times, after having encountered the same problems at various churches. His statement shows tensions between members and pastors.

    It's so shameful! How greedy the pastors are! We members gave all our donations and volunteered our labor. What have churches and pastors been doing for the people and God? I don't know how they budget things. But, I hope that the church can spend some of its budget for its members and people in transparent ways, not for the pastors themselves. (Interview with a Korean church member, September 2003)

Since some pastors or core members control the planning and expenditure of congregations’ budget, Korean ethnic newspapers have unceasing news regarding conflicts or litigation around management or property ownership of congregations.

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8 I could meet easily with Korean church members or Christians who had changed their churches.
Interviews and newspaper archives uncover several reasons for these negative happenings inside Korean congregations. First, there is a lack of negotiation and discussion between members and pastors. Since many Koreans do not have enough experience with democratic procedures, it seems that many Korean churches suffer from a lack of democratic management skills, preserving instead the authoritarian culture and tradition of South Korea. This causes conflicts regarding the church’s operation and the property management between pastors and their parishioners or between members. Second, the Korean churches are divided into thirty-five denominations in the United States. The variety of denominations sometimes results in a lack of communication and a failure to create unified community activities. Sometimes, pastors of different denominations become too competitive with each other, rather than work together.

However, positive changes have been implemented to overcome these problems. For example, younger pastors, and even pastors from the 1.5 and 2nd generation have begun to supplant the former authoritarian leaders of Korean churches, bringing with them transparent budget and management systems with a “discussion culture.” This shift has occurred churches of different denominations, helping to unify community activities. For example, the New Hope Chapel in Los Felitz has a 1.5 generation senior pastor. The church’s congregation has been rapidly expanding. More than one thousand adult members now participate regularly in Sunday services. Also, recently The Oriental Mission Church and The Los Angeles Young-Nak Presbyterian Church, two major Korean churches in Los Angeles, have appointed comparatively young senior pastors.

Churches and Other Community Institutions

In addition to religious institutions, other community institutions play a role in social capital. I ask how these other institutions work in forming community social capital within ethnic congregations. This section describes the general development and contribution of Korean community institutions other than Korean congregations. I discuss also the general relations between the major community institutions and the churches.

Community Organizations and Ethnic Media

Various community organizations and ethnic media emerged in response to the rapid expansion and development of Koreatown. The growth of the Korean population in Southern California created the need for community institutions to provide services and to help their members deal with the problems of rapid social change.

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9 However, the number of denominations of Korean churches is much bigger. Even the Presbyterian denomination in South Korea has over fifty different patricians. Thus, due to some reasons, the Korean churches have too many denominations in the U.S. and South Korea compared to their size.

10 In this research, the ‘community organizations’ include nonprofit, social service, and political organizations. A number of major community organizations have emerged since the end of 1970s and early 1980s.
Map 1. Distribution of Korean Associations in Los Angeles

In 1990, the Los Angeles Korean community had approximately one hundred-fifty social organizations, about ninety alumni associations, eighteen Buddhist temples, thirty-two newspapers, three TV Broadcasting services, three radio stations, and five hundred Christian churches. In 2000, the number of these types of institutions increased dramatically, especially the ethnic media and alumni associations as shown in Table 4. In terms of their distribution, the organizations are mainly concentrated in 90010, 90006, 90005, 90020, 90019, 90004, 90057, 90015, 92844, 90703, and 92111 zip codes (Map 1.). Their distribution is heavily concentrated in the Los Angeles Koreatown area rather than churches and businesses.

Table 4. Korean Community Institutions in 1990 and 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>% of Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community Organizations</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alumni Associations</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>137%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>168%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churches</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


As indicated in Table 5, Protestant churches tend to be scattered more outside Los Angeles Koreatown. While about forty percent of the churches are concentrated in the Koreatown, only fifty percent of Korean businesses and alumni associations are in Koreatown. Moreover, due to their special characteristics, sixty percent of community organizations are located in Koreatown.
Inside Los Angeles Koreatown, non-profit organizations including churches are more concentrated in 90010, 90006, 90005, 90020, 90019, and 90004 zip codes. These zip codes have more than fifty Korean non-profit organizations. Churches are more located in 90006, 90010, and 90020. When we see the Los Angeles County, non-profit organizations and most businesses have same densest zip codes as the Koreatown's (Table 6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5. Concentration of Korean Major Institutions in Los Angeles Koreatown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protestant Churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles Metropolitan Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside Los Angeles Koreatown Area*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: This table is produced by the author based on the Korea Times Business Directory.
* Los Angeles Koreatown area includes ten Zip Codes. Please refer 3.3.1 Location and Boundary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zip Codes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90007</td>
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<tr>
<td>90010</td>
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<td>90015</td>
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<td>90036</td>
</tr>
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<td>90038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: This table is produced by the author based on the Korea Times Business Directory.

(1) Community Organizations
The Korean community has three major community organizations. The Korean Federation – Haninhoe founded in 1965 - is the political organization of first generation Koreans. The president of the Federation speaks for the Korean community, and is selected through community election. The Federation has its own office building on the corner of Olympic Boulevard and Western Avenue in Koreatown. The building has been registered as a landmark with a mural painting on a sidewalk. Although the Federation still has symbolic representation in the Korean
community, this organization does not have high trust and support. Since the Federation focuses more on the political issues of South Korea and Los Angeles rather than the real community issues of the Korean immigrant population, the Federation is somewhat distant from people’s lives. Second, the Korean Senior Citizens Association – Hanin Rhoin Hui - was established in 1967 with the full support from the Korean immigrant elderly. The association sought to mitigate the restricted living conditions of the Korean elderly in American society. In spite of the importance of the association, this organization has undergone some internal-conflicts regarding property ownership, which has limited its role in Koreatown society.

Third, the Korean-American Coalition (KAC) – HanMi YonHapHui which was founded in 1983 - is a new political agency of 1.5 and 2nd generation Koreans. The goals of the KAC are to educate, organize, and empower Korean American society. The KAC attempts to represent Koreans to American society, in terms of some limited fields, through its relations with other ethnic groups and their human resources. Especially during the 1992 riot, the KAC played a significant role in speaking for the Korean community to the American media and public. However, all of these organizations deal only with limited issues due to their capacity and needs. Moreover, the organizations do not represent the seven hundred Christian churches, which over two-thirds of the Korean immigrants regularly attend, and the diverse Korean business and professional associations.

(2) Associations
The Los Angeles Korean community has variety associations which provide a sense of identity and solidarity for their members: alumni associations, community service associations, business associations, professional tradesmen associations, musician and artist associations, sports and recreational associations, and political action associations. Alumni associations, in particular, occupy a special place in the immigrants’ community life. Both formally organized associations and informal gatherings composed of former high school and college classmates provide the basis for networks of primary relationships.

Diverse business associations also have been formed to create solidarity and cooperation. For example, a painter association was formed for information exchange and protection against dumping contracts. In other cultural, social, and political action associations a similar sense of traditional Korean values proved dominant. These organizations are mostly inward looking, and concerned mainly with the immediate needs of the group’s members and have yet to move beyond

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11 The Korean-American Coalition, a new political organization in the Korean community, was launched in 1983 with its predominant support coming from this new generation. Initially, the Coalition created networks with diverse ethnic groups as well as with numerous other Asian-Pacific organizations.

12 South Korea is a small country, a quarter of the size of the state of California. More than half of the recent Korean immigrants have come from the capital city, Seoul. More than 80 percent of them completed their high school and/or college education in Seoul and other large cities. Thus, alumni associations play an important role in maintaining friendship networks among Koreans.

13 Some of these Korean merchants recognized the need to organize themselves in order to strengthen their business community. In the early seventies, Olympic Boulevard was not yet a Korean commercial strip, and was generally dilapidated in appearance. As a result of their efforts to organize, the Koreatown Association of Los Angeles was formed, with eight original members. Thus, the name, “Koreatown,” was first officially used by the Koreatown community itself.
their ethnic community boundary. Also, these associations may have more leadership on Korean community than general community organizations in terms of political and social assets.

(3) Media
The Los Angeles Korean community has three major daily Korean language newspapers: *Hankook Ilbo* (The Los Angeles Korea Times), *Joong Ang Ilbo* (The Los Angeles Korean Central Daily), and *Sports Seoul USA*. In addition, about fifty weekly or monthly newspapers and magazines exist in the Los Angeles Korean community. Two major Korean TV stations: Korean Television Enterprise (KTE) and the Korean Television American Network (KTAN) broadcast Korean news, films, entertainment programs, and daily dramas. Several cable television networks that mainly broadcast television programs imported from South Korea also exist. Furthermore, three major Korean radio stations are available in Los Angeles: Radio Korea, Radio Seoul, and Gospel Broadcast (*Mi-Ju Bok-Um Bang-Song*). All of them broadcast twenty-four hours a day, providing Korean immigrants with news and music from Seoul and their special programs at regular intervals.

These ethnic media have played an important role in integrating geographically dispersed immigrants by keeping them informed of what is going on in the home country and in the local community. The ethnic media play an important role in the Korean community because Korean immigrants use only one language. Thus, these institutions contribute in building ethnic resources in the Los Angeles metropolitan area.

The ethnic media have a close relationship with Korean churches in various ways. I heard the following oral account:

> The Korean congregation is one of their biggest sponsors because they used commercial advertisements and the churches’ special news in our paper. The Church buys many advertisements in our newspaper. They can pay the bill in cash. Since we know how important the Korean churches are, we produce a special religion section in every Wednesday newspaper. Yes, we deal with other religions, too. But, the churches and Christianity always cover most of the section. (Interview with a Korean Newspaper Reporter, September 2003)

The Korean Christian churches are not only some of the biggest sponsors of the ethnic media, but also an ethnic media itself. Since many Korean churches want to broadcast their sermons and news to the Korean community, they buy air time on radio and television in addition to advertising space in news papers. Some of the Korean churches have the ability to produce radio or television programs by themselves. In the night and morning, many special programs sponsored Korean churches air.

**Organization Capacity of Current Korean Church**
The organizational capacity of Korean congregations is a good source to understand the role of the congregations in building social capital. This description of their capacity also provides a

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14 In 1969, The Korean Times was established.
15 Sports Seoul USA was established in 2002 by Radio Korea.
good comparison to other institutions described above. We cannot deny the important role of other ethnic organizations, associations, and media, but Korean churches have primacy in the Los Angeles Korean community. To assess this capacity, I consider their membership, budget, staff, and structures, based on literature, interviews, and observations. I want to start with one good observation in front of one major Korean church in Los Angeles.

On a Sunday in May 2003, more than ten parking assistants were helping people to park for the Oriental Mission Church Sunday service near the main sanctuary area. Even though the church has over one million square feet of parking lot and fourteen different services including four major adult services, the parking lots and streets around the church filled up quickly. The streets had traffic jams. The parking lot was busy all day.

(Observation, OMC May 2003)

The above description is a typical picture of The Oriental Mission Church on Western Avenue. Every Sunday, many Korean congregations experience similar situations in the Los Angeles area. This image shows how many Korean people gather and share at these faith institutions. This gathering is a part of the organizational capacity of Korean churches.

Membership numbers show how many people are affiliated with churches. When describing religious affiliation, Min and Bozorgmehr (2000) argue that the Korean immigrant community has three subgroups: Protestants (60%), Catholics (20%), and people with other religions or no religious affiliation (20%). Many previous studies show a similar proportion. Generally, we can estimate that over fifty percent of the Korean population attends Korean Protestant churches. These religious proportions are similar to the results of previous studies. Even though this result mainly reflects the first and 1.5 generation perceptions, I do not have doubts that many of the 2nd and 3rd generations are also affiliated with the congregations. These generations are less active in churches, but many of them still have a Christian background. There are some discussions and research on the disappearance of 2nd generation Koreans in Korean churches. I can agree with some parts of these arguments. However, it seems that the younger generation is still strongly affiliated with Korean churches, in spite no longer being active members.

More than half of the Korean population in Southern California is affiliated with an ethnic congregation. As an example of the outstanding membership size of Korean churches, the sixteen largest Korean churches in Los Angeles have over thirty one thousand registered members. In terms of the average member size of Asian churches including Korean churches, the KCCD survey shows that the average membership size of the respondent churches is four hundred fifty-seven. In terms of their budgets, the sixteen largest Korean churches had budgets of about

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16 Hurh and Kim (1990) and Min and Bozorgmehr (2000) assert that between sixty and seventy percent of the aggregate Korean population in the United States is affiliated with a church. Only eleven percent of the Korean immigrants in the Los Angeles area are affiliated with Korean community organizations other than their church. This low level shows the significance of the church in the social and community life of the Korean immigrant community. All Korean immigrants share values and customs associated with Confucianism and common historical experiences. Confucianism had a powerful cultural influence in Korea for several centuries before Christian religions were adopted in the early twentieth century.

17 The Los Angeles Korea Times (January 2, 2001).
$51,000,000 in 2001. The KCCD survey shows that the average budget size of the responding Asian churches is $450,000.

Table 7. Members and Budget of OMC and YPC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Los Angeles Young-Nak Presbyterian Church</th>
<th>Oriental Mission Church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weekly Participants&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Annual Budget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>$14,833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1,553</td>
<td>$574,160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>2,783</td>
<td>$1,532,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>3,827</td>
<td>$3,184,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>4,551</td>
<td>$4,290,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>$6,900,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Oriental Mission Church 30 Years History 2002, Young-Nak Presbyterian Church 20 Years History, and Interview

<sup>a</sup>This number means average participants in weekly services of each church.

According to interviews and church documents, the budget of The Oriental Mission Church (OMC) has grown from $45,000 in 1973, to more than $4,000,000 per year in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The number of participants attending weekly service has increased from 450 in 1973 to around 3,500 in 2001 (Table 7). Moreover, this church has a large property located in Los Angeles. The lot size is almost two million square feet, and the building size is almost one million square feet. This remarkable growth is deeply related to the growth of Korean immigrant community. The Los Angeles Young-Nak Presbyterian Church (YPC) had about one hundred weekly participants, with an annual budget around $15,000 in 1973. By the 21<sup>st</sup> century, this church grew to have almost five thousand weekly participants and over seven million dollars in their annual budget. The YPC also has a large lot with buildings near Los Angeles’s downtown and just beside Chinatown. In their remarkable growth, these churches have followed the growth of the Los Angeles Korean community.

The churches in Los Angeles Koreatown have even come to wield considerable political power in community affairs. For example, many local politicians visit Korean congregations. Also, the churches have been playing key roles in community, city, or national issues, such as in 1992 Riot and 9.11 Terror.

2,500 Korean pastors and staff members work for 1,200 Korean churches in California. This ratio between churches and pastors reminds us that most Californian Korean congregations are small. The average staff of each church may be only one or two persons. The small size of Korean congregations suggests that senior pastors alone are operating most churches. In the cases of the four churches in this study, the OMC has thirty-four full time clergy and staff, and many part-time employees. The YPC has over thirty full time clergy and staff including four clergy and staff

<sup>18</sup> However, there are numerous future Korean pastors who are studying in Fuller Seminary, Claremont Seminary, and others. Also, many new pastors are coming from South Korea.
for their English Ministry. The YPC also has many part-time staff and janitors. Compared to these big churches, Gospel Church in His Heart has only one part-time pastor and no full-time employees.

The Los Angeles Korean churches provide diverse religious and social activities based on their own organizational structure. These activities have created social networks and trust, and this social infrastructure actively works with their private lives and business patterns. The OMC provides fourteen different Sunday services including an English language service, and has five different services every Friday. In addition to the services, the church also has prayer meetings, such as its daily morning prayer meeting\(^{19}\) and several other special meetings on Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday. The OMC has seventeen parishes to reach members based on geographic location. Within this main structure, the church has a large educational unit including a Sunday school, pre-school, and after school, four different choir groups, and thirteen bible study meetings.\(^{20}\) The YPC has similar activities. The church has sixteen parishes based on geographic location, which are being changed into a cell church structure in 2004. The cell church is a kind of home church with more autonomy. Members are supposed to attend another worship service meeting during the weekdays in addition to attending Sunday service. The YPC started to hold this new and dynamic system instead of the geographic based static structure in an effort to provide members’ social and religious events. The YPC also provides many services, prayer meetings, education programs, and community programs.

While the large churches can provide diverse activities, the medium and small churches can only provide limited ones. Normally, the small churches provide a Sunday service and a few other programs along with Wednesday or Friday service, bible study, prayer meetings, and parish or small group meetings. Despite their limited programs, these Korean churches having penetrated into many suburban satellite Koreatowns, are much closer to their members, and contribute a great deal to the people and the community. Thus, the small churches seem to be more important than distant large churches for many people’s everyday life.

**Community Capitals in Koreatown**

Community social capital cannot work without other community assets, or types of capital. Thus, we must ask how church-based social capital works with other community assets in the Los Angeles Korean community. Ferguson and Dickens (1999) suggest five basic community assets that are reasonable to use in community research, as shown in Table 8.

\(^{19}\) This early morning prayer meeting starts at 5:30AM everyday. According to an interview with a pastor in The Oriental Mission Church, over two hundred people come to the meeting. Moreover, for some special events, the number is significantly higher.

\(^{20}\) The OMC conducted its own internal surveys in early 2000. About 2000 members participated in the survey. Members were mainly in their 40s to 60s, and had been attending the church for five to ten years. 63% had generally a positive participation level in church-sponsored events. They were 51% satisfied with life in the U.S., and 58% are still concerning Korea. (OMC, 2002)
The Los Angeles Korean community seems to have developed based on moderate physical capital, high human capital, and high social capital. Also, this community has benefited from an increase in financial capital, despite its low political capital. In this development, religious-based social capital has played a very vital role in helping to circulate human capital and financial capital. I asked the following questions: What does social capital of this community mean compared with other kinds of community capitals? And, how do the Korean congregations work for these capitals?

Table 8. Forms of Community Assets in Los Angeles Koreatown

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assets</th>
<th>Forms in Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical Capital</td>
<td>Building, Park, Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Capital</td>
<td>Education, Experience, Skill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Capital</td>
<td>Trust, Norms, Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Capital</td>
<td>Money, Investment, Savings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Capital</td>
<td>Participation, Voting, Lobbying</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Physical Capital
The physical capital of Los Angeles Koreatown consists of a well developed built environment and relatively poor community facilities. Community service facilities are in short supply in comparison with population size. For example, this area has extremely small green spaces for parks and recreation facilities, and lack schools and libraries. This ethnic community has only one small community park, a library, and two elementary schools. The park, recently renamed Seoul International Park, is located on the corner of Normandie and Olympic Boulevard. This is the only park with a small green area. This lack of community facilities can harm community social capital. Koreatown has a well-developed high-rise commercial building district along Wilshire Boulevard.

The area is home to a variety of commercial shopping malls, supermarkets (grocery markets), hotels, retail shops, and numerous restaurants along with Olympic Boulevard, Western Avenue, and Vermont Avenue. During the 1990s, the real estate market boomed, and some significant commercial shopping centers were built. These developments include Koreatown Plaza, Galleria Shopping Mall, and Assi Shopping Mall. Korean-Americans have not only operated businesses

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21 The Los Angeles Unified Education District is working on several new elementary schools plans in this area.
22 The major Korean markets are California Market (Kaju Market), Hankuk Market, Hannam Chain, and Assi Market. California Market and Hankuk Market are located on Western Avenue at 5th Street and 1st Street. Hannam Chain is located on Olympic Boulevard near Vermont Avenue. Assi Market is located on 8th Street near Oxford Street.
23 Hotels like New Seoul Hotel, New Garden Hotel, and Oxford Palace Hotel were constructed on Olympic Boulevard, Western Avenue, and 8th Street.
24 Among these, Koreatown Plaza was the leading innovation to Koreatown's new appearance. A beautiful arcade-type building, Koreatown Plaza is a real, full-sized shopping mall with 490,000 square feet of building space on one underground floor and two floors above ground, as well as offering four floors of parking. It has ninety stores inside, including a market, a bank, additional stores, and restaurants. The Plaza opened in the spring of 1988, after two years of construction. Besides Koreatown Plaza, several mini-shopping malls were constructed such as the Blue Roof Tile Plaza and Oxford Plaza.
in Koreatown, but they have also purchased properties.\(^{25}\) After 2000, some larger real estate development companies emerged, and they are aggressively expanding outside Koreatown. For example, Jamison Property, which was established by Korean professionals at the end of the 1990s, owns almost forty commercial buildings in Los Angeles Koreatown and the Mid-Wilshire area in addition to some other properties in downtown Los Angeles and Long Beach. As many Koreans and their businesses expanded to suburban areas, the physical capital of the Los Angeles Korean community also expanded.

In the Los Angeles Koreatown, Korean churches own as well as rent space. Some major Korean churches have their own church property including a main sanctuary, an education center, and even other commercial buildings, such as apartments and parking lots. Thus, Korean churches are one of the major users of real estate in the Los Angeles Koreatown and in other suburban areas. Korean churches also play another special role. Since Korean churches and their properties are distributed in every corner of the Koreatown, the churches have become the biggest provider of physical facilities for people. This alternative supply may mitigate inconveniences from the short supply of public community space. These church facilities are often shared with other racial groups.

(2) Intellectual and Human Capital
Korean immigrants, like many other Asian immigrants, have high educational and occupational backgrounds. According to the 1999 United Way data, almost thirty-five percent of Koreans have bachelor's degree or higher in Los Angeles County. The total population of Los Angeles County has twenty-three percent in that category. In terms of skill and experience, according to Min and Bozorgmehr (2000)’s research, fifty-four percent of Korean respondents in Los Angeles had held professional, executive and managerial positions prior to immigrating, and only four percent had blue-collar jobs. These professional skills may be not fully utilized in the United States because of the difference in economic systems, cultures, and languages. However, since many South Korean educational and social institutions are similar to the United States, the professional skills of Koreans can be applied in many fields.

This high human capital is one of the main community assets for economic development. This asset is mainly distributed through the social network pipeline in this ethnic community. When people are looking for jobs or business opportunities, they can get information and opportunities through these networks.

(3) Financial Capital
The Los Angeles Korean community has both formal and informal financial capital markets. Korean Americans have established banks and other financial institutions since 1967. There are also strong informal financial associations, such as Kye, and other family networks. The Los Angeles Korean community founded its first formal financial institution, a branch of Korean Foreign Exchange Bank that was invested from South Korea, on July 3, 1967. The first Korean bank was located in downtown Los Angeles, and targeted Korean customers who were working

\(^{25}\) In the early 1990s, Koreans owned 42% of commercial lots, 40% of the office buildings, and 41% of the shopping malls in Koreatown (The Korea Times, April 9, 1988). Korean businesses expanded beyond the boundary of small businesses, and now include large-scale real estate ventures, construction, and banking.
in the garment industry. Financial capital has flowed actively in the Los Angeles Korean community since 1980. At the time, more investment capital flowed from South Korea to Los Angeles Koreatown. This accumulated capital helped stimulate the community economy. Many Koreans invested in real estate in the 1980s. Now, ten Korean banks exist with many branches.

There are several reasons that account for this opportunity to build financial capital in the Los Angeles Korean community. First, as noted before, in 1984, the City of Los Angeles hosted the Olympics. This international event spurred economic development in Los Angeles and among Korean immigrants. Second, the Korean government loosened restrictions on foreign investment in the early 1980s, so people and institutions started to invest in foreign countries including the U.S. Third, Korean newspapers and media actively introduced the Los Angeles Korean community to South Korea. Many high-ranking government officers visited Los Angeles. A lot of ‘Made in Korea’ goods were imported to the U.S. including Korean cars in 1986. Right now, more than ten Korean ethnic banks exist with many branches all over Southern California and in other states.

Informal ethnic credit associations also met the community’s capital needs. Kye is a typical example in the Korean community. The Kye association is a rotating credit association, which consists of a group that leads members’ credit until all members have received the aggregate amount in each month. The Kye association represents an ethnic response to individual financial limitations. These informal associations have been established based on family, alumni networks, and church members’ networks.

(4) Political Capital
The political capital of the Los Angeles Korean community is poor in comparison to other types of capital. Since the Koreans have been focused on economic success in this new world, they have not considered political engagement. However, since the 1992 Civil Unrest, Korean Americans have paid greater attention to increasing their political capital. The Korean American Coalition (KAC) and some other new community organizations contributed to developing this community asset. However, according to interviews conducted for this study, these 2nd generation community organizations have not had much support from the general Korean population. Koreans can learn about these community organizations in the ethnic newspapers and on television, but many of them are a way distant from direct relations.

In comparison to these organizations, Korean churches may be the most potent institutions for political capital. Many local politicians have visited the larger Korean churches, and have tried to maintain close relationships with them. In the Korean community, the churches are the only Korean ethnic institutions that can easily mobilize people in response to political events, and have a significant fund raising capacity.

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26 This is a branch of the Korean Foreign Exchange Bank. Since Korean immigrants were not familiar with borrowing money from banks or formal institutions, the Bank asked Korean immigrants to lend their money. Often the bank treated their clients to lunches.
Role of Korean Churches: Social Networks and Trust

We can see that Korean ethnic churches in Los Angeles play a pivotal role in sustaining Korean ethnicity by helping Korean immigrants in the history. Also, according to their organizational capacity, Korean churches have many members and provide diverse activities. Now, we can discuss directly people’s lives in terms of their social networks and trust, based on Korean congregations in the Los Angeles Korean community.

When new Korean immigrants arrive in Los Angles, or other cities in the United States, they can hear advice similar to the following from other Korean immigrants who came before them.

As you know, there is a well-known maxim among Koreans. “If you want to meet people, you’d better go to church. If you want to do business, you’d better go to church.” I think there is no place better than church to develop relationships for Koreans in America.

(Interview with a Korean church member, September 2003)

The Korean congregation is the place where Korean immigrants build their social network.

Map 2. Distribution of Korean Churches in Los Angeles
The locations of Korean churches enhance their role in building relations among people. As people moved from Mid-Wilshire Koreatown to suburban cities, Korean churches have followed them. There are twelve zip codes with over ten Korean churches: 90006, 90010, 90020, 90004, 90005, 90019, 90057, 90703, 91748, 90247, 90026, and 91745. According to this spatial analysis (Map 2), this migration and distribution of the churches shows a similar pattern to population migration than do other community or non-profit organizations. While most community organizations and alumni associations have remained in Los Angeles Koreatown, people and churches have migrated to some suburban cities, or so called satellite Koreatowns. This spatial distribution enhances the role the churches play in producing social networks for Koreans in Los Angeles. This migration may cause the new locations of some Korean churches. Once established, the locations of the churches influence the next migration patterns of Koreans. According to some interviews, Korean Americans tend to relocate mainly to be closer to better education facilities and safer neighborhoods for their children. However, the location and migration of Korean churches have also been important factors in making Korean people migrate and tolerate a long commute to work. For example, All Nations Church recently moved from Los Angeles Koreatown to Tujunga. In this movement, I could hear that considerable number of members migrated to the new church location.

The social networks of the Los Angeles Korean community have been gradually formed based on ethnic resources and diverse institutions. More than fifty percent of Korean immigrants in Southern California tend to make friends, exchange information regarding business and employment, and get advice about social services and children's schooling through churches. With their size and capacity, the Korean congregations have helped maintain group characteristics, norms, and values of the Korean community, through social meetings and programs including philanthropy, missions, choir rehearsals, informal associations, sports meetings, social activities, diverse newsletters, and weekly formal meetings based on location, in addition to Sunday service.

The ethnic congregations have contributed to community trust. Koreans trust members of their ethnic congregations more than any other group. This trust on church produces more community trust in Los Angeles Korean community. Korean people trust their fellow parishioners more than other people. Except for within the family, the next highest trust level is given to people belonging to the same religion and church. They do not place much trust in politicians, business people, or surprisingly among other Koreans. Unexpectedly, Koreans have low trust level regarding other Koreans (Table 9).

However, because of this high trust within Korean churches and among its members, the Koreans tend to overreact against any news against the congregations. While Korean churches build general community trust, Koreans may have too many expectations, as the following statement indicates:

Korean people expect too much from churches. People get angrier at any bad news regarding churches and pastors, than other community organizations' or private companies.’ I think this is because people have much more expectations from churches.
than other secular organizations. These expectations stem from their real trust of churches.
(Interview with a Korean church pastor, September 2003)

Table 9. Survey Result: Trust of Others (Scale 1-5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How much you trust different groups of people</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. People in your race or ethnic group</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Same religion</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. People in your village/neighborhood</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. People who belong to the same clubs, organizations, or groups</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. People in your church or other religious organizations</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Business owners and traders you do business with</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Family</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Korean community leaders</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Politicians</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Government service providers</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Since the Christian respondents are forty-three among the total number of forty-six, the total number related to church are adjusted.
* N=46
** Please refer to the questions and scales in the footnote and appendix.²⁷

We can see churches as essential venues for the formation of social networks and creation of trust for over fifty percent population of the Los Angeles Koreatown community. If the proportion of Christian population is too small, we can regard this result as a high bonding social capital of a group. However, these numbers suggest the importance of Korean churches in building social capital in Los Angeles Koreatown.

Findings and Lessons

This paper reviews the history and organizational capacity of Korean ethnic congregations focusing on community social capital building in the Los Angeles Metropolitan area. We can see the primacy of Korean congregations’ role in building community social capital in the Los Angeles

²⁷ Trust: How much do you trust different groups of people?
(Scale 1. To a very small extent or not at all 2. To a small extent 3. Neither small nor great extent 4. To a great extent 5. To a very great extent)
1. People in you race or ethnic group (Korean)?
2. Same religion?
3. People in your village/neighborhood?
4. People who belong to the same clubs, organizations, or groups as you?
5. People in your church or other religious organizations?
6. The business owners and traders you buy things from or do business with?
7. Family?
8. Korean Community Leaders?
9. Politicians?
10. Government service providers (education, health, electricity, water, etc.)?
Korean community. The church reinforces the generalized norms and values of the immigrants by, building and strengthening their ethnic solidarity. In comparison to other community organizations, the Korean congregation is the single most effective community organization for establishing relationships and social networks for many immigrant Koreans. I want to call this social asset ‘religious-based social capital.’

This paper addresses the people and the institutions around social infrastructure. It explores how Korean Americans through their ethnic congregations create social capital that aids community economic development. Using qualitative and quantitative data, this study discusses the role of faith-based organizations in forming social capital, and the diverse roles of this religious-based social capital in sustaining community economic development and improving inter-racial relations in the Los Angeles Korean community. In addition, this study sheds light on how other ethnic communities build their social capital. This particular case can give more meaning to community development, urban planning, and international development fields. For further research, I want to ask what is the beneficiary role of this religious-based social capital. In the following researches, we need to discuss this social asset and its relationship to small business development and general community development issues.

In Korean Christian congregations, seniors, adults, youths, children, 1st generation, 1.5 generation, 2nd generation, business owners, workers, professionals, wives, and husbands gather together to develop strong interpersonal relationships. The strong ‘energy’ around their activities enhances their neighborhood’s economic development while sustaining the community, not only for Koreans, but also for their neighbors.
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Children for Sale: the Traffic of Eastern European Children in Western Europe

The Case of One Romanian Girl

Cross-disciplinary: International Studies, Area Studies (Europe) and Anthropology

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Children for Sale: the Traffic of Eastern European Children in Western Europe

The Case of One Romanian Girl

The sight of beggars, both adults and children, is all too common in the major cities of Western Europe. Tourists toss a coin into a cup and walk on. Very few realize that their coin becomes part of a business in the traffic of human beings, the vast majority of them children. The most common assumption is that the beggars are Roma, and indeed many of them are. Roma film directors Kusturica and Mihic have eloquently exposed this tragedy in the film *Time of the Gypsies*. The film is about their own people, but the buying and selling of human lives is not a “Rom problem”. In the last several years, according to studies by UNICEF, there have been a steady influx of clandestine children being introduced in Italy and other Western European countries from Romania, Albania and other Eastern European countries. Paradoxically, the admission of Eastern block countries into the European Union has made the abuse easier, since there is no easy way to check the legitimacy of the travelers. The efforts to protect these children are many, yet the traffic goes on and on.

I have followed the adjustment of Eastern European Roma in Italy for a few years, but since 2002 my interest in this matter has taken a specific face. I have seen the effect of a life on the streets in a young girl from Romania, and what I have seen haunts me.
In a first paper published in Harvard’s magazine *Bhumi* I called her Milena, but that was not her real name. Perhaps she was Rom, perhaps not. She would never walk: her club feet were horribly deformed, her legs atrophied. She was precariously perched on a skateboard, her legs thrust in front of her, her deformed feet bare, in summer and winter. She pushed herself around with a hand stuck in a sneaker that she will never wear. A couple of streets away a boy, bearing a striking resemblance to Milena, and also deformed, hobbled on crutches. Evidently their club feet were the result of a disorder that runs in their family. They were obviously relatives, perhaps brother and sister, taken from their family in Romania and put to beg in the elegant streets around the *Piazza di Spagna*. Their case is not isolated: in October 2004 Italian television reported on several crippled young people that were smuggled in Italy from Romania and other Eastern European countries and put to beg in the streets. Most often their families release their children to people that promise to take them to a hospital, but some evidence suggests that impoverished families will sell their children to organized crime, into a life of begging and prostitution. In 2002 Milena had still a simple trust about her. When I dropped a couple of Euro in her cup she had a ready smile. Her name was Milena, she said, she was from Romania. When I asked if she was Rom, she nodded. Somebody had put highlights on her brown hair. In 2002 she still wanted to look pretty. When I asked if I could take a photo, she asked me for a copy. I said no, it would be complicated, and she nodded with a smile and a shrug, and pushed herself away with that sneaker she would never wear. I stood there looking at her. She would never see a hospital. What would happen to her? Why was the police blind to her misery?

I got an answer to my questions during another visit to Rome, in the fall of 2004, when I saw her around *Fontana di Trevi*, and I hardly recognized her. She has lost a lot of weight, so much that at first I thought it is a boy. But no, I recognized these feet, the skateboard and the hand stuck in
the sneaker. Her hair was bleached yellow, a short dry crop on top of a gaunt face. That simple trust of two years before was gone; her eyes were dulled with resignation. Not even bitterness, just the resignation that comes with the same routine day in and day out.

Once more our dialogue took place: what is your name, where you come from, here are two Euro. But when she saw my camera, she pushed herself away.

I was on my way to the Roman headquarter of the Italian League of Human Rights, and Milena became the topic of our meeting. The League’s President put things in motion, there is indeed a traffic of human flesh coming from Romania that needs to be stopped. We made plans.

On the way back I decided to buy Milena some lunch, perhaps a slice of pizza. I passed by Fontana di Trevi, but she was nowhere to be seen. I walked along the surrounding streets, but she was gone. She had learned her lesson well. I plan to look for her in a few months, when I will be in Rome once more. I know that I will see other young people, perhaps crippled, begging for a few coins in the lovely streets of my city. I know that many, indeed too many children wander the street of European cities. And the questions remain unanswered.

The very few agencies that attempt to address the problem are under funded and understaffed. Refugees and Roma camps are crowded. This was evident to me during a field research I conducted in Italy in September 2001. I visited a camp located in the outskirts of Rome, at the Testaccio locality. Don Bruno Nicolini, a Catholic priest in charge of Roma affairs in Rome, had introduced me to Mirko, a Bosnian Rom who has been living in Italy for 30 years. The camp was located outside the city, tucked away in the fields and accessible only by dirt roads. A high metal fence surrounded the camp, split in two by another fence. I asked Mirko why the division. On one side, he told me, lived the Christian Roma. On the other lived the Muslim. There are several camps outside Rome. Yet the city government, in its wisdom, has recreated a Bosnia situation. I
asked Mirko the reason for the fence. Were there difficulties among the two groups? With the utmost courtesy, and firmness, he declined to answer. Yet there are some localities where progress is clearly possible.

I have followed the progress of one agency, the *Opera Nomadi* of Latina, a town some 50 km south of Rome. The *Opera Nomadi* deals primarily with Roma, mostly Italians, but there is an increasing number of immigrants from Eastern Europe. The *Opera*’s primary goal is to keep the children in school in the morning and off the streets in the afternoon. This is achieved by patiently making sure that each child has school books and supplies, that their parents will trust the school system enough to send their children there instead of taking them to beg in the streets. After school the Roma children gather in the *Opera*’s small house and yard where they can do homework, learn about each others culture, and play. The problem facing these children, and the host schools, are many. The schools are chronically understaffed and totally unprepared for the challenges from this alien subculture. Some of the children bring to school a distrust ingrained from generations of mistreatments, that they manifest by “acting out” in class. This in turn reinforces the hostility of the Italian children and their families. But progress in undeniable: when the children go to school and the parents obtain housing, the cycle of poverty, and crime, will eventually be broken: there are virtually no beggars in Latina. Unfortunately, Latina’s example is so far the exception rather than the rule. And the tasks facing the agencies are overwhelming, particularly in the cases of organized crime, where the young beggars are intimidated into silence by their exploiters. In many cases, the existing agencies are designed to deal with Roma refugees, and lack the proper training and…paperwork to address the newer influx of illicit immigrants. While efforts are been made to address the problem in the countries of origin, Italian authorities grapple with possible solutions to this new influx. Meanwhile
extremist newspapers, and politicians, clamor for the enforcement of law and order, which means the arrest of the beggars and their exploiters. This is a dubious option at best, since sadly the “supply” of living and suffering human flesh seems to be endless. And young people like Milena keep wandering in the streets of European cities.

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A Community Outreach Program to Minimize Risk of Cardiac Disease in a Rural Environment

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Abstract

Cheboygan ACRES is a pilot program that was established in rural northern Michigan in January 2005 to study the impact of a nurse-managed community outreach program involving Additional Cardiac Risk Education and Support. Coronary heart disease is one of the most prevalent and preventable forms of heart disease and continues to be a leading cause of death in this country and around the world. Unfortunately, there are huge gaps in available resources to focus on primary prevention.

A research study in Cheboygan, Michigan is just underway at this time to test the hypotheses that 1) there is a positive relationship between additional education / support and prevention of disease in clients with cardiac risk and 2) an outreach program will be effective in decreasing the ten-year risk of developing heart disease by 5% in six months. The specific research questions and aims incorporate the behavioral outcomes (related to smoking, diet, stress, exercise), as well as the physiological improvements (regarding blood pressure, weight, cholesterol, blood sugar). This is a causal, longitudinal study with pre-test and post-test quantitative and qualitative measures. Data will also be gathered throughout the study period. This study uses an experimental design with randomization of qualified participants to the control group or intervention group.

Several methods of community involvement and physician engagement were utilized in setting up the study. This session will further discuss the measures of a successful design as applicable to this study, as well as other community outreach programs that address disease prevention and health promotion. A program such as this can be replicated to other populations anywhere in the world in which the leaders have the passion to make a positive difference in the health of a community!
ISLAM AND DEMOCRACY: FRIENDS OR FOES
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A paper prepared for presentation at the Fourth Annual Hawaii International Conference on Social Science meeting at Honolulu, Hawaii June 13-16, 2005. The paper is a work in progress which is evolving and does not represent a finished work.
ISLAM AND DEMOCRACY: FRIENDS OR FOES

In 1993, Harvard professor Samuel P. Huntington published an article in *Foreign Affairs* on the possible clash of civilizations which was later expanded into a widely acclaimed book “Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order”. In this book, Huntington identifies 9 contemporary civilizations and indicates that future conflicts may be more between civilizations than nation-states. He also indicated that one possible civilizational clash would be between the Western civilization and the Islamic civilization. One first question is: How inevitable is this civilizational clash?

Among the more recent reasons advanced for the U.S. invasion of Iraq is the desire to bring democracy and democratic government to the area. The rationale is that if the seed of democracy is planted in Iraq, it might spread throughout the Middle East. Critics indicate that this scenarios is a long shot at best. So another question is: Is democracy compatible with Islam or are the inimical to each other?

One of the first challenges in addressing the subject of this paper is to determine the extent of the Muslim population in the world and the current state of freedom in the Muslim world. In 2003, there were 1.485B Muslims in the world which represented about 23.52% of the world’s
In Oceana (ocean island nations), there are virtually no Muslims while in Africa almost a majority of peoples are Muslim (48.1%). The largest Muslim nation in the world is Indonesia with over 194M Muslims. Many people associate Islam with Arabia, but Arab Muslims are a minority of the overall Muslim population. Counting the Muslim population of all Arab nations (including the Palestine Authority) indicates there are 349.36M Muslims or 23.53% of the total world Muslim population (author calculations).

In terms of political and civil freedoms, Freedom House provides an authoritative compilation of world data. In 2005, there were 89 free countries (46%), and 54 partially free countries (28%) with a remaining 49 countries (26%) rated as not free. In terms of population, 44% of the world’s population lives in free countries, 19% in partially free and 37% in not free countries (http://www.freedomhouse.org/ratings accessed 1/13/2005).

However, in looking at Muslim populations, only two countries are rated as free, 17 as partially free and 28 not free. Thus, about 60% of Muslim nations are rated as not free. In terms of Muslim populations, 13%
live in free countries, 44% in partially free countries and 43% in not free countries. Thus, about 60% of Muslims live in countries with some degree of freedom. With both calculations being about 60%, it is obvious that there are a few countries with large Muslim populations which are free or partially free (http://www.freedomhouse.org/ratings accessed 1/13/2005).

The following table shows countries which are not free and the percent of the Muslim population in each non-free country. This shows that there are 3 nations with a Muslim population of 100% which are not free- Mauritania, Saudi Arabia and Somalia. It also reveals that there are 18 countries with a Muslim population over 80% which are not free. Freedom is a precious commodity absent in most Muslim countries.
The incongruity between Arab and non-Arab states with respect to democracy was also studied using one factor of democratic governance: competitive elections for high office holders. Stepan and Robertson noted that 16 Arab Muslim countries “underachieve” in this factor and non-Arab Muslim countries “overachieve” in this category. Not a single Arab-Muslim country is an “overachiever.” Thus, the Muslim religion does not explain the presence or absence of competitive elections. Further, neither does per capita income explain well electoral competitiveness. Seven Arab-Muslim
countries exceed $5,500 per capita income, but have never had a competitive
election (Stefan and Robertson, 2003: 30-36). (This level of economic
development is assumed as the floor necessary for democratic development.)

The authors classified the 16 Arab-Muslim countries into three
categories:

- **Autocratic states**—Saudi Arabia, Libya, Syria, Tunisia and Iraq (under
  Saddam Hussien)
- **Liberalizing, but not democratizing states**—Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain
  and Oman
- **Once free and fair—now not**—Lebanon, Yeman, Morocco and Jordan
  (36-38).

Naturally this classification has been modified by some recent
developments—Iraq is a case in point>

As Fareed Zakaria noted: “The Arab world today is trapped
between autocratic state and illiberal societies, neither of them fertile
ground for liberal democracy. The dangerous dynamic between these
two forces has produced a political climate filled with religious
extremism and violence.” (Page 3). This assessment is pessimistic.
Yet at the beginning of Islam, there was not this dangerous dynamic. The Islamic scholar Louis Cantori has noted that the Islamic state began in Medina with the signing of a Charter by the prophet Muhammad and the fourteen main non-Muslim tribes (Jewish) who chose not to convert to Islam. The Charter emphasized two key points: in matters of religion, each person was accountable to God and not the state; and all citizens of Medina were equal, regardless of religious affiliation. Cantori strongly believes that Islam is compatible with democracy and notes that the Quran emphasizes the importance of shura (consultation), value of diversity and peaceful co-existence between different religious traditions. And Cantoni further argues that the Quran clearly supports democracy in one form or another.

The United States Institute of Peace Special Report 93 on Islam and Democracy states that the explanation of why so many Muslim countries are not democratic has more to do with historical, political, cultural and economic factors than with religious ones. In essence, many Muslim countries are ruled by dysfunctional, corrupt and repressive regimes which provide fertile ground for the rise of radicalism. That is to say, that it is not Islam that impedes the development of democracy, but rather
corrupt, divisive secular regimes that misuse Islam as an instrument of subjugation and repression. As Fareed Zakaria notes:

By the late 1980s, while the rest of the world was watching old regimes from Moscow to Prague to Seoul to Johannesburg crack, the Arabs were stuck with their corrupt dictators and aging kings. Regimes that might have seemed promising in the 1960s were now exposed as tired kleptocracies, deeply unpopular and thoroughly illegitimate. In an almost unthinkable reversal of a global pattern, almost every Arab country today is less free than it was forty years ago. There are few places in the world about which one can say that.

This author also notes: “Most Muslims’ daily lives do not contain the idea of a faith that is intrinsically anti-Western or anti-modern.” He also noted that the largest Muslim nation in the world, Indonesia, has had a secular government since its independence in 1949 and now has embraced democracy and elected a woman as president. The next three largest Muslim nations—Pakistan, Bangladesh and India have had experience with democracy and all three have elected women as prime ministers.

Furthermore, it could be argued that there is strong popular support for democracy in most Muslim countries as the graphic below illustrates. Respondents were asked whether democracy could work in their country and the graphic shows positive responses to this question. Most also supported a role for Islam in their countries; however, are also supportive of keeping government policy and religion separate. When the question was asked
whether religion is a personal matter and should be kept separate from government, only 55% of Americans completely agreed with the statement. Actually, in Muslim societies, support is even stronger or at least equal.

But Zakaria notes "But for the Arab world, modernity has been one failure after another. Each path followed-socialism, secularism, nationalism-has turned into a dead end. People often wonder why the Arab countries will not try secularism. In fact, for most of the last century, most of them did. Now Arabs associate the failure of their governments with the failure of secularism and of the Western path. The Arab world is disillusioned with the West when it should be disillusioned with its own leaders." (Page 11)

Leadership is the key to understanding why democracy has not taken root in Arab countries. Autocratic, corrupt leaders are not interested in democracy. Nor are they faithful followers of Islam. Rather they use Islam as a weapon or tool to control the masses and focus popular anger not on their own corrupt regimes, but towards the West. As Robin Wright writes: "Extremists have manipulated, misconstrued, and even hijacked Muslim tenets."

Abdou Filali-Ansary notes that more and more fundamentalists accept the idea that Islam is not opposed to democracy: some argue that by embracing the principle of Shura (consultation), for example, Islam has
always favored the kind of relationship between rulers and ruled that democracy entails. He also noted that the renowned contemporary philosopher Mohamed Abed Jabri has said that democracy is the only principle of political legitimacy which is acceptable nowadays in Muslim societies.


Figure 2
Muslim Popular support for Democracy
Islam teaches that all “men are substantially the same and no tangible and actual distinction can be made among them, on account of their accidental differences such as nationality, color or race. Every human being is thereby related to all others and all become one community of brotherhood.” (Institutive of Islamic Information and Education). We can see then that Islam looks at all human beings as creatures of a supreme being.

Further Islam does not recognize positive human rights. “When we speak of human rights in Islam, we really mean that these rights have been granted by God; they have not been granted by any king or legislative assembly. The rights granted by kings or legislative assemblies can also be withdrawn in the same manner in which they are deferred. The same in the case with rights accepted and recognized by the dictators…but since in Islam human rights have been conferred by God, no one on earth has the right or authority to make any amendment or change in the rights given by him. No one has the right to abrogate them or withdraw them.” (Institutive of Islamic Information and Education).

These then are the human rights in a true Islamic state:

♦ SECURITY OF LIFE AND PROPERTY. The taking of life of even a non-Muslim living in a Muslim state is forbidden.
THE PROTECTION OF HONOR. Muslims are forbidden to make fun of one another, defame, insult, backbite or speak ill of another. This would be an affront of their honor.

SANCTITY AND SECURITY OF PRIVATE LIFE. Muslims are forbidden to spy on one another or even enter the house of another without consent.

THE SECURITY OF PERSONAL FREEDOM. No citizen can be imprisoned unless adjudged guilty in an open court.

THE RIGHT TO PROTEST AGAINST TYRANNY. This is a right given by God.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION. Freedom of thought and expression for the sake of virtue and truth; but not for spreading evil and wickedness.

FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION. Permits freedom of association and formation of parties and organizations, subject to certain general rules.

Robert Dahl who has studied democracy for many years compiled a list of requirements for a democracy among a large number of people. These can be summarized as follows:
But what about the underlying values of democracy and Islam. Is there any similarity between the two or are they completely foreign to each other? Perhaps the best way to compare would be to provide a side by side list of values:
COMPARISONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS-
ISLAM AND DEMOCRACY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>ISLAM</strong></th>
<th><strong>U.S. DEMOCRACY</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SECURITY OF LIFE AND PROPERTY</td>
<td>SAME</td>
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<tr>
<td>PROTECTION OF HONOR</td>
<td>SLANDER/LIBEL LAWS</td>
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<td>SANCTITY AND SECURITY PRIVATE LIFE</td>
<td>SAME</td>
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<tr>
<td>PERSONAL FREEDOM</td>
<td>FIRST AMENDMENT</td>
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<td>RIGHT TO PROTEST AGAINST TYRANNY</td>
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<td>FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION</td>
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<td>FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION</td>
<td>FIRST AMENDMENT</td>
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<tr>
<td>FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE AND CONVICTION</td>
<td>FIRST AMENDMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FREEDOM OF RELIGION</td>
<td>FIRST AMENDMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROTECTION ARBITRARY ARREST</td>
<td>5TH AND 14TH AMENDMENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIGHT TO NECESSITIES OF LIFE</td>
<td>NONE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EQUALITY BEFORE LAW</td>
<td>CORE BELIEF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCOUNTABILITY TO RULES OF LAW</td>
<td>CORE BELIEF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN STATE AFFAIRS</td>
<td>CORE BELIEF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Institute of Islamic Information and Education and author.

We can see that there are a great number of commonalities between the different systems and a few distinct differences.

One of the most fundamental differences between the West and Islam is between a monotheist and polytheist supreme being. Islam recognizes only a one person supreme being-Allah. In this sense, it shares this belief with members of the Jewish faith whose sole God is Yahweh. Only Christians believe in a three person supreme being-God the father, God the son and the Holy Spirit. This triune God then is a point if separation;
However, the Jewish and Christian faiths now live in peace with this difference and there is no reason to believe that the differing beliefs would prevent any meaningful relationship between Christians and Muslims.

One further point is the separation of church and state prevalent in most Western countries and the Muslim belief that the Koran should guide any secular Muslim state in its policies. But this distinction is more transparent than real. In the West, religion plays some role in most governments. A political leader does not leave his religious beliefs outside his office door. One current example is the President of the United States. A Muslim society in a secular state following the precepts of the Koran could still be a democratic society with free elections and political parties.

Fundamentally, there are more common threads between Islam and democracy than thorns. Abdul Karim Soroush argues there is no contradiction between Islam and the freedoms inherent in democracy. Islam and democracy are not only compatible, their association is inevitable” as quoted by Wright (p. 224). Sheikh Rachid al-Ghannouchi advocates an Islamic system that features majority rule, free elections, a free press, protection of minorities, equality of all secular and religious parties, and full women’s rights in everything from polling booths, dress codes, and divorce
courts to the top job at the presidential palace as quoted by Wright (p. 229). Both of these clerics are considered as reformers.

While democracy is on the march in other areas of the world, its progress in the Muslim world is lethargic. But given the popular support of democracy in the Muslim world, autocratic and corrupt leaders are on the defensive, as never before.

Author Richard W. Bulliet writes: “Looked at as a whole, and in historical perspective, the Islamo-Christian world has much more binding it together than forcing it apart. The past and future of the West cannot be fully comprehended without appreciation of the twinned relationship it has had with Islam over fourteen centuries. The same is true of the Islamic world.” (43). The author further advocates “incorporating Islamic political movements and parties into liberalized political systems structured on open elections is the best tactic for undermining the appeal of transnational jihad.” (p. 156).

To sum up, there are a few observations that can be made:

A. Democracy cannot be exported of the shelf. It must grow within a country. Certain conditions must be present for its growth. These include: moderation, conciliation, cordial communication, etc.
B. Radical fundamentalists do not represent the overwhelming majority of Muslims.

C. Constitutional liberalism is a step towards a more complete democracy.

D. A democracy in a Muslim country may be very different than in a Western country. Islam may play a major, even predominant role in the government. There may not be a clear separation of church and state. But this is OK, so long as democratic freedoms are respected and protected.

E. The role of women must be protected and natured. The use of religion to subjugate and suppress women must be recognized for what it is - male dominance, not Islamic teaching.

F. A clash between the West and Islam is not inevitable unless radicals silence the majority and dominate the dialog.

G. Democracy is not an alien concept for Muslim societies. Presently, it is an alien concept for rulers of Muslim countries. This dichotomy between the Muslim masses and rulers cannot endure much longer. The world is smaller because of modern communications, transportation and overall technology. More and more Muslims are aware of the dichotomy and this growing awareness will eventually result in fundamental change.
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“The Project IRPOR
(International research program of oral rehabilitation)"

Massimo Corigliano; Mauro Mazzocco, IAIO
Giovanna Anselmi, ENEA/UDA/Advisor

ABSTRACT

The IAIO (International Academy of Implantoprothesis and Osteoconnection), represented by the President Dr. Massimo Corigliano and by the Vice-President Dr. Mauro Mazzocco, is going to develop the integrated research project “The Project IRPOR (International research program of oral rehabilitation)” involving the Havana University (Cuba), the Tirana University (Albania) and the Pontificia Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra (República Dominicana) to carry out experiments on the physical and biological reactions to osteoconnected implantoprothesis.

The approach of the project consists in the use of technologies already existing to study innovative solutions aimed to improve their effectiveness and to cost reduction.

The Project estimated time is three years. Some multinational firms, residents in Germany and in Israel, are engaged to propose, test and improve ad hoc new biomaterials, surgical instruments and technological systems like laser technologies, to improve the bone surface repairation around the implantoprothesis surface.

New Implantoprothesis Surfaces will be tested to improve the biocompatibility: the innovation will consist in a different design implant and new implant components. The new materials (such alloys and ceramics) and new surgery tools as well as new components (abutments) will be studied to reduce the gap existing between the physiological movement of implants (5 microns) and of the natural teeth (30 microns: in fact the first (implant) is in ankylosis and the second (tooth) has periodontal legament.

The last generation of fixture via bone connection technics, is emerging as an important market area and the studies on biocompatible materials as well as on surgery tools have to be extended and further developed.

The intended target markets include essentially new biocompatible materials and physical equipment using standards functions and data, adding value to the current products, defined in this project, to bring on to the market.

All the above mentioned activities are carried out aiming to introduce, at a large scale, the implants in the national public and private health care systems of the participants countries.

The relevant information on the definition of the sample to examine during the experiments in Cuba, Albania and Dominican Republic are included, as well as some economic implications.

In the paper are examined too the main benefits expected: in the scientific field: better knowledge of cells reproduction in the integration between biocompatible materials and human bone, new system in which new materials and appliances are strictly integrated with the protocol of care, taking in great relevance the cell reactions of the bone and of the living tissue around the dental implants, better integration between the knowledge of dental and of orthopedic scientific research areas.

In the economic general and dental health expenditure saving, speed up the implantoprothesis production processes and costs reduction, enlarged markets and employment growth.

Permanent Training Courses will established for medical (odontological) surgeons, for oral hygienists, for odontotechnicians and health managers, in order to improve the implantoprothesis service in the different countries, to transfer the knowledge and to promote, on the territory, the scientific and clinic abilities of the operators.

1. Introduction

The IAIO (International Academy of Implantoprothesis and Osteoconnection), represented by the President Dr. Massimo Corigliano and by the Vice-President Dr. Mauro Mazzocco, was founded in Roma, Italy, in June 2000, by a group of scientists, researchers, dental surgeons, hygienists and

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1 Massimo Corigliano; Mauro Mazzocco, IAIO (International Academy of Implantoprothesis and Osteoconnection) are di authors of the part regarding the medical experimentation

2 Giovanna Anselmi, ENEA/UDA/Advisor (Italian Agency for New Technology, Energy and Environment) is the author of the part on socio-economic impact evaluation
odontotechnicians, with the aim to improve the knowledge on the osteoconnection processes in implantology and spread out the results of researchs and scientific experiments in the fields carried out by the team of the Academy.

For this purpose, research institutes, SMEs, multinational firms and several University of Medicine and Dental Surgery Departments in the world, were associated to the team.

The web sites http://www.iaio.org/ and http://www.dentista.it and support the Academy and the initiatives taken to enhance methodologies, technologies and biocompatibility of the materials used in implantoprothesis and osteoconnection operations.

“The Project IRPOR (International research program of oral rehabilitation)” starting now by initiative of the IAIO President Dr. Massimo Corigliano and of the Vice - President Dr. Mauro Mazzocco, is the first large scale international action of the Academy, involving developing and developed countries of different world areas, regarding multidisciplinary objectives and, among them, not least, the integration between the knowledge of dental and orthopedic surgery, as to physical systems, materials and implant systems able to induce a rapid bone repair and healing of regenerated bone.

2. The Project IRPOR

“The Project IRPOR has the main objective to improve the implant systems both in dentistry and in orthopaedics and consequently, to improve significantly the populations quality of life of developing and advanced countries. It is subdivided in two strictly connected projects, both submitted for funding within the FP6, with, respectively the names of IRPOR I° and IRPOR II. IRPOR I° has the objective to deeply involve local authorities and professionals in a feasibility study centered on the reality of Habana (the EU related funding are specifically reserved to Cuba). The results of the IRPOR I° Project are expected early, before the start of IRPOR II°, planned for the second half of 2006, and will be used to better define the institutional frame of the wider IRPOR II° Project, in the following generally identified as The Project IRPOR.

Partners of IAIO in The Project IRPOR are SMEs in Italy and in Germany a medium firm producing biomaterials, the multinational Savyon in Israel, the dental surgery departments of the University of Sassari (Italy), the University of Havana in Cuba, of Tirana in Albania, of Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic. The management of the IRPOR Project will be carried out by the ENEA (Italian Agency for Energy, New Technology and Environment), public research institute having competences in cell medicine, biomaterials and biocompatibility.

Being the Project multipurpose, it is useful the outline is subdivided in sections related to the work area: α) fields experiments, methodologies and adopted technologies: actions in Habana, in Santo Domingo; in Tirana; β) social and economic impact, γ) international cooperation; δ) further development

α) fields experiments, methodologies and adopted technologies

3 IAIO - Italy V. J.F.Kennedy, 98 00015 Monterotondo

SMEs: Pressing dental - S.Marino Repubblic, V. Collamarini 5; Bricamed - Switzerland, Steinhaldnstr.30 GEROLDSWILL; Osartis - Germany, Glanztoffstrabe 2 Obernburg 63784; Mectron – Italy, (GE) Via Loreto 15 16042 Carasco; Biomedica Service - Italia Roma V.le di Tor Marancia 70

Research Institut and Universities: ENEA - Italia Roma L.go Tevere G.A. Thaon di Ravel Università di Sassari - Italia Sassari V.le San Pietro,43/C
The object will be reached with further studies of new implants and techniques aimed to get a better healing of periimplant tissues to carry out experiments in the osteoconnection (a new philosophy of bone integration around the implant).

As for periimplant tissues, particular attention will be done to the fillings, called osteoconducters in bone neoformation around the framework, as well as to the growth factors (endogenic obtained by harvesting of bone tissue from the implant hole and exogenous like morphogenetic proteins in lab). Resorbable membranes for GBR (guided bone regeneration) will be further studied.

Particular attention will be done to the amount and quality of bone milling (with a destruction as little as possible of osteoblastic cells useful for bone repair), to the design and the configuration of the fixtures (Conical fixture in bone section, Fig. 1), to the materials with which the screws and endoosseous prosthetic systems interface with the bone.

The systems of various components like abutments and screws (Fig. 2; Fig. 3) in dentistry and stabilization systems in orthopaedics will be considered as well. Physical energy systems will be adopted for experiments to improve bone regeneration both in quantity and in quality reducing too the time of bone repair. In this field IAIO is already working and the acquired knowledge will be used and enhanced in the Project.

The application of magneto-electric radiations on hard and soft tissues healing, of the laser radiations on hard (Erbium-YAG) and soft tissues (CO2), of laser techniques for the bio stimulation (soft diods), of piezoelectric energy for osteotomy without any bone damage (Fig.4), as implant system (Fig.5) based on microinvasivity will be employed.

The Project will have at least three Phases, located in the developing Partner Countries Cuba, Dominican Republic and Abania, to better define the needs in Caribbean areas and in Europe due to the geographical position, the economic and social development and the standards of living.

**Actions in Habana**

In Cuba, with the help of public and private research institutions (University Department, local Authorities, dental surgeons private studios…) will be carried out the following actions:
- Definition of oral health indicators for Caribbean Areas Countries & for EU Countries, “Health Divide” and disparities
- Definition of a local population sample by age (25-35)
- Submission of the sample to Oral Rehabilitation Care & Implants
- Comparison with the european standard sample

**Actions in Santo Domingo**

- Definition of a local population sample by age (35-55) or more and submission to the care
- Definition of a Protocol of Care for Caribbean areas and EU Countries resuming the results of experiments in Cuba and in Santo Domingo
- Presentation of the scientific results coming from the use of the adopted methodologies, new materials and technologies
- Definition of the training needs for the health operators

**Action in Tirana**

- Definition of the Program for post-graduated Masters for Dental Surgeons, Hygienists, Odontotechnicians and Oral Health Managers for the Caribbean Area and for the EU: common areas and differences
- Analysis of the experiments carried out in Habana and in Santo Domingo
- Definition, with the involved SMEs & Multinational Enterprises, of the New Products needs for oral rehabilitation, coming from the Scientific Results of the experiments in Havana and in Santo Domingo, to launch on to the market
β) socials and economic impact

More difficult is to find generic outline for the socio-economic impact of all the countries, depending it by a relevant number of factors: first by human factors and institutional rules, then by starting health conditions and by the cultural background of the country. Often the main barrier to reach a higher level of living standards is the defiance to face with the “new” coming from abroad. So to spread out to all the populations involved, the benefits produced by an international initiative, it is necessary to build up campaigns explaining to the population, but to the local authorities too, the specific purposes.

In any case the social expected benefits are, certainly:
- A more healthy and informed population not only in Caribbean areas, but in the EU too
- The diffusion of an enhanced Protocol Care common to different geographic areas
- A lowered “Health Divide”
- New Care Pattern to replicate
- New rules for both developed and developing countries for a better oral rehabilitation and health

The economic impact can be measured at two level:

1. analysing the starting conditions of the national public and private dental health care systems in the emerging countries, with the aim to introduce, at a large scale, the osteoconnected implants and to modify the rules on dental care. It will considered the relevant information on the definition of the sample to examine during the experiments, as well as same economic implications (such public expense for health, public expense for dental care pro-capita and requested expenditure for treatments, number, age, sex of people being under treatment, the number of persons concerned by the experiments scheduled for the Project and the related costs etc...) and the actions required to involve the local authorities and professional organizations in the process.

   Same scenarios will studied to optimize the resources allocation in the health public expenses

2. through the attractivity level of FDI induced in the involved developing countries by the actions carried out by the Projet.

Dynamic emerging countries characterized by a strong interest in high-tech products, scientific research, low costs of production and low cost of manpower, are very attractive for foreign investors.

The benefits for the FDI host countries are certainly the increase of the employment level, the speed up of economic development, the improvement of the efficiency and the productivity of the local firms, the introduction of financial services and a better local bank management.

Infrastructures transformation in transports and communications are generally induced in the host country by the enlarged trade relations.

For the firms of the developed countries, investing in developing areas, the economic benefits are coming mainly from the relevant production costs reduction, the manpower low cost, higher profits, incentives measures decided by the local governments and finally from the new share of market acquired.

The participation of SMEs (of the Caribbean and from the European areas) in the project has an important and dominant role, connected to the improvement of the products for implants, biomaterials and appliances in accordance to clinic purposes, and coordinated, for the scientific researchs realization, by the IAIO, who, with their enlarged scientific collaborations can realize prototypes for industrial production, and by means of the previous commercial relations, has the charge to promote too all the actions for the exploitation of the new products.

γ) international cooperation
Having IAIO intensive links of international cooperation (Cuba, Albania, S.Domingo, Israel and Germany) to study and experiment the mentioned new methods and systems in dental implantology, the Academy will actively collaborate to disseminate in all the countries of the involved areas, a better scientific education and a deeper cultural background about oral rehabilitation, implants and implantoprothesis establishing permanent training courses for the several categories of medical operators and health managers, profiting by the teaching of international scientists and operators.

δ) further development
The Project is aiming to build up a world permanent international Network of Excellence among the most important research institute, Universities, professionals, scientific operators, SMEs and multinationals firms, operating in the sector, for further development of scientific results of the experiments carried out in the Project.

On two ways the research have to go ahead:
A) On the definition of new systems to insert implantoprothesis into the bone using advanced physical equipments (Erbium-YAG Laser) and piezoelectric device
B) On the employ of materials (nano-crystal of hydroxyapatite or highly purified tricalcic phosphatase) instead of the human bone, Morphogenic Micro-Prothesys stimulating the bone regeneration before and during the insertion of the fixtures in presence of bone lack.

The third way could offer the opportunity to coagulate the various plans of researchs and coordinate the large scientific-technological evolution of the last years carried out without any integration.
This kind of researchs, in fact, require a strict collaboration with institutional partners and SMEs, operating in the fields of orthopedic, having the purpose to integrate their experiences with the odonthoiatric fields of research to develop methodologies and technologies reducing both healing time and costs of any kinds for patients too.

3. Conclusion
“The Project IRPOR (International research program of oral rehabilitation)” as announced in the point 2 is starting now with the Feasibility Study, named “The Project IRPOR 1.”
IRPOR 1 was conceived with the help of the EU Program, Cooperación Descentralizada - Acciones en Cuba Línea presupuestaria 21-02-13 (ex-B7-6002) - EuropeAid/121019/M/G/CU, and the Non Governative Organization IAIO has submitted to the Department in Cuba of the European Commission a proposal to define the frame and the features of intervention at the Habana, for the oral rehabilitation.
The Feasibility Study will explore the condition of the national public and private dental health care systems in Cuba to compare them with the standards of the EU countries to introduce, at a large scale, the osteoconnected implants in the country dental care system and to modify the related rules.
The intervention pattern defined by the Feasibility Study in Cuba, will adopt in the subsequent Project extended to Dominican Republic and Albania, and, where necessary, modified on the base of the conditions of other countries partners.
The “Project IRPOR”, as submitted to the EU FP6 in the area of the program 3.4.4.6 (biomaterials for implants), moving a high amount of funding from FP6, from firms and international research boards, is one way to consolidate the experiences and to move up economic operations. It is the immediate reponse to the need to perpetuate the initiatives in oral rehabilitation.
In particular, as scientific conclusion, it is possible to assert that through “The Project IRPOR” all the partners will cooperate to research and experiment new technologies for implantology addressed to speed up the healing time and to improve the quality of the healing of the tissue around the implant.
The patients will benefit by the availability of systems, enhanced equipments and products to ameliorate the post-surgical course and to increase, during the time, the stability and the life of the fixtures. 
SMEs and Multinationals Firms could use the scientific results of “The Project IRPOR” to enhance their products for implantology and to bring on the global market the more competitive as far as the relation efficacy/cost reduction is concerned. To this purpose high quality solutions will be studied at low production costs. 
“The Project IRPOR” will put in relation science areas having high scientific affinity like as dental implantology and orthopedic surgery, that will surely bring synergies in the research for new shared technologies overcoming the interdisciplinary barriers.

FIGURES

Fig. 1 The conical fixture in bone section page 8
Fig.2 Cylinder Implant page 9
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Fig. 5 Microinvasivity in implant systems page 10
Cylinder and conical Implants: a different liquid dynamics

Fig. 1 The conical fixture in bone section.
The traditional fixture design induce a pressure between bone and screw due to liquids and bloods loss.

The conical implant leave open the inclined defluxion ways and the liquids pressure is zero speeding up the healing time and quality.
Fig. 4: Microinvasivity in dental surgery

Fig. 5: Microinvasivity in implant systems
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Identity and Ancestry: Sticks & Stones & Buffalo Bones

Ethnic Studies/International Studies

Paper Session

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IDENTITY AND ANCESTRY:
STICKS & STONES & BUFFALO BONES

Foreword

Introduction

This chapter comprises three sections—foreword, narrative, and afterword. The second section, “Sticks and Stones and Buffalo Bones,” is a three-part, first-person, autoethnographic narrative. “Afterword: Subjective Interpretation and Theoretical Ground” is a contextualizing discussion that explains the organization and substance of the narrative and grounds it in the literatures of identity.

The personal narrative precedes the theoretical discussion to create a certain dramatic and cognitive effect. Engagement with my personal experience before stepping back for intellectual analysis is intended to create a distinct effect akin to “seeing the movie before reading the book” or “reading the book before the review.” This approach derives partly from the postmodern idea that colonized people need to be heard in our own language, “to say our own word” (Lee, 2000, p. 60), ahead of academic or “professional” dissection. By “suspending disbelief”—holding rational predispositions in abeyance—the reader encounters the person first. The backdrop of the personal voice predisposes the analysis instead of the usual other way around.

The narrative is about my progress toward ethnic identity achievement as a First
Nations Mixedblood. That process was slow, halting, and fraught with the misgivings and anxieties typical of the forms of identity diffusion—ethnic ambiguity, passing, negative identity, and submersion, which I have discussed at length elsewhere (Cotrell, 1993).

**Historical Context**

The phenomenon of ethnic identity development exists in the United States because racism is intrinsic to its history. Without racism, the concept of race would not exist and conflicts based on skin color and culture would be nonexistent. In the case of First Nations, colonial conquest and genocide began with first contact and has persisted these five hundred years.

Over the centuries, the U.S. government devised a series of “federal-Indian” policies, all concerted attempts to uproot, remove, disband, deculturate, and dispossess First Nations peoples so as to change them culturally into White people or exterminate them from the face of the earth. Despite and because of official policies, the “blood” of Whites and Natives became intermingled from the outset, through rape, voluntary association, and love. Consequently, a third “race” of Mixedbloods evolved, who were variously accepted or rejected by one group or the other. As often as not, they were caste out by both because of the mutual Native-White hostilities that stemmed from White conquest and genocide.

The belief that Mixedbloods represented the worst aspects of both worlds became prevalent in nineteenth-century White America. They threatened White racial purity and epitomized Native savagism combined with the depraved “dark side” of White “civilization” (Pearce, 1953; Scheick, 1979). The historian Francis Parkman (1849) called them “half
Indian, half White man, and half devil” (Parkman, as cited in Scheick, 1979, p. 18). Among
Whites, they were commonly and pejoratively termed halfbreed and breed.

In the late nineteenth century, the U.S. government instituted the allotment and
assimilation policy (1887-1934) in conjunction with the Dawes Allotment Act of 1887, whereby
Native people were classified by “blood quantum” or degree of Native descent in order to
reduce U.S. treaty obligations to tribes by dissolving tribal memberships, thus dissolving tribes
and reservations and dispossessing them of their lands (Officer, 1971). The U.S. stands in
historical company with Nazi Germany and apartheid South Africa as the only western nations
to use the racist blood quantum system to classify Native peoples as a tool of colonization and
genocide.

Individual tribal members were allotted reservation lands and acceptance of land
constituted forfeiture of tribal membership and benefit of U.S. government goods and services
theretofore rendered as historical treaty obligations. From 1917 to 1920, a forced fee patent
system was established, whereby “competent” individuals were required to accept a land
allotment. “Competence” was based peculiarly on the notion that the more “Indian” one was,
the less competent she was. The “blood quantum” of each tribal member was determined by a
confused and inconsistent measure based on anecdotal and presumptive information about
one’s ancestry. Persons of less than one-half Native blood quantum were deemed to be more
competent than those with more than one-half; the “competents” were forced to accept fee
patents to land allotments and terminate tribal membership (Kinney, 1937).

The “more-than-one-halfs” were carefully investigated; if determined competent, they
too were forced to accept allotments not exceeding forty acres. Students who graduated from Government schools [i.e., Christian boarding schools] and were deemed competent were awarded land allotments at age 21 (Kinney, 1937).

The federal government assumed ownership of remaining unallotted reservation lands and opened them to White settlement. Untutored in real estate law and, by and large, lacking the skills, economic resources, and motivation to become farmers, the Native people were defenseless against the connivance and exploitation of realtors and land-hungry settlers. Between 1887 and 1934, White settlers took over 91 million acres of Native lands, which declined from 138 million to 47 million acres (Debo, 1970).

Whole tribes, clans, and families were broken up and devastated because of the blood quantum system. Heirship—land allotment eligibility—was commonly awarded to one sibling but not the other because of different parentage, often caused by the high Native mortality rate brought on by the intense U.S. colonial siege from the Civil War until the 1950s. White officials, ignorant of First Nations family systems, frequently misconstrued family relationships, which made a sham of heirship determinations and precipitated disputes and chaos among families and tribes fearful for their survival (Kinney, 1937; Debo, 1970; Vizenor, 1981, 1985 (personal communication, Spring, 1985).

Native people by the thousands, accustomed to communal life, forfeited tribal membership against their will. This episode was another in the long series of sociological disasters perpetrated against the First Nations by the U.S. government and White populace.

The blood quantum system persisted throughout the tribal reorganization period (1934-
1953), the next federal-Indian policy scheme to further reduce tribal numbers and U.S. treaty obligations, requiring each tribe to establish a blood quantum membership minimum. One-fourth became the most common stricture on whether one could be recognized as a “real Indian” by the government and the tribe. The fact that one was a Native person, born and raised, (how could one be other?) was disregarded. From the Native perspective, one was Native because of one’s family and cultural connections and way of life, unmeasurable by the harebrained idea of blood quantum. To be “Indian” in the racist White world was highly stigmatic, regardless of blood quantum; Mixedbloods were at high risk for rejection in both milieux. U.S. officials had no interest in the facts and proceeded with their ruinous scheme. Thus, thousands of Native people found themselves in “no-mans land,” unacceptable to either world.

Thus, in the early twentieth century, the stage was set for mind-boggling adaptation decisions and identity conflicts for succeeding First Nations generations. This was the situation into which I was born in 1945.

**Personal Context**

My greatest struggle was against complete submersion, which, paradoxically, might indicate successful identity *achievement* or structural *assimilation* into the dominant Euroamerican world, as Gordon (1978) notes. Such “success” would require that my Native heritage had no significance to me or others in my environment. It would have literally disappeared. No emotional conflict would exist, no identity decision would be necessary, and I would not be the object of racial prejudice or discrimination (Gordon, 1978). However, my childhood circumstances lacked those requirements, saving the latter. I experienced marked
emotional conflict, observed my father’s similar conflict, and both parents enforced a taboo on the subject within and outside our home. True to their calculation, I did not feel the sting of racism, as long as I kept quiet about my Native connections.

Although others have discussed partial or complete submersion (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1937; Erikson, 1959, 1968; DeVos & Romanucci-Ross, 1975; Gordon, 1978; Westermeyer, 1979; Logan, 1981; Vizenor, 1985), my own experience inspired me to enlarge upon their explorations. I resonated with Ortiz’ view that to be Mestizo or Mixedblood is not an ethnic choice. Rather, born a Mixedblood, one is likely to be “de-Indianized” at birth by historical events and achieves First Nations identity through recovery of ethnicity—a “re-Indianization” or “recouperation of the Mestizo” (Ortiz, 1984, p. 86).

It finally dawned on me that I had been colonized, that no one in my world recognized this, and that if I ceased my identity quest and resigned myself to silence, colonization would be complete. My keen awareness of my Native heritage pushed me forward from a morass of puzzlement and doubt toward affirmation and connection. I could not be at peace with the loss or negation of half my ancestry, cultural deprivation, identity foreclosure (Marcia, 1980). In late adolescence, I felt compelled to choose to be other, in defiance of parental constraint and censure.

Identity Research Import and What Remains to Be Done

Exploration of the psychology of First Nations peoples is a relatively new area of academic interest, including the social work/social welfare disciplines. Until the late twentieth
century, most resources had been applied to economic subsistence and community development (AIPRC, 1977) and most social science researchers on First Nations peoples were non-Native anthropologists (Berkhofer, 1978).

Since circa 1900, scholars have recognized that biracial/bicultural or multiracial/multicultural birth in the United States could have troubling consequences for individual identity development, but the few studies of this phenomenon treated mixed African American-White children, in the main. Social work research on First Nations had barely begun by 1980 and focussed on practice issues. Identity has been rarely studied, least of all the identity issues of First Nations-Euroamerican Mixedbloods. This is attributable to the scarcity of First Nations social work/social welfare scholars before the 1980s (Cotrell, 1993).

Furthermore, before First Nations perspectives began to surface in the 1980s, popular and institutional belief systems continued to reflect adherence to the vanishing race thesis that the indigenous peoples of North America were dead or dying and would shortly disappear altogether (Berkhofer, 1978). Thus, it is no wonder that little interest in Native identity, especially the First Nations-Euroamerican brand, existed among non-Natives scholars. However, the few psychology and social work students (Native and non-Native) of Native identity of this period did note consistent themes of racial and ethnic ambivalence and negativity. Such identity conflicts were found to be significant underlying factors of suicidality, substance abuse, family violence, acculturative stress, social alienation, and related dysfunctional phenomena (Wostermeyer, 1979; Lefley, 1982, 1982; May, 1981; French & Hornbuckle, 1980; Jenkins, 1982; Jones & Korchin, 1982; Kitano, 1982; Gibbs, 1987; French, 1987;
In 1982, Beiser and Attneave noted that Native psychology had been little studied to date and that a complete model of Native mental health had yet to be developed. When I began my doctoral work on the subject in 1984, I found no significant published research on First Nations-Euroamerican Mixedblood identity issues. A 1986 Congressional study noted increasing rates of outmarriage and inter-tribal marriage among First Nations and projected that only 2% would be Full Bloods by 2080, and that over 50%, or approximately 5 million people, would be one-fourth or more Native “blood quantum” (sic) (Indian Health Care, 1986). First Nations heritage is thus enduring. On the other hand, the continuous increase of Mixedbloods suggests a potentially increasing number of individuals at risk for conflicted identity development.

According to the U.S. Census of 2000, the wives in 46.6% of First Nations households were White (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000).

In a climate of persistent racism and a general ignorance of First Nations experience, Native people tend to be invisible to non-Natives, even educators and health care professionals. Because of their special circumstances, Mixedbloods are even less recognized or understood. Much more research and education is needed on First Nations identity development, in general, as related to numerous issues: cultural persistence despite acculturation and assimilation; cultural disruption, trauma, and destruction due to colonization, especially relative to the parenting cycle destruction of the boarding school system and tribal dissolution; the connection of identity conflict to economic stress, decreased physical health, and sexuality and sexual identity conflict
(Cotrell, 1993). Hence, consistent with a postcolonial liberatory perspective, the present chapter—a first-person narrative and postcolonial analysis of a mixed heritage identity developmental process—contributes a documentary example of this little studied phenomenon.

Sticks & Stones & Buffalo Bones

_Every closed eye is not shut._
_Every goodbye is not gone_
---Anon

_It was confusing. When I was in grade school, everyone wanted to kill an Indian._
---Red Cotrell

_History is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake._
---James Joyce

Part I

For some of us, as kids, being “part-Indian” was like being in a satire no one bothered to tell us about. All I knew was that I wasn't supposed to talk about it. Having a halfbreed father was unseemly, even in Indian Country. By the time I got so I couldn't stand the silence any longer, I'd been simmering in the melting pot for seventeen years. Maybe it was too late, maybe not.

I'm part-White, really—Halfbreed, Metis, Mixedblood, Chippewa-Sioux, Chippewa-Cree, Renegade Cree, _and_ Cherokee—take your pick. I grew up on the Flathead Indian Reservation, home of the Salish-Kootenai Tribes, in Western Montana. My mother was White and my father was Indian. They taught me to act White and be White and back then no one seemed to know the difference, except in mysterious little ways.
This theme is ancient, like that old wagon tongue out there in the weeds. Long disconnected from the body, it is still. And yet the daily sight of it is a barb on the cloak of forgetting.

I could never forget. I didn't want to. In fact, I tried to remember—that is, I tried to find someone who did, tried and kept on trying to get the silent ones to talk.

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The first time I remember thinking about Indians was in the spring of ’49 or ’50. I was four or five. We were driving up Mission Canyon to the First Falls for a picnic. It was a sunny day, but as the canyon narrowed, the shadowy forest drew close. I kept my eye on the treetops and worried that the Indians were hiding up there, waiting to attack. After all, Dad took us to town every Saturday night to see the latest movie about cowboys and Indians. By that time, I must have seen scores of them. John Wayne, Buffalo Bill, and Cochise were already in my repertoire.

Another time, at age five or six, I was riding with Dad and his cousin, Gene, in our old Studebaker pickup. We were going up St. Mary's Canyon to get wood at Wheeler's Mill. Gene was part-White, too, but in that era he was a halfbreed. He just showed up one day and had been staying with us for a couple of months. When I got older, I found out he'd left Oregon in a hurry and was hiding out at our place because the law was after him for beating his wife.

Dad and Gene would sit around and talk for hours, which made Mom mad. She couldn't stand to see anyone doing nothing or having too much fun when it was daylight and people were supposed to be working. She always made you feel like you should be doing something, cleaning the cupboards, washing the walls, moving the ash pile. She never had to say a word; you just
knew. But she had her beautiful, gentle side, too. I loved her then and I understood her better when I got older. I wish I could remember what Dad and Gene talked about.

Anyway, we were on our way to Wheeler’s Mill. I remember looking out at the shale canyon wall on Dad’s side—he was driving—and the river on the other side, and the huge, thick pine trees as far ahead as you could see. Part of me felt like running out into that wildness, but the other part was glad to be safe in the truck. I asked Dad, "Where are the Indians?" I couldn't understand why they looked at each other and laughed.

I felt ridiculed and excruciatingly bewildered. At that point, I was unaware that I was Indian, though it wasn’t long before I learned that I was. This was but one in a long series of childhood incidents wherein my parents met my questions about Indians and our Native heritage with evasion, embarrassed silence, or warning against pursuing the subject or bringing it up in the future. At such times, I felt misunderstood, frustrated, very small, and alone. Why, I asked silently, can’t I know what tribe I’m from, why can’t I know my Native relatives, why is it all right to be White but shameful to be Indian?

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One time my sisters and I were playing by the back porch and the folks were sitting on the steps. Dad grinned and said proudly, "Look at those little Indians," and Mom made a face and said, "Red! Don't say things like that!" I couldn't figure it out, but I knew better than to ask.

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For most of the fifties we didn't have a TV, but we had plenty of things to do, living out in
the country, with 140 acres to farm and anywhere from forty to a hundred cows to milk. I always remember Dad saying proudly that we ran a Grade-A dairy. One of his favorite things to do on a Saturday or Sunday, after we finished the morning chores, was to take us for long drives around the countryside, sometimes as far as two hundred miles. He took us to places where he used to live and places he'd hunted or ridden horseback. He always took us to somewhere we hadn't been before. My sister and I pretended we were explorers and always looked forward to new territory.

We especially liked to explore the junkpiles. It seemed like Dad knew every junkpile in western Montana, and on each trip we'd stop at a new one. He taught us to look for all kinds of gems that people threw away, like old books and magazines, pictures, Sir Walter Raleigh Tobacco cans (handy for fishing worms), ball bearings to use for marbles; shoes and clothes and horse harness pieces. A junkpile was a treasure-trove to Dad, and my sisters and I quickly adopted his enthusiasm.

Mom always stayed in the car. We'd come back excited, arms full, and Mom would protest and complain, "We don't need all this junk. Our place looks like a junkyard already!" But in Dad’s mind, a rusty axle was the promise of a new wagon and a pile of boards was a bench or a stool or a set of shelves for the shop. That's the way it was. It seemed that they rarely agreed about anything.

Dad told us that combing the junkpiles was a regular thing he and his folks did when he was a kid, because they didn't have much. He told us often that he and his brother, Tommie, used to play with broom straws, the closest thing to a toy that they had.

He took us to places where he and his folks had squatted—that’s what he called it—during
the Depression, in deserted log cabins with dirt floors. I remember one place, in particular, east of Ronan. We didn’t stop to explore it, although I wanted to. I couldn’t ask because Mom had insisted that we keep moving. But I can still see that place—a very old, desolate log house surrounded by tall grass that reached past the paneless dark windows. It looked big enough for only one or two rooms on the ground floor, plus an attic or loft, judging by the small window beneath the point of the roof.

I get the same hollow feeling inside every time I think about that place, the same feeling I got the first time I saw it, at the age of nine or ten. I felt sad for the little boy who was now my father, and puzzled over why he had to live in places like that, with no running water or things to play with.

They had lived all over the state and Dad knew the country like the back of his hand. He’d be driving along and pointing off in the distance at a hawk or a mountain or an old farmhouse, and Mom would be saying, "Red! Watch the road!" Or he’d say something like, "That’s where Chief Joseph cut up over the Divide and crisscrossed it like a jackrabbit and the whole goddamned U.S. Cavalry couldn’t catch up with him!"

Dad was a World War II veteran and read everything he could find on the history of war. He served in the U.S. naval campaign in the South Pacific. I grew up on his sea stories—war stories on the sea. He told cowboy stories, too, since his dad—they called him Pop—was one of the original cowboys, and one of the last. Actually he was an Indian who was also a cowboy, or a cowboy who was an Indian, take your pick. Anyway, Dad was fascinated with military strategy and especially interested in George Armstrong Custer. He read a lot of books about Custer when I
was young and he used to brag about Custer’s abilities as a general.

In my grade school years, I read everything I could find on the Old West, especially about the so-called Indian Wars. By that time, I was well aware of the fact of my Native heritage and I was eager to find out details about this subject that no one would speak of. The more I read, the more perplexed I became. I couldn't figure out why Dad admired Custer so much, while at the same time he seemed just as proud of Chief Joseph. I wanted to ask him, but I couldn't find a way to do it. I was afraid he'd get mad at me just for bringing it up.

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Dad liked to sing and tell stories. He'd come in from the barn and sing us to sleep with cowboy songs that he learned from his dad. My favorites were *Little Joe the Wrangler* and *The Streets of Laredo*. Or he would tell us stories about his dad's adventures or his own stories about World War II. He could go on for days about that and sometimes did. Maybe that's where I got the knack for listening. Of course, we weren't allowed to interrupt grownups when they talked.

The World War II story that I remember best is the one about the Battle of Santa Cruz, in late October, 1942. This was early in the war and the sea battles with the Japanese were constant and ferocious. Dad was in charge of the fire crew on the Smith, a naval destroyer. In the middle of the battle a crippled Japanese plane hit the deck right next to the powder magazine, full of ammunition for the one-and-a-half-inch antiaircraft guns that could fire two-pound projectiles two miles high. Orders came from the Bridge for all hands to abandon ship, so the crew began to run and men started jumping over the side. Dad was running with them when it struck him that he’d never make it home to his wife and daughter if he jumped. He was a Fireman First Class and
grabbed the nearest five guys and they turned around and headed for the magazine. Bodies were all over the deck and hanging off the side, and flames were everywhere. They knew they would all be dead ducks if the magazine went up, so they formed a line and Dad and another guy went in and picked up the smoking ammunition cases, and handed them out, one by one, to be thrown overboard. They emptied it just in time and then moved on to hose out the deck fires. They were all credited with saving the ship and won the Navy Cross for heroism.

When I was in the fifth grade, Dad taught the seventh-graders in the Methodist Sunday School. His class was very popular and each Sunday more kids showed up, and some came in from other classes. I could see them from my classroom and they seemed to be having more fun than I was. In our class, we had to read this boring book called *In Wisdom and in Stature*, but Dad's class seemed to be either laughing a lot or dead quiet. I couldn't tell what Dad was talking about, but he kept their attention.

One morning Mrs. Sulier, the Sunday School Superintendent, checked up to see why so many kids were packed in Dad's room and spilling out into the hall. When she found out he was telling World War II stories in weekly installments, she gave him hell, so he quit and never went back. I heard him tell Mom about it and I felt bad for him because I thought Mrs. Sulier hurt his feelings. I didn't like her very much after that.

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Around 1955, when I was about nine, I started reading a whole series of frontier stories. My heroes were Jim Bridger, Tom Fitzpatrick, Sacagawea, Baptiste Charbonneau, Crazy Horse, and Black Hawk. But *Friday, the Arapaho Indian* was my favorite book and my hero of heroes.
I read that book over and over and grieved every time when Friday led his people to surrender to the Whites, after the long years of struggle during the 1870s and '80s. I wondered why it hurt so much. The pictures are still in my mind, the people riding into the fort, stricken, starved, defeated. I lived in the Northern Rockies when I was reading these books. I felt the frontier all around me, the landscape of siege. I knew these were our people, even though we weren't supposed to talk about it in 1955.

After reading stories like *Friday, The Arapaho Indian* and *Fur Trappers of the Old West*, I'd ask Dad about his mother and her people. I always got the same answer. He'd look at the floor, shake his head, and almost whisper, "I dunno. They were Chippewa or Cree or both. My mother used to say we were French-Canadian, some kind of halfbreeds. I dunno. It doesn't matter anyway. The White man won and the Indians have about all died off now. It's just water under the bridge. It's history." He'd shake his head and stare at the floor. He wouldn't look at me, and then he'd get quiet and seem to go deep into himself, and I'd wander off, confused. I felt like crying. Sometimes I did.

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Mom and Dad just didn't want to talk about it. They'd get angry when I brought it up and explain that my sisters and I were really White, since we were only about a sixty-fourth Cherokee on Pop's (Dad's dad’s) side and no one knew anything about Gramma's (his mother's) family, so that didn't count. It wasn't until years later that I found out that she was almost a fullblood. She'd done such a good job of hiding it. They warned me that it wasn't a subject for polite conversation and I should never mention it in public.
Both of my parents’ families had lived in the Flathead Valley since around 1910, and they didn’t seem to notice that everybody knew that Dad was a halfbreed or part-Indian, as they used to call it. That meant that my sisters and I were Indian, too. But Mom and Dad decided we were White and they had me convinced for a while. I guess I believed that if I didn't speak of being Indian, I wouldn't be, and in a way I was right.

Dad hadn't kept in touch with his relatives, except for Uncle Tommie and Aunt Alice, his brother and sister. I was in my late teens before I found out that he had hundreds of relatives who lived all around us in Montana and Canada. So, for the most part, the only relatives I knew growing up were Massachusetts Puritans and Norwegian Lutherans from Minnesota. I used to watch them patronize my dad. I didn't know the word then, but I knew the feeling.

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Dad didn't talk much about his mother, but he had a lot of stories about his dad (Pop). Uncle Tommie was the same way. He could go on and on about Pop’s cowboy adventures. One time I asked him to tell me about Gramma, and he said, "Oh, she was just a squaw." I felt my stomach turn and I wanted to run away. Until then, I'd pretty much worshiped Uncle Tommie. A few years later I wrote a poem about that incident and when he read it, he wrote me a special letter to tell me he was sorry. He said he had no idea why he'd said something like that to me and he really felt bad about it. I understood and, to this day, he’s still my favorite uncle.

I remember a couple of stories Dad used to tell about Gramma. One was about the time, when he was about five, he picked her a bouquet of mustardweed and she grabbed it, threw it in the trash, and yelled at him for picking weeds. He told that story many times. At first he would sort
of laugh, but I can't forget how he'd get the same sad, faraway look on his face. I can see him looking down, shaking his head. I got the idea that she was often harsh and mistreated him. But I could tell that he really loved her and looked up to her. He would talk about how hard her life was, and he seemed to understand why she wasn't always as loving as she might have been, otherwise.

Another story he told a lot was something that happened when he was about four years old. His mother left home. She just walked off down the road and wouldn't look back or say goodbye. He ran after her, crying and begging her not to go, but she sent him back and kept on going. He thought she was gone for good.

She and Pop had had a fight about her relatives. She wanted to have them for a visit, but Pop wouldn't let them set foot on the place anymore. He told her they were no-good Indians who ate them out of house and home every time they showed up. After a few days, Pop went looking for Gramma and brought her back. He found her down by Paradise, staying with her half-sister, Ruby. Dad drove off and left us a couple times, but he always came right back.

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I thought it was strange how Dad would clam up when I’d ask him about his mother and her people. And then at other times, he’d recall something out of the blue and make it a long story. Every once in a awhile, he’d bring up the fact that his Uncle Ed St. Germaine, Gramma’s half-brother, spent five years in Montana State Prison at Deer Lodge for stealing a sheep. It was during the Depression and his family was going hungry. Dad was a teenager and Uncle Ed sent him and Uncle Tommie presents he made in prison—pretty beadwork and leather belts. Dad said those were some of the nicest presents he ever got.
He said one of his best memories was the time they piled into an old jalopy they had and drove way up the Sun River from Choteau, where they lived at the time. They went to visit his mother’s people—her mother, sisters, brothers, aunts, uncles, and cousins. They were living in a teepee village on the river. Dad was pretty small and just remembered a lot of Indian people, a lot of teepees, and that he got to eat all the beef jerky he wanted.

Another time they drove from Choteau a long way up into the Cascade Mountains west of Great Falls to visit his mother’s grandparents. Dad said they drove all day and finally came to a place way back in the trees, at about eight or nine thousand feet. There was a cabin, a corral, three or four mean-sounding dogs, a couple of horses, and a big woodpile. They sat there waiting in the car for a long time. Finally, this great big redheaded halfbreed—“just like me”—as Dad put it, came out and asked them in. It was the first and last time Dad ever saw his great grandfather. He heard years later that the man died up there in those mountains, chopping wood. He was ninety-eight years old.

Aunt Alice told me that this grandfather’s name was McPherson and that some of his forebears were Scottish fur traders who had married into Cree and Chippewa tribes in Western Canada. I guess that’s where Dad got his freckles and bright red hair. He used to say, with a twinkle in his eye, “I’m a throwback”; then he’d throw back his head and laugh like hell. He liked to say, “My mother used to call me ‘Tete Rouge de Jab,’ which was Cayuse French for Red-headed Devil (tete rouge diable).”

Dad didn’t know why they were living way up there, but I found out later that they were hiding from the law. They weren’t U.S. citizens; they were Canadian First Nations refugees from
the last Riel Rebellion of 1885. Hundreds of Cree, Chippewa, and Metis people, who fought in the rebellion against the Canadian government, fled into Montana and the Dakotas to escape arrest for treason. They became known as the Landless Indians of Montana and, among the Whites, by other less savory terms, such as “renegade British Crees,” “Canadian beggars,” “renegade British Crees,” and “lazy halfbreeds” (Ewers, 1974, p. 117). Without land, reservation status, or other resources, they wandered from place to place looking for food in the towns and living off the land by hunting and fishing. The Montana ranchers rounded them up and herded them like cattle back to Canada, every chance they got. During the Great Depression, the Federal Writers’ Project, in a history of Montana, described their lives there between 1870 and 1916, when they were awarded a reservation of their own:

From deer and elk skins they made moccasins, shirts, and beaded belts, to sell to white men, until stopped by game laws. Then they lived by gathering thousands of tons of buffalo bones scattered over the plains and stacking them in immense piles at the railroad stations. When the bones were gone they gathered the horns, and polished them for souvenirs. When the horns, the buffalo’s last gift to them, were gone, they faced starvation. They built flimsy huts, and made stoves of iron washtubs taken from city dumps to save their scanty fuel. These stoves overheated, and made the air in the huts so foul that sickness followed. Harried by police and ruffians, the Indian women searched garbage cans, gathered offal from slaughterhouses, and even used the flesh of the occasional horse or cow found dead on the plains for food. (The Federal Writers’ Project, 1939, p. 350)
It took me a long time to piece together the story of Dad’s mother’s—Gramma’s—family. She was very secretive about who they were, their tribal connections, and where they came from. She taught her kids to “avoid being Indians” whenever they could—to pass. By the time she got out of the Indian boarding schools run by Catholic nuns at Fort Shaw, St. Peter’s, and St. Ignatius, she hated Indians and herself for being one. She would get furious if anyone ever brought it up. I didn’t learn this until much later.

But as far back as I can remember through my growing up years, I was bothered and confused by the tattered recollections, the fragmented story of the family lost to me, and the taboo against speaking of it. I couldn’t figure out what was so bad about being Indian and why I didn’t know most of Dad’s relations. I felt that he was missing something that I couldn’t put into words, a whole big part of himself that he couldn’t talk about, and so I had a piece of myself missing, too. The only thing I was sure of was that I didn’t know who I was.

I couldn’t get these questions out of my mind and I was determined to find out the whole story, if it was the last thing I did. It wasn’t until I got out of high school and away from home that I was able to talk to people about it without getting completely tongue-tied and upset, and to figure out how to get to the bottom of it all.

Part II

I’m going to tell you now what I found out from Dad’s brother and sister, Uncle Tommie and Aunt Alice, and some of the other relatives that I eventually tracked down.

Gramma (Dad’s mother) was born on the Ides of March, like Dad always said, in 1889, in
North Battleford, Saskatchewan. Her grandparents were Cree, Chippewa, Chippewa-Sioux, and descended from French and Scottish fur traders. Her name was Anna Marie Youpe (you-pee or you-pay). In the following year, Indian Territory was thrown open for White settlement and the land-crazed homesteaders staked out two million acres in one day. That was also the year that the great flu, whooping cough, and measles epidemic hit the Sioux people, and the Ghost Dance was catching on strong in Indian country all over the West. A couple of months before Gramma's second birthday, Sitting Bull was murdered and the U.S. Cavalry massacred Big Foot's people at Wounded Knee.

Gramma was four when she came to Montana with her mother, Angeline, and three brothers, Frank, Joe, and Louis. They came over in a wagon, probably what they called a halfbreed cart. Aunt Alice liked to tell the story of how Gramma remembered riding in the back of the wagon and drinking the baby's milk because she was so hungry. She told Alice that she felt guilty all her life for drinking that milk.

Gramma's father died in that wagon somewhere along the way. Aunt Alice, who was a registered nurse, said that the best she could make of her mother's story was that his kidneys must have stopped working for some reason.

Nobody knows for sure just where he died. Alice had the idea that he never made it to Montana—that he died somewhere around Swift Current, not far north of Cree Crossing, where the Milk River crosses the Montana border. But, according to another story that Dad told a lot, Gramma was evidently convinced that he died in Montana and was buried somewhere in the Flathead Valley. Dad had a vivid memory of a day in the dead of summer, around 1924, when he
went with Gramma to look for her father's grave. She searched all over the Catholic cemetery at the Flathead Mission, but they never found it. I can still see Dad as a little boy, about five years old, dragging around in the heat and dust behind his mother. He said that they spent that whole day going around to different cemeteries in the Valley, searching for that grave, and that Gramma was heartsick when she finally gave up.

As I said before, Gramma and her family were refugees from the second Riel Rebellion. That's another story. But her granddad, Louis Thomas, was killed in it. Neither Dad nor his brother and sister had ever heard of the Rebellion when I came across a book about it, poking around in a library, at the age of thirty-five. I was still looking for our history. Based on things some of the other relatives told me when I looked them up in the summer of 1980, I think Louis Riel was one of Gramma's heroes, even though she never spoke of it. She named her kids Thomas Louis, Louis Thomas, and Alice Relle, which was always kind of a family joke, until I came up with the theory that she was secretly leaving a message.

Pop and Gramma met at the Hysham Ranch in Eastern Montana, over toward Miles City and Custer Battlefield. Gramma worked there as the cook and housekeeper. As I mentioned, she was educated by the nuns at Fort Shaw and the St. Peter’s and Flathead Missions and finished the eighth grade, which was a good education for anyone at the turn of the century. Her folks left her and her brothers in the Indian boarding schools because they didn't have a place to live. The adults lived like nomads, fishing and hunting, living off the land. The Flathead was one of their favorite hunting spots, which was why—I figured out eventually—I came to grow up there. Gramma had a pretty good education, but she could get only maid work because she was an Indian—and a
woman. Dad liked to brag that she was musical. He'd say, "She could play the mandolin and piano like nobody's business, and she could sing like a bird!"

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Aunt Alice used to say, "Pop's mama wore blankets," then she'd laugh. Pop was a halfbreed, too, Irish and Cherokee. I don't like the word halfbreed, but that's what they were called in those days. He said he was born in Trinidad, Colorado, but nobody knows for sure. He covered his trail pretty well. No one knows for sure why. He and his brother, Watson, showed up in the 1910 census that said they were born in Minnesota, which never made any sense at all. But who knows? Uncle Tommie thinks he was an outlaw for part of his younger years before he met Gramma. It is true that he never sat anywhere with his back to the door. He always said that if he had ever killed a man, it was when he was twenty-one, when he and his partner were rustling cattle in Mexico. They had a shootout with some Mexican riders and got pinned down in a draw. They had to shoot their horses, and they escaped by sneaking away on foot in the middle of the night.

Pop never wanted to talk much about his past or his people. We don't even know his mother's name, but we think it might be Judith, because Uncle Tommie said that whenever they drove through Judith Gap—over on the other side of the Crazy Mountains, northwest of Billings—Pop would remark that it reminded him of his mother. Uncle Tommie looked through census and birth records in just about all the small towns from Trinidad to Tulsa, trying to track down Pop's family, but he never had any luck.

One thing Pop would talk about was his life as a cowpuncher. He worked on the XIT
Ranch, one of the biggest outfits in Texas. They used 1500 miles of barbed wire when they finally fenced it off. Also, Pop worked for Sam Houston’s son for a while. In Old Mexico, he worked for a man known as the Cattle King of Chihuahua, Don Luis Terrazas, which Uncle Tommie found out when he read *From the Pecos to the Powder*, the autobiography of an old cowboy named Bob Kennon. Terrazas owned a million head of cattle, three thousand horses, and eleven million acres in those years before the Mexican revolution, which “later broke him….” (Kennon, 1965, p. 53). Writing about the last great cattle drives from Texas to Montana, Kennon says that Tom Cotrell (Pop) was a good friend of his, a good cowhand, and one of the last cowboys:

Taking this job [with Terrazas] was the turning point of my life. I had only been working there a few months when Mr. Broadus and Mr. Hysham, two cowmen from Montana, together with their foreman, Mr. Baker, came down to buy steers.

They bought two thousand Mexican steers from Terrazas, and Baker was to trail them north to Montana. Baker asked Bill Nort and Tom Cotrell, a Terrazas cowhand, myself, and a few others to come along up the trail….If a fellow had never been up to Montana on a cattle drive, he wasn’t considered much of a cowman. I held back, though, until Mr. Broadus agreed to pay me a monthly wage of forty dollars for the trip…. On the whole, ours was a good outfit, agreeable and happy go lucky. Tom Cotrell and I became close friends. We stuck together, and believe me, we helped each other out of many a tough spot during the long drive north. There was also a one-eyed half-breed Mexican who used to stand guard with me at night. Sometimes he’d sing to us, and he had a fine
tenor voice. He knew how to sing to the herd, too, and seemed to have a knack of soothing them. Bill Nort, Tom Cotrell, and myself stayed in Montana. We had reached Miles City on July 4, 1897, and I was approaching the end of my twentieth year. (Kennon, 1965, pp. 54-62)

They arrived in Miles City about a month after Pop’s nineteenth birthday. By that time, he had already put in six or seven years as a cowhand. He stayed on in the Land of the Shining Mountains. That’s what they called Montana then and some people still do.

Pop also broke horses for Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders. Dad and Uncle Tommie used to laugh about that—how Pop would say they’d rope those wild broncos, one by one, and by the time they rode them a quarter mile into the corral, they were broke! They said Pop used to laugh like hell every time he told that story.

He was born on June 6, 1878, less than a year after Chief Joseph surrendered at the Bear's Paw and two years after the Lakotas and Cheyennes beat the hell out of Custer at the Little Bighorn. Evidently Pop left home when he was about twelve. Uncle Tommie says that Pop's parents were starving and couldn't take care of him. Maybe he ran away from an Indian school or a reservation. He never did want to be what he called a reservation Indian. In 1928, the Flatheads tried to get him to enroll Tommie and Dad and the whole family, but he ran them off with a shotgun. Mrs. Burgess, a friend of theirs, had told the Tribe about the Cotrells. She knew they were close to starving and could use some help. But Pop didn’t want to be ordered around; he despised the idea of having to have a pass every time he went off the Reservation. I can't blame him. But that's how I missed my chance to be a Flathead.
Pop went on his first cattle drive from Texas to Montana when he was thirteen. That would have been around 1891, right after the Wounded Knee Massacre. He rode that whole country from Miles City to Fort Peck to Great Falls. He was a friend of the western painter, Charley Russell, and one time, when Dad wasn’t much more than three, he sat on Russell's lap at the Silver Dollar Bar in Great Falls and recited one of Russell's poems that Pop had taught him. He used to recite it a lot when we were kids and I learned it by heart. It's called "Here's to the Days of the Open Range":

Here's to the days of the open range

When the grass God planted was free

And there wasn't a fence from the Mexican gulf

North to the Arctic Sea.

Those good old days are gone, boys,

The cowman's had his day.

The farmer's here with his fence and his plow

And it looks like he's here to stay.

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When Pop met Gramma, she already had Aunt Alice. Alice's dad was a Swedish stagecoach driver by the name of Dale. He deserted Gramma before Alice was born, so she never knew her real father. She was crazy about Pop, but she never got over how he left her for months at a time at the Indian schools at Fort Shaw and St. Ignatius, over several years during the Depression. She says they put her in those schools to save money on food.
Gramma got her naturalization papers when she married Pop, and they each got a 160-acre homestead on the Fairfield Bench near Bolle, outside of Choteau. They had about 300 head of beef cattle, but in the hard winter of 1919, the cattle froze to death and they lost everything. Dad was born that February. They packed a few things in boxes and got on a train heading northwest toward Glacier Park. Pop got a job on a fox farm and split ties for the Great Northern Railway. They lived in the timber for a couple of years. The way Dad tells it, "Pop cut down trees and sawed 'em into lengths, hued 'em with a broad axe, and carried 'em on his shoulder out to the road, where a sleigh picked 'em up. He did a lot of hard work to make a livin'."

Dad's folks died in 1946. He was twenty-seven; I wasn't quite a year old. Gramma went first; she was only fifty-seven. Pop died six months later. He was sixty-eight. Dad says Pop missed Gramma so much that he died of a broken heart.

Part III

This is what Gramma Brushhorn told me when I met her in 1980, in Poplar, on the Fort Peck Sioux Reservation in eastern Montana. She went to Fort Shaw Indian School with Gramma (Dad’s mother), and they were like sisters. Gramma’s brother, Frank Youpe, married Gramma Brushhorn and was adopted by the Fort Peck Tribe. Gramma Brushhorn was ninety-three when I met her. I'd driven up from L.A. by myself to meet all the relatives on the Eastern Side, the ones I'd never met and had wondered about all those years.

When I arrived, I went into the Tribal Office to find out where my Uncle Bill (Frank’s son) lived. I said to the receptionist, my name is Gretchen Cotrell and I’m looking for my Uncle Bill
Youpe.” She smiled and said, “Hi. My name is Gretchen Youpe. Bill is my father.” She offered her hand and I accepted it. Here’s what Gramma Brushhorn said:

"...the Chippewa...the Little Shell Band...they didn't have a place to go. Poor Annie (Gramma) worked in Culbertson. She was kind of smart. She worked as a clerk and stayed here with us for two or three years. Poor Annie...she was well-educated. I took care of her, after that guy deserted her....I said, ‘I’ll take care of you. You don't have to pay.’ She liked Culbertson. She was real nice. I liked her. She tried to pay me. She gave me ten dollars but I wouldn’t take it....

"We lived in the mountains around Great Falls when we were kids. I was called Helen Lester. I didn’t have an Indian name. I don't talk Indian that good. People laugh at me....

"I like the mountains the best. I like to live up there you know. We lived by a creek...a running creek. I don't remember the name. Our house was on top of a hill....The Chippewas and the Crees, they don't have a reservation...they just live anywhere. My man (Gramma's brother, Frank)—his folks lived near Choteau, right across the river. We lived there a couple of years. Annie, she was real nice. I never met Frank's father, never knew him. All my family liked Frank, so they adopted him into the Sioux tribe. All my fathers are kind of chieftains-like. They liked him. We used to go to the Indian dances. Frank danced. He liked it. And then we cooked grub and took it to the dances. Helped them with the grub. Them chieftains adopted him just like one of us and he can get payments....

"We went to school at Fort Shaw. We called the superintendent “Shoe-Pack,” “Yellow Leather,” and “Um-Zee.” We liked him so we went with him to Fort Shaw."
"In November they issue. We get shawls, blankets, all kinds of muslin, all kinds of cotton flannel, blankets, goods of all kinds. And you know these skirts with borders—two yards—the folks have to make them themselves. And they issue shoes, two pairs for one year. Stockings—we don't have to buy anything. The government furnishes everything. Gray flannel blankets with a black and navy border. We each get one in the family. My folks make three, four trips.

"Tom (Pop)—he was part-Indian, some kind of Indian anyway. He sure was a nice man. All the Indians always hire him for this and for that. He was a nice man. Alice, she became a registered nurse. She was real light. Her brothers told her not to send us money but she did. One time she said, ‘I don't like Uncle Frank—he called me a ghost.’

"Annie stayed with us quite a long time. She was welcome as long as she wanted to stay. Poor Annie. She had a tough time. Her mother, Angeline, lived right across the river from us in Choteau. On the west side, right across the bridge. She wasn't very old, a little over middle age. Annie was a kind-hearted woman. She always baked when she had time. We used to go to Glacier Park to get fish. We Sissetons, we eat fish. I always ride with Frank. Any doings there was, we'd go to it on horseback, before we had children. After we had children, we go in a sleigh or a wagon. At Sun River, Frank's mother (Great Gramma Angeline)—they always had fresh meat—deer meat, elk meat, bear meat...."
Afterword: Subjective Interpretation and Theoretical Ground

...consciousness is the historically concrete production of meaning, and every historical situation contains ideological ruptures and offers possibilities for social transformation.
Madan Sarup (1993, p. 187)

Contemporary feminist scholars have observed that many recent autobiographical writings of mestiza, mixedblood, and other mixed race women embody radical challenges to European or Euroamerican views of postcolonial realities. The stark differences between the self-perceptions of the conquered and their descendants and Eurocentric constructions of them constitute one of the most notable and important of these challenges. Corbett’s observation that it is "imperative to think about subjectivities as historically and culturally located in formations of gender, race, sexuality, nation, and class..." (1995, p. 481) is particularly useful to the project of elucidating mixed race identity and experience. This catalytic postmodern idea inheres in current feminisms prominent among a manifold interdisciplinary literature that has flourished in the past half-century, prefigured and pioneered by modern and postmodern thinkers--Kant, Nietzsche, Lacan, Foucault, Gramsci, Jakobson, Jameson, and Merleau-Ponty, to name a few.

Contemporary scholars and writers in the arts, humanities, and social sciences have produced a wealth of related academic and creative works spanning—indeed enlarging—the genre spectrum. Such works challenge the positivist scientific tradition and long-held Western academic and cultural notions about values and convention, the interpretation of human experience and expression, and, ultimately, the nature, source, and limits of knowledge.

During this period, subjective perception and implied multiple realities have become axial in critical studies such as critical race theory, and in the noticeable upsurge of critical perspectives such

In postmodern thought, the world is comprised of text, referring to all writings, architecture, painting, information systems and all forms of attempted representation. In the case of writing, according to literary phenomenology and post-structuralism, meaning is neither final nor universal nor wholly contained in a given text; rather, it is a temporal process that occurs within the reader in interaction with the text. It changes and develops in the course of that process, and depends on both the writer’s and reader’s unique frames of reference shaped by psychosocial, linguistic, and epistemological constraints— their cultural and historical contexts, personalities, genders, education, and experiences (Leitch, 1988; Ashcroft, 1995). In the words of Merleau-Ponty,

(t)he phenomenological world is not pure being, but the sense which is revealed where the paths of my various experiences intersect, and also where my own and other people’s intersect and engage each other like gears. It is thus inseparable from subjectivity and intersubjectivity, which find their unity when I either take up my past experiences in those of the present, or other people’s in my own. (Merleau-Ponty, 1973, p. 83)

In this vein, reading and interpretation constitute a relationship process between writer and reader in accord with our general “participation in the world [that] involves the projection of our deepest hopes, fears, and needs onto reality….” (McCaffery, 1982, p. 6). The reader of an autobiography,
personal narrative, or autoethnography is not exempt from this subjective/intersubjective process.

The foregoing autoethnographic narrative engages and challenges Euro-dominant constructs of mixedblood (First Nations-Euroamerican) identity, in the spirit of postmodern criticism of Grand Theories and decontextualized “objectivity” of traditional social science (Spry, 2001; Reed-Danahay, 1997; Denzin, 1997). By characterizing this work as autoethnographic in form and method, I call attention to it as a variant of—or synthesis of—autobiography and ethnography, as explicated by Pratt (1991) and Reed-Danahay (1997).

Pratt proffers the concept of authoethnography as a particular self-narrative that arises in contact zones, those historical and “social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today” (p. 34). Contact zones are elsewhere termed “planes of contest” (Ashley, 1987, pp. 109-110, as cited in Rosenau [1992]) on which the collision of polities produces inevitably the silencing, dispersal, and consignment of the conquered to the margins.

According to the cultural and literary critic, Frederic Jameson (1981), each of us “discovers” reality through stories or narrative. Or, obversely, reality come to us in the form of stories, which we, in turn, translate to ourselves through the linguistic meaning grid that we have been given by our first interpreters and teachers, usually parents or parental figures (Sarup, 1993). In the case of conquered peoples, this process requires “decolonization,” if one is to understand oneself and one’s life context.

Through autoethnography, as self-reflexive self-narrative, the author-subject examines her
experience and perceptions in relation to the hegemonized social world. One discovers and explores one’s own colonized consciousness and deconstructs its inherited “knowledge” and “reality,” established by pre-existing power, authority, and institutions (Kosasa, 2001; Gramsci, 1971). One decolonizes oneself by throwing off definitions of one’s self, one’s identity, imposed by colonial externalities. One replaces them with self-produced new knowledge based on the recovery, revaluation, and reclamation of indigenous validity and one’s own interpretations of experience in multivariate context—the contact zones of history, geography, language, culture, color, gender, and class (Irving & Young, 2002; Spry, 2001; Ferber, 2000; Flores, 1990; Jameson, 1981).

“Sticks and Stones and Buffalo Bones” depicts and reflects particular contact zones—First Nations / Euroamerican—in a narrative journey upstream through history, in which the writer explores, from the present into the past, word-of-mouth ancestral portraits, each of which illuminates and deepens the picture immediately preceding it. That is, the narrative segments are conceived as curtains behind curtains, or a series of pictorial backdrops, historically, culturally, and geographically located, and layered in time. In Part I, the narrator looks back to her childhood, then to her father’s memories and tales; in Part II, she goes further back to her grandparents’ history, through her memory of her father’s and his siblings’ memories; and in Part III, she recounts her grandmother’s life as remembered by her aged friend.

This is a first-hand account of the narrator’s evolving identity in postcolonial context, the aftermath of conquest. It is a story of loss—lost history, lost family, and lost connection with her paternal ancestry. Aware of her entrapment in a history of cultural destruction and the taboo status
of halfbreed, she retrieves the past through imaginative remembrance and reconstructs herself out of silence.

This is a true story of a contemporary First Nations mixedblood woman. It is my story. It is a story still in the making; parts are still missing, still to be discovered in fact and imagined through synthesis. I tell this story from the standpoint of an emergent postcolonial- postmodern individual becoming ever more informed by experience, observation, reflection and self-examination, thus ever more self-aware and (self)conscious. I think, I feel, I imagine, I bear witness, in the tradition of Kristeva’s “speaking subject” or “subject in process” working toward an identity achievement that continually develops but is always necessarily incomplete (Rosenau, 1992, pp. 58-59). Only I can discover, make sense of, and tell my story; that process is vital to self-understanding and authentic comprehension of my world (Foner, 2002; Witkin, 2000; Garrett, 1996; Pratt, 1990; Jameson, 1981). I feel a deep resonance with the words of a contemporary Cherokee man:

I think who I am, is that I truly am two people, matter of fact, Doc Amoneeta Sequoyah used to call me “Gagoyoti” in other words, “two people.” In Cherokee, that’s a way of saying, well, you’re this and you’re that. For me, a lot of my conflicts in earlier years were because I wasn’t sure who I was. Was I Indian, was I white, you know, what was a mixture of a person, where did I belong? I knew deep down inside, I didn’t belong with that class of people who felt that they were better than others. And I knew that the people that I came from, the Cherokees, there was something very special. (Garrett, 1996, p. 18)

I considered writing my own story long before I happened upon Pratt’s and others’ similar
writings or consciously engaged postmodern thought. I began to write disparate notes about vivid childhood memories that I had carried around in my head for so many years—of my own experiences and of stories I’d heard about my father and his family. As I pieced them together, I became increasingly aware of their emblematic significance to my sense of self, one that felt painfully confused and helpless to articulate persistent, haunting questions about the facts of my Native origins shrouded in shame and enforced forgetting.

I embarked on my search for completion and self-affirmation long before I knew what feminism was, but my eventual reading of Sylvia Plath, Anne Sexton, Ntozake Shange, Ai, Tillie Olsen, Leslie Silko, Nikki Giovanni, Wendy Rose, Toni Morrison, Paula Gunn Allen, Adrienne Rich, Hum-ishu-ma, Audre Lourde, Beatrice Culleton, Gloria Anzaldua, and Beth Brant emboldened and enlivened my quest. From these and many other women writers and scholars, I drew strength and courage to persist.

In the main, First Nations women writers have expanded the lost identity theme to encompass the experience of mixedblood or halfbreed Native women. Paula Gunn Allen has written at length on the subject. In Spiderwoman's Granddaughters (1989), she points out four "fundamental facts of life" for Native people: First, that our communal existence with all living things is central to our lives and basic to our aesthetic stances; secondly, that conventional belief holds us to be extinct or nearly so; thirdly, that Native near invisibility to dominant American eyes is compounded for First Nations women to the point of virtual nonexistence; and, finally, that, as First Nations peoples, we can never forget our status as occupied or conquered peoples, which fact is the constant backdrop for "our tales of love, death, separation, and continuance" (p. 9).
The upstreaming format of my narrative—from present to past—follows the chronological direction of my quest to understand my world and ‘who I was.’ That is, my evolving experience of the world became an increasingly conscious and deliberate quest to understand myself relative to the facts of my mixed heritage. Pieces of that story are presented roughly in the order of occurrence of key remembered events as I experienced them, and stories and anecdotes as I heard them from the primary figures of my “growing-up” world.

My increasing consciousness of myself as something more than a “little White girl” who happened to be growing up on the Flathead Reservation constituted a progressive accretion of stories in my mind, heart, and very bones. As I moved forward in time from childhood, my self-awareness and self-understanding grew by moving further and further backward into history. Early memories of childhood experiences expanded to curiosities and subsequent gathering of impressions, ideas, information, longings, and grief from the memories of my elders—my father’s, grandparents’, then great grandparents’ stories of their lives.

Embarrassed or stubborn silences, implied omissions, discomfited hesitations were sometimes subtle, sometimes glaring, ingredients of those storytelling events, as I listened to my elders, commented, and asked many questions that they were often loathe to answer. Some of my recurrent questions were “What tribe are we from?”, “Where are our Indian relatives?”, “Why don’t we ever see them?” My father’s typical responses were composed of long silences, downcast eyes, his head shaking slowly side-to-side, sometimes a muffled “I don’t know…our mother wouldn’t tell us…” These spoke volumes to me of bottomless sadness, shame, and bewilderment, which I internalized.
I was treading on taboo territory, delving into a subject both my parents warned me repeatedly not to speak of outside our home. Clearly, they were extremely uncomfortable discussing it in our home. I received loud and clear the confusing and destructive message that only my whiteness—my mother's European heritage—was acceptable, real, and valid. How could I be whole if only half of me was real and valued, the other half associated only with shame, loss, poverty, conquest?

Gradually, in my teens, with painful effort and against their wishes, I began to separate myself from my parents' confusion, fears, and prohibitions, and more and more vigorously replace them with my own affirmation, my own “yes” to the whole of my self. I resolved to find my other family and history. At the time, I certainly did not understand the full significance of other. I sought out my father’s brother and sister for more information. I went to Eastern Montana to meet many of what I discovered to be hundreds of Chippewa, Cree, and Lakota relatives. I asked questions and listened to their stories.

Eventually, through long years of research and writing about the mixedblood experience, I discovered that my experience was not unique, but repeated in hundreds of thousands of lives throughout the Americas, in the racist aftermath of centuries of European conquest. I had engaged unknowingly in what Kristeva (1981), Cixous (1986), Irigaray (1991), Gunn Allen (1989), and a host of other women (and men) writers and scholars had already formulated and described—or were writing about, simultaneously—in narrative and theoretical depth: I had found my own history, my own voice. I had rediscovered and reconstructed my self.

Although this is a story of a Native woman in the aftermath of conquest, it might be any
woman’s, anywhere—or anyone’s—who has felt lost, invisible, irretrievably miscast in a world of
constricted roles, truncated possibilities, and alien or conflicting traditions. Perhaps you who read
this may be emboldened to search out the empty chapters of your own stories, to find the missing
pieces, make real and clear the dim, the uncertain, the forgotten. Most of you who read this will be
social workers and I hope you will be reinvigorated to watch and listen for those lost, hidden,
troubled interiors where so many women and men dwell silently—so as to make contact and keep
them company on their journeys to self-discovery and self-rediscovery, to be there as they learn to
give voice to the unspoken but essential substance of their lives.

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Exercises

1. A decolonization strategy to raise awareness among non-Native students of the potential identity struggles of Mixedblood individuals:

   Imagine that you are a child of a mixed marriage: Your mother is White/Euroamerican and your father is a light-skinned Navajo and prominent in the Navajo community. You are a citizen of the United First Nations of North America (UFNNA), where 98% of the population are First Nations, Latino, African American, and Asian, while 2% are White/Euroamerican. The White minority were conquered and colonized by the First Nations five hundred years ago and have suffered from their racism ever since.

   Your parents seem to love and accept one another, but they avoid discussing the “White side” of the family and they forbid you to discuss it either at home or with others in the community. Thus, your White heritage is a taboo subject, a source of shame.

   Write an essay about this experience, in terms of thoughts and feelings you would have about your ethnic identity. What questions would you want to ask your parents about your White background? What conflicts or confusions might you experience? Describe your primary values, beliefs, and personality characteristics and try to discern which ones you learned from the influence of each parent.

2. A decolonization strategy for First Nations students to promote emotional and intellectual clarity about their ethnic identity as bicultural (First Nations/dominant culture) individuals:

   Describe your cultural heritage and identity in terms of your primary values, beliefs, and
personality characteristics. Attempt to classify them according to their Native or dominant (Euroamerican) cultural origin.

If you are a Mixedblood, try to connect these characteristics with the different First Nations of your heritage and/or with the Euroamerican aspects of your identity, as is appropriate.

In any case, describe how you think and feel about these aspects of yourself. Do your experience emotional conflict or confusion about them? Compare your feelings about the parts of your heritage. Do you feel more positive about your First Nations heritage or White heritage? Is your skin color an issue for you, as a darker-skinned person in a predominantly White society? If you are a light-skinned Mixedblood, how does your skin color affect your sense of self as a Native person? How does it affect you when you are functioning in a dominantly White milieu?
I continue to study the Psyche in the Human Organism and to create the new Fundamental Psychology.

I think, determination of Psyche in the Human Organism and creation of new real Psychology enables us to generalize and improve the World Psychology. As known, the different Countries of the World the Psychology has different a Definition. Naturally, it is the International crisis of the Psychology. That's why, I have given to Psychology the new single common International Definition. Generalization and Perfection of the World Psychology – one of the main aim and duty of new Psychology. I have generalized and improved Structure and the basic of Researches of Psychology (Below, these are described in the block - schemes).

As seen, the creation of new real, fundamental Psychology may help to eliminate crisis in the World Psychology. Besides, determination of Psyche and creation of new Psychology enables us to research the Human and Human Organism in detail.

We should study Psyche and to create new Fundamental Psychology. Because, the Psychology is a science about a Psyche ( Psychology = Psyche + logos ). Naturally, we do not have alternative roads. It is evolution of Psyche and evolution new fundamental and modern Psychology in the World Science System.
SCHOLARSHIP FOR A PIPELINE CHALLENGE:
CONFRONTING THE SEGREGATED 21ST CENTURY NEWSROOM

Sociology or Journalism

Research paper

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Scholarship for a Pipeline Challenge: Confronting The 21st Century Segregated Newsroom

By Mercedes Lynn de Uriarte, PhD

The power to define news determines who and what has value, preserves history and indicates culturally significance—key elements of social control. Silencing is a weapon of power. As a component of hegemony, power holders marginalize or censor diverse voice. In societies which assure freedom of expression, a most effective strategy takes the form of censorship by omission, including the elimination of information about whole populations. This pattern, carefully honed in the United States, led to alternative, ethnic and immigrant press. Minority voice remains marginalized. This was perhaps most comprehensively addressed by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (known as the Kerner Commission) in 1967, which called for major press and journalism education reform.

So more than a quarter century ago U.S. news organizations committed to desegregating their newsrooms. The American Society of Newspaper Editors set a goal for newsroom parity by the year 2000. At the time, fewer than 4% of all print journalists were minorities (most in the black press). Since then, integration has averaged ½ of 1% per year in print, slightly more in broadcast. Contributing to this slow change is journalism education, which still fails to seriously address this problem.

In 1989, a group of students and a professor sought to resist and reform from within by using institutional formats in alternative ways. Operating outside the norm, drawing on theory by Foucault, Garcia Canclini, Gramsci and Martin-Barbero as well as the professional cannons of journalism, a laboratory publication became part of course work for credit. This strategy succeeded in drawing individuals into journalism, producing genuine diverse voice in the form of published clips which allowed these individuals to compete for internships and jobs, the pathway to employment. Additionally, it became a model for other universities whose students included aspiring minority journalists. In 1996 the publication received the top national award for which students are eligible bestowed by leading members of the profession. Its students went on to newsrooms and law schools.

Meanwhile, the ASNE goal floundered and was cancelled in 1998. In 2003, on the 25th anniversary of the call for parity, the first assessment study—Diversity Disconnects: From Classroom to Newsroom—analyzing what went wrong, was released at the National Press Club in Washington DC. It was funded by the Ford Foundation. It set precedent by including related results of a representative, nation-wide interview survey of 615 reporters, editors and news directors exploring genetic and intellectual diversity.

This paper provides the student case study, an overview of counter hegemonic strategy, institutional resource use, obstacles and successes. It includes as well as findings related to the construction of newsroom genetic and intellectual diversity.
Title of the submission: WOMEN’S WRITING IS NOT 'JUST' ABOUT FACTS AND FIGURES, IT IS NOT JUST ANOTHER ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE-IT IS ABOUT CHANGE IN CONSCIOUSNESS.

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Abstract & full length paper both are attached herewith.
ABSTRACT

The paper proposes to discuss that women’s studies are not ‘just’ about facts and figures, it is not ‘just’ another academic discipline—it involves a different way of viewing the world. It is about change: in consciousness material and psychological circumstances in control. The paper tries to focus on medieval women writing as outlet of women’s voice ,it also comparatively discusses the criteria. What Women's Studies grapples with is the premise that if women's oppression remains deniable and women's lives-work, art, culture invisible, then there must be something in the values, standards, reason and logic of society which needs to be change. As has been stated for psychology, for theology, for biology' education and for literature to name only a few of the critiques of the present state of the academic disciplines it is men—in particular, middle-class men—who continue to control the production, the assessment and the distribution of knowledge. Consequently, (females who have succeeded in getting access to education get a male-dominated, make-oriented and male-defined education: they are guests in Men's Studies. In this male-as-the-norm ideology there is more material about men and it is accorded more significance. It is knowledge-produced, distributed and owned by men and because if focuses on men and their 'achievements' such as wars and revolutions, when women want to be successful in a man's world what else can they do but copy men's styles and become 'social males'? '...to assert that "it need not be" presumes both the ability to take the oppression of women as an object of understanding as well as to feel the oppression in a deeply Personal way.' Refusal to tolerate the conditions that we discover proceeds from the historical consciousness that the world could be different. It assumes that alternatives are possible to the historically created male-dominated structures that oppose the freedom of women.
WOMEN'S WRITING IS NOT 'JUST' ABOUT FACTS AND FIGURES, IT IS NOT JUST ANOTHER ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE-IT IS ABOUT CHANGE IN CONSCIOUSNESS

There is a considerable section of society asserting that women are better off now than they have ever been. Understandably for people who hold such beliefs, the issue of women’s oppression is either solved or almost solved but in either case no longer relevant, and a field of study that concentrates on 'women only' is not only unnecessary but a luxury not to be afforded in these dire days of economic recession. We are told, more important issues to be dealt with than whatever is left of 'the women question'. Important for whom? is the question to be asked next. Who decides what a significant issue is? Who makes the rules and who profits? Who controls? Those who deny women's economic plight are also denying the systematic violence practiced by one sex against the other and they accuse women of 'over-reacting' and 'generalizing' when we point to men's roles in incest, child abuse, prostitution, battering, clitoridectomy, sexual harassment, pornography and rape. Who are they and on what do they base then judgments? What are the assumptions, values, standards, and ways of collating and interpreting evidence that enable them not only to oppress women but to remain oblivious to the very fact that they oppress us?

It might be argued that we all have our biases and assumptions and tend to think that we are 'right' and the others are 'wrong'. And there is no doubt that one of the unquestioned assumptions in our society is that the prevailing chauvinist ideology is not just a particular way of organizing the world but the only way, Looking at this issue in a detached manner one might come to the conclusion that 'truth' and 'objectivity' do not exist anyway and that it is all a matter of degree... However, 'detachment' leaves out the fact that it is live women of all ethnicities, ages and social groups who are beaten up and raped, that it is live women who lose their jobs and are humiliated and declared inferior, that it is live women who are portrayed as sex objects in the media. And it is these value judgments which lead me to think I am 'right' to want
change: change in the theories that bolster such despicable treatment and in the praxis that affects it.

The paper projects that women's studies are not 'just' about facts and figures, it is not 'just' another academic discipline—it involves a different way of viewing the world. It is about change: in consciousness material and psychological circumstances in control. What Women's Studies grapples with is the premise that if women's oppression remains deniable and women's lives—work, art, culture invisible, then there must be something in the values, standards, reason and logic of society which needs to be change.

Females who have succeeded in getting access to education today or in past get a male-dominated, make-oriented and male-defined education: they are guests in Men's Studies. In this male-as-the-norm ideology there is more material about men and it is accorded more significance. It is knowledge-produced, distributed and owned by men and because if focuses on men and their 'achievements' such as wars and revolutions, when women want to be successful in a man's world what else can they do but copy men's styles and become 'social males'? '...to assert that "it need not be" presumes both the ability to take the oppression of women as an object of understanding as well as to feel the oppression in a deeply Personal way. Refusal to tolerate the conditions that we discover proceeds from the historical consciousness that the world could be different. It assumes that alternatives are possible to the historically created male-dominated structures that oppose the freedom of women.

Books of visions and instructional texts were usually intended for more than their immediate audiences [1], and authors often became celebrities in their own right. Julian of Norwich is mentioned in other texts, such as The Book of Margery Kempe, which suggests that she was fairly well known, and a quick comparison between the Long and Short text versions of her Revelations shows that instances of self-doubt are fewer in the later, revised manuscript. Another example of the popularity of books on the religious way of life is that, whilst books were usually translated from Latin into English, Ancrene Wisse made the inverse transition, and was set into other languages besides [2]. Though not completely accepted, ‘women’s religious lives’ was a niche already in
embryo by the time of writers such as Margery Kempe. Thus, in a medium and subject already tentatively established by previous generations of women, it is no surprise that those who followed took this route for the outlet of their creative voices. Religious writing was a path to fame, and the greatest form of renown generally acknowledged; that in the hierarchy of heaven. Consciously or not, a woman writer (as any male) must have realized this, and any form of writing in this area represented to some degree a wish to achieve a voice in the idea of identification with the wounded, suffering Christ through (often self-inflicted) bodily hardships and the attempted visualization and empathizing with of his tortured death on the cross was a particularly prevalent one in the medieval period. Bodily identification with Christ was therefore a concept particularly close to women: “[The] biological parity between blood, sweat, tears, milk and urine meant that a woman’s contemplation of Christ’s blood was contemplation of her own blood, and further that her tears were equivalent to Christ’s blood. The suffering body of Christ thus allowed a woman not only to pity Christ but to identify in him her own perceived suffering”[3]

Wider community; religious texts merely presented the most accessible outlet for views, whether their authors realised this or not. Whilst the reason of writing as a model to be emulated appears obvious, the method of setting a spiritual example tended to differ much between male and female writers. Whilst male writers echoed the Grecian tenets of logic and rhetoric in spiritual matters, women, following a Gaelic tradition, identified with Christ more through sublimation of thought and by concentrating on bodily empathy. This process of empathy extended in its simplest form to providing solace in solidarity for others likewise persecuted for their faith but went much further in seeking to imagine the suffering of God in the Incarnation through equally weak mortal vessels. In her essay “Medieval Medical Views of Women and Female Spirituality in the Ancrene Wisse and Julian of Norwich’s Showings” Elizabeth Robertson asks: “[Did] women writers tend towards submission and accommodation or toward controlling and manipulating the prescription for themselves?”[10] The subject, as of many other essays on the literature of the period, is a discussion of how much women “internalize or challenge prescriptive medieval ideology”[11] Julian of Norwich’s statement “Just
because I am a woman, must I therefore believe that I must not tell you about the goodness of God ... ?"[12], whilst reiterating the apostolic dictate that women were prohibited from teaching, also reflects her knowledge that her work would be challenged especially because of her gender. This, then, may be read as an indication that as an author and a woman, Julian sought to resist the suppression of female voices. She repeatedly argues for an equality between male and female mystics, entreating her readers to “stop paying attention to the poor, worldly, sinful creature to whom this vision was shown”[13] This world-view of equality becomes more established in her mind by the writing of the Long Text, for in this she says that the visions are “made to whomever God may choose”[14], indicating not simply her own grown confidence, but also that her gender is irrelevant not only as a visionary, but perhaps also in her station within the Church as an anchoress. I now wish to turn to the topic of the nature of texts produced by medieval woman's writers, looking at the factors that influenced them in particular, and discuss further motivations for producing religious texts. The Aristotelian idea that in conception “The female always provides the material, the male that which fashions it”[15] is carried over into the creative genesis of authorship. Religious writing was effectively a means of preaching, when this was officially a profession disallowed women, based on the misogynistic writings of two apostles given great Biblical emphasis and importance: Paul & Jerome. Since women, unless possessed of wealthy and indulgent parents, were generally excluded from education, it comes as little surprise that a proportion of surviving texts show evidence of having been dictated to a male scribe. Therefore, a point which cannot be ignored or under-emphasised is that early female texts only existed within a framework of Church-connected scribes and editors, the overwhelming majority of which were undoubtedly male. This intermediary stage (coming even before editing), gives rise to the possibility of texts being interfered with at the most basic level; since the female author could likely not decipher the squiggles on the parchment before her scribe, she would have had no way of knowing if her words were being faithfully recorded, or some incriminating or censored version thereof. There are extremely real grounds for supposing that a scribe might take it upon himself to ‘assist’ an author in this way; since to be involved with a work that was subsequently attacked and condemned could lead to accusations of heresy on the part of all responsible
for its creation. The personal opinions of the scribe might find their way into the document; his view of women might have been that they were too feebleminded to come to terms with the theological consequences of their discourse, and have selectively added or deleted explanatory passages. A passage in the Life and Passion of Saint Margaret serves the church’s purpose to a greatly constructed extent: otherwise, it is impressively coherent for someone being brutally tortured: “Whoever writes a book on my life”[16] puts in a good word for the scribe; not at all uncommon. Whoever acquires it when written, or who ever has it most often in hand, or whoever reads it aloud or with good will listens to the reader, may all have their sins forgiven at once.”: this appeals to a population who were mostly illiterate. “Whoever builds a chapel or church in my name, or provides for it any light or lamp ... grant him, Lord, the light of heaven” appeals to the wealthy who gave to the church. (The dove swears that all of these powers are granted.)

This connects both with the theme of women’s texts being suffered to exist only so long as they helped support the church’s teachings, and also that women internalised those teachings to an amazing degree; it would not have seemed so instantly suspicious to its original audience that the martyr heroine made these requests. Even as a wholly male-scripted text, the Life and Passion of Saint Margaret is important because it confines the situation in which she, as a woman, holds respect more towards death than in life on earth — she and all women, by extension, have power only in sacrifice. This extract is used here to illustrate the innate power of saints’ lives; although most would argue that this text cannot be said to the work of a medieval woman’s life since its events are stretched into allegory, it may be possible to maintain that the Life and Passion of Saint Margaret has its roots in some sort of real-life event[17].

Teochinus obtains his tale from her, sets it down and “when it was faithfully committed to writing, sent it out widely”... the process of being ‘faithfully committed’ here may be said to apply not only to the process of recording the truth, but also the rigorous process of selection and vetting by the church; it is inconceivable that the text would have been suffered to be distributed (claiming amongst other things visitations and martyrdom) without the solicited approval of the church establishment. In the mould of (fictional) martyrs like Margaret, mystics and visionaries may have sought regard from
the very way that they were persecuted, aspiring to exalted status after death. Since texts were often considered heretical until they were passed by the church many years afterwards, some female writers must have realized that it was likely that only a surge of enthusiasm for their work generated by their death would see them accepted, and planned accordingly for this eventuality. Appending to Julian of Norwich’s conviction (in the introduction, before her ideas are elaborated) that all with be saved: “But I believe everything that Holy Church believes, preaches and teaches”[18] is a plea for the reader to withhold judgment until further explanation can be given. This is made in the certain knowledge that her views (disputing the damnatory nature of Original Sin) are unorthodox, even heretical. Separating out the initial conviction and the parable of the Lord and the servant has the effect of diluting the intensity of the argument; the fluid and archetypically female conversational style of language serves to ameliorate the content. The Augustine belief that “martyrs leave the world perfect and hence are prayed to but not for”[19] meant that this was a highly desirable way to die in the church hierarchy. It was even argued that martyrdom was “a form of baptism” in blood; this is especially relevant to women, aware of the Curse of Eve, who would especially aspire to a death in which Original Sin was absolved, and through the medium of the body, which was a concept heavily pushed to and accepted by women. A common theme in women’s writing, as in other medieval texts, is the concept that life under the Christian faith was ultimately a test. The phrase “no-one is crowned except for whoever fight truly in that fight”[20] in Hali Meidhad has its roots in the teaching of the apostle Paul:

“4:7 I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: 4:8 Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.”[21]

The notion of trials of faith must have seemed especially valid to women, assailed by critics for myriad reasons, and one would expect the topic of virginity to have been a fertile ground for discussion in women’s writing. Virginity was, after all, so much a part of the medieval social consciousness that the word ‘maiden´ could mean both ‘girl´ and ‘virgin´ in Early Middle English[22]. However, despite its frequently being the obsessive
focus of instructional texts by male authors (“always the more precious something is, the harder it is to protect”[23] being an especially moderate example), it is largely absent from the texts that I have studied. This absence suggests one of two findings: either that women writers internalized and accepted the state of virginity as supreme, or conversely that some held strong feelings against it; in which case their silence may be read as a protest, an inacceptance or doubt marked by a refusal to acknowledge the topic in their writing. In fact, Julian of Norwich’s idea of universal redemption is more sympathetic to women who were not virgins, and other ‘sinners’, also challenging the legacy of Eve and making sin out to be ultimately irrelevant. There is strong evidence that the issue of virginity was a powerful force willfully used by the church to recruit and control impressionable young girls to their cause. Hali Meidhad makes a vivid argument that marriage is slavery; and goes on to state that “a maiden in virginity is like oil in a lamp that has not been lit”[24] This last passage is interesting: it suggests that a virgin exists in a state of neutralized suspended animation, her creative spark unlit; this could well have been the conclusion of women writers and a motivation to write on other religious topics that linked the female form to Christ and to salvation, a theme that will be returned to shortly. Certainly, if a woman remained virginal, she was expected not to marry, and therefore became reliant upon the church for succor; the other solution being to marry but remain chaste. Bearing in mind that a marriage could be annulled if not consummated (a common law arrangement still used as grounds for separation today), this left women in a precarious position. A community could not support greater than a handful of anchoresses; nuns required the backing of an even more wealthy family. It is almost as if competition for ‘places’ between women of a religious disposition was used to channel their energies away from the challenge they might come to pose to orthodoxy. Once in place within an anchor house, no effort is spared to control and limit this creativity: a goodly anchoress “must not send letters or receive letters or write anything without permission”[25]

Julian of Norwich is perhaps the best-known medieval woman writer who worked to emphasize the importance of the contribution of the female body and aspect in religion: “I understood three ways of seeing motherhood in God: the first is that he is the
ground of our natural creation, the second is the taking on of our nature (and there the motherhood of grace begins), the third is the motherhood of works’’[26] Her choice of words serves to starkly emphasize the feminine aspect of Christ and the closeness of its association with mortal women. Nor is just the stereotypical virginal female state raised by this, but the institution of motherhood and childbirth, paralleling the nurturing love of Christ: “The mother can lay the child tenderly to her breast, but our tender mother Jesus, he can familiarly lead us into his blessed breast through his sweet open side.”[27] Jesus gives us ‘spiritual birth’, therefore the birthing process in humans, arguably the closest we can ever come to mimicking God in his act of creation, deserves to be held in similarly high regard. Julian’s contribution as a writer and theologian is one that is still holds respect in this jaded modern era; of all medieval woman writers she has produced a text which endures to evoke sympathetic response. Her lasting impression is testament to the power of her skill in writing, her reasons for doing so none but the most positive: the sharing of an vision of equality with a cynical and hostile world.

Let me conclude the paper by saying that Women's Studies is not limited to specific 'women's issues' such as female biology, health care and reproduction, not to studies on the sexual division of labor or to women's participation in men's trade unions or men's wars. In fact every human issue is a women's issue and at the core of Women's Studies lies the demand to look critically at every facet of life from interpersonal relationships to politics from language to law, from the (ab)use of natural resources to the social construction of reality, and to look at it differently, from a woman-centered perspective.

Clearly such a definition shows that Women's Studies cannot remain within the compartmentalization of knowledge as it is established in the present academic disciplines. While some call Women's Studies 'interdisciplinary', we prefer the term 'transdisciplinary', arguing that 'inter-disciplinary' still accepts as a give the only recently institutionalized academic disciplines. Looking at the production of scholarship in Women's Studies—the body of knowledge classes in Women's Studies are based on various types of research can be differentiated: however, they can all be done simultaneously. What has been called 'compensatory' by Learner and 'collecting' by Register is research that meticulously examines with a women-centered perspective
where and how in what we currently call knowledge' women are 'omitted, distorted or trivialized'. Freud and Marx get re-visited; we ask 'where were all the women in history? 'And we find that they had a literature of their own'. Such work leads for example to a new periodization in history in which it emerges that the 'dark' middle-ages were much lighter for women that the allegedly 'enlightened renaissances. It also leads to a reconceptualization of the question of 'good' and 'bad' in literature, in art and in research itself.

In all we do we incorporate an historical perspective: patriarchy' was not invented yesterday and we had better learn about own sisters of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who had at least as radical -ideas as we have and try to find out why and how they were prevented from having a impact on society. As Dale Spender puts it so pointedly: 'Men either use or lose women's ideas' and indeed, we have little reassurance that our new knowledge will meet with a different fate.

Re-discovered through 'feminist research emerge all those women who, even in spite of their ongoing oppression, have chosen not to be victims. They were strong, imaginative and for centuries have been developing an independent woman-centered understanding of the world. They asserted their power of choice and survived by creating what Lynn Herring has described as the force in Adrienne Rich's poetry: 'the power of the ordinary-a universe of humble things'. Role models can be useful. The re-discovery of these women is reason for joy and it is in women's studies that we can legitimately pursue the discovery and perpetration of our heritage: a validation both of the extraordinary resilience of women struggling in isolation and obscurity- "gas lighted" for centuries' - and of 'the power of the ordinary'--of women's lives, past and present.

Men not only dominate women, they preside over the creation and distribution of knowledge. It is often accepted that women and men in effect inhabit two different cultures. It is argued that knowledge generated by the women's culture has been 'muted' while that produced by the men's culture is universalized and recognized. Interest in the possibility of 'two cultures' stems from empirical studies that produce differing 'his' and 'her' versions of 'reality' from anthropological observations of 'dominant' and 'muted' groups and the socially-determined 'inarticulateness' of the
latter, from extensions of the Marxist concept of 'hegemony' used to describe the ways in which ideas derived from the ruling class and serving their interests are accepted as commonsense knowledge by society in general; and finally from attempts by feminist sociologists to understand and conceptualize the gap between their own experiences and what they have learned about society through their studies.

The notion of separate cultures remains problematic, for several reasons. It is unclear whether women share a culture on the basis of common biology, common social experience, or both. If it is the former, arguments sail close to those historically used to condemn all women to inferior status and opportunities. To argue that, say, women are more co-operative or sensitive or peace-loving than men—whilst it may be empirically true—may be to give ammunition to those who will wish to restrict women to spheres where co-operation, sensitivity and peace are the only options. If the argument is based on sex differentiated social experiences, in a given case the divisions among women often appear to outweigh the similarities.

Even if we cannot resolve the difficulties of defending the concept of women's culture, we can turn to one outcome of such conceptualizations, the assault on what is seen as men's knowledge, in its masquerade as human knowledge. Much of the effort that has gone into 'Women's Studies' in recent years is an attempt to transcend what is argued to be arbitrary disciplinary boundaries and to create new forms of knowledge free from the distortions introduced by men's power to create knowledge in their own image.

The claim that women and men occupy cultures is easier to conceptualize within a specific setting such as an institution of higher education. As we have seen, women tend to be clustered in certain departments and relatively junior positions, which might well contribute to a sense of common consciousness among them, especially when this is seen as a consequence of common experiences of marginally within the institution. Those who are promoted to senior positions, or who study atypical subjects to doctoral level, are isolated from a 'women's culture' and instead exist on sufferance as individual anomalies in man's daily world.
References

[1] Medieval English Prose For Women: selections from the “Katherine Group” and Ancrene Wisse, introduction, (page xii)


[3] Elizabeth Robertson, Feminist Approaches To The Body In Medieval Literature, p149

[4] Elizabeth Robertson, Feminist Approaches To The Body In Medieval Literature, p151

[5] Elizabeth Robertson, Feminist Approaches To The Body In Medieval Literature, p152

[6] Medieval English Prose For Women: selections from the “Katherine Group” and Ancrene Wisse, textual commentary, p153,

[7] Elizabeth Robertson, Feminist Approaches To The Body In Medieval Literature, p151


[9] Elizabeth Robertson, Feminist Approaches To The Body In Medieval Literature, p153

[10] Elizabeth Robertson, Feminist Approaches To The Body In Medieval Literature, p143

[11] Elizabeth Robertson, Feminist Approaches To The Body In Medieval Literature, p143


[15] Elizabeth Robertson, Feminist Approaches To The Body In Medieval Literature p144
[16] Medieval English Prose For Women: selections from the “Katherine Group” and Ancrene Wisse, Saint Margaret, p79
(Subsequent quotes within this paragraph from the same.)

[17] Although the editors of Medieval English Prose For Women: selections from the “Katherine Group” and Ancrene Wisse note in their introduction that St Margaret and her cult were “expunged from the Roman Calendar of Saints in 1969.” (page xxi)


[19] Medieval English Prose For Women: selections from the “Katherine Group” and Ancrene Wisse, textual commentary, p155


[21] Gutenberg Etext of the King James Bible, from “The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans”

[22] Medieval English Prose For Women: selections from the “Katherine Group” and Ancrene Wisse, introduction, (page xliii)


[28] Laura Marcus, The Cambridge Companion to Virginia Woolf, p220
Domestic Violence and the Level of Clergy Preparedness to Address the Problem

Women’s Studies/domestic violence

Paper Session

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Domestic Violence and the Level of Clergy Preparedness to Address the Problem

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Abstract

This paper is presenting a comprehensive analysis of the literature on domestic violence within the Christian community, and proposes a multi-method research approach to investigate the level of clergy preparedness to address the problem of domestic violence. At the same time, the proposed research study will seek to identify avenues that will help bridge the gap between mental health workers, social work professionals, and Christian clergy, thus providing the Christian community with the necessary tools and resources to deal effectively and sensitively with the issue of domestic violence.
Domestic Violence and the Level of Clergy Preparedness to Address the Problem

Introduction

Many studies show that violence against women, in the form of physical, sexual and emotional abuse, is nondiscriminatory in regard to age, socioeconomic, cultural and religious affiliation of its victims. As a result, it is considered the driving force causing physical pain and emotional distress, and affects the family unit at all levels. The Crime Data Brief from the U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, shows that in United States, intimate partner violence primarily involves female victims. In 2001 approximately eighty-five percent of victims of intimate partner violence were women (U.S. Department of Justice, 2003).

Many studies have been conducted, and many articles have been written in regard to the need for different services to reduce the dangerous affects of domestic/partner violence (Miller & Krull, 1997). But we should remember that sometimes, when a victim identifies itself with a group that is more isolated, identifying and reaching the appropriate service many times becomes more problematic. The Christian community represents such a group. As a result, social work professionals must be attentive to creating fitting intervention responses that will appropriately respond to different groups. Several studies such as Nancy Nanson-Clark’s (1999), underlines the fact that in general Christians are reluctant to reveal their domestic issues, and that when victims need to address these problems, they will seek out clergy instead of professional practitioners who are trained to deal with issues related to domestic violence.

Based on these observations, this study will attempt to assess the level of clergy preparedness to address the problem of domestic violence. The goal is to determine if there is a need for social work professionals to reach out to the Christian community and if so, to educate them on how to deal with victims of domestic violence. Education would also include how to
provide resources that could help the victims survive, and develop coping mechanisms and/or ways to free themselves from abusive relationships.

Theoretical Framework

There are numerous theoretical approaches that try to analyze and explain domestic violence: feminist perspective, psychological perspective, social learning theory, status inconsistency theory, attachment theory and sociological perspective. Of the above enumerated perspectives, feminist theory and sociological perspective, seem to be related more closely to the general area of study: domestic violence within the Christian community.

The feminist theory maintains that gender inequality in society is the root of all forms of violence against women (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). The feminist perspective on spousal abuse is essentially a sociological structural perspective. It seeks to explain partner abuse on the basis of traditional gender-role expectations and the historical imbalance of power between women and men in a patriarchal society (Chornesky, 2000).

According to the sociological perspective, the social structures and prescribed socially acceptable roles influence human behavior (Chornesky, 2000). Some women, when having to stay home to raise children are placing themselves in an economically dependent and inferior position (Chornesky, 2000). The lack of employment, truncated education, and the paucity of employment skills may also prevent women from leaving abusive relationships (Chornesky, 2000). Other barriers are religious beliefs, adherence to the sanctity of marriage, and the belief by victims that they have a social responsibility to attempt to help their abusers (Chornesky, 2000).


Literature Review and Gaps

The research review was done through a thorough internet literature search. Some of the databases explored are as follow: Academic Search Premier, ArticleFirst, Contemporary Women’s Issues (CWI), ProQuest Digital Dissertations, ECO, ERIC, PsycInfo, Social Services Abstracts, Social Work Abstracts, Sociological Abstracts, WorldCat. The following search words were used when the searched was conduct in the above databases: domestic violence & religion; marital conflict & religion; battered women; battered wife; Christians & family violence; clergy liability & domestic violence; Christian & counseling and therapy, sex roles & religion; intimate partner violence; ministers & wife abuse, etc.

From the large number of articles found during the literature search for the research review, only the articles addressing the following issues were selected: (a) Is domestic violence a myth or reality within the Christian community? (b) Is there a higher rate of domestic violence in the Christian community in comparison with the secular society? (c) Is Religious denomination related to spousal abuse? (d) What is the Christian community’s response in general and clergy’s response in particular to the issue of domestic violence? (e) To whom are battered Christian man and women turning when facing spouse or partner violence? (f) Are the clergy prepared to address appropriately the issues faced by the victims of domestic violence?

The body of the literature chosen for this research review, focused mainly on women as the victims of domestic violence, and men as perpetrators. The literature review included articles published between early nineties to the present.

Only a few studies were found that focused on to what extent the needs of domestic violence victims, within the Christian community, are being met. At the same time, a gap in the expert literature was identified in regard to research studies in which social work professionals
and clergy are coming together to identify ways in which these two professions could work together in order to effectively respond to the needs of battered Christian individuals.

One of the common beliefs that can be found in almost all Christian denominations is that religion should play the main role in the Christian’s effort to cope with issues of all types, including domestic violence. This point of view is emphasized by Lori Beaman-Hall (1996), who states in her doctoral thesis that, as an ideology, conservative Protestantism contains a number of doctrines which might be seen to facilitate violence against women, including the sanctity of the family, the undesirability of divorce, and male headship of the family.

On a different note, in 2001, the results of Ellison and Anderson’s research study on the association of religion and perpetration of domestic violence showed that “religious involvement appears to diminish the risk of abuse” (p. 281). Cunradi, Gaetano and Schafer’s study published in 2002, presents similar findings in regard to the association of religion and domestic violence. These findings show that regular church attendance relates to lower rates of intimate partner violence among both men and women.

The findings of the above presented research studies are presenting two different trends that seem dichotomous: “conservative Protestantism contains a number of doctrines which might be seen to facilitate violence against women” & that “religious involvement appears to diminish the risk of abuse”. These differences in results may be attributed to some extent to different study limitations, one of which is the fact that Christians in general tend to keep their personal problems “under the rug”, due to the fear of peer judgment (lack of spirituality, etc.) This point of view is supported by Nancy Nason-Clark as well, when she states that, conservative Christians are frequently unwilling to reveal their familial troubles (1997).
Following up on Nancy Nanson-Clark’s study done in 1999, it can be observed that not only Christians are reluctant to reveal their domestic problems, but when the victims need to address family issues, they will seek out the clergy instead of the professional practitioners. Her observation is “based upon a five year program of research involving over 1000 clergy, church women, transition house workers, abused religious women, and members of faith communities. She highlights the relationship between religious belief and practice and violence in the family context.” (Nason-Clark, 1999).

Nancy Nason-Clark’s study also reveals that, although the clergy may be seen by their parishioners as the ultimate authority in counseling, the majority of clergy have limited or no training at all in counseling, and practically no background in understanding the longer-term implications of abusive behavior for victims, perpetrators or their children. As a result, women are encouraged to stay in the abusive relationship under the reason that they share Christ’s suffering, and that their suffering is part of the goal of reaching spiritual maturity (Nason-Clark, 1997). Less than 10% of the clergy involved in this research (from a pool of 343 clergy – 70% response rate), felt well equipped to cope with the demands of counseling (Nason-Clark, 1999).

The disappointment with which many battered Christian women are faced is mentioned in Lori Beaman-Hall’s research. She states that the most common criticism about clergy responses to violence against women is that they do not offer women practical support or advice, but rather tell women to “go home and pray about it” (1996).

Based on the findings of the research studies presented, we can conclude that although the majority of Christian victims of domestic violence are inclined to seek out the counsel of their spiritual leaders, rather than of a mental health professional, they do so with caution because of the lack of practical support and advices. At the same time, by “promoting the
sanctification of marital bounds and family life, clergy, make it more difficult for both victims and perpetrators to come forward and seek counseling. This fact may lead victims of abuse to remain in dangerous relationships” (Ellison & Anderson, 2001).

As a result, there is an increased need for collaboration between clergy and different mental health professionals such as marriage and family therapists and/or social work professionals. This collaboration is necessary to insure adequate screening of couples at risk for intimate partner violence and make appropriate referrals (Cunradi, Caetano & Schafer, 2002).

The following proposed research study will try to identify the level of preparedness of clergy to address the domestic violence issues facing their congregation. Ways of bridging the gap between professionals and clergy would be suggested if the study identifies a need for it
Proposed Research Strategy

Concept Mapping

Victims of domestic abuse within the Christian community

Who are the ‘first responders’?

Who could offer qualified professional help?

To whom are usually the victims turning for help and counsel?

What types of assistance could be helpful, and offered by whom?

Why do the victims turn to the clergy?

A family member and/or a friend

Social Work Professionals

Clergy

Clinical Psychologists

Family Counselors

Clergy

Church ministries

Who

Social Work Professionals

To whom

Church ministries

Clergy

Help to start a new life

Referrals to Shelters, etc., by:

Clergy

Family Counseling

Clergy

Church Ministries

Social Workers

Social Workers

Clergy

Financial

Referrals to different agencies & organizations

Church Ministries

Religious beliefs

Familiarity

Lack of info & knowledge
Research Methodology

Since the issue of clergy’s preparedness to address domestic violence issues and its relation to battered individuals has not yet been clearly conceptualized or understood, the project will start as an exploratory qualitative study, with a pilot group of Christian clergy located in the state of Texas, during the summer of 2005. In order to enhance the reliability and validity of the study, methodological triangulation -- referring to the use of more than one method for gathering data (Denzin, 1970) -- will be used.

Based on this initial exploratory study, the research design will be improved and the literature review will be updated. With an improved research design, the main research study will be administered among the target population belonging to the main six religion/denomination located in the U.S., and the findings will be analyzed. The expected date of the publishing of the findings is the fall of 2006.

Interviews (formal, informal & in-depth) and focus groups will be used to measure the clergy’s knowledge of basic facts about domestic violence, appropriate counseling approaches, their awareness regarding the existence of the informal and formal social capital that could have helped to prevent further abuse, and can help victims build resilience at the present time. It will also measure their access to these social capital avenues. The following variables, such as age, education (high school, college, seminary, etc.), size of their parish, etc., will be assessed to identify their training and willingness to get involved in the process of prevention of domestic violence and building resilience of the victims.

The interviews will be conducted with small groups of 5-10 Christian clergy within each of the six main religions/denominations. The expected maximum time for the interview will be one hour. The participants will be asked to sign a formal consent agreement to audiotape the
The primary locations for interviews will be the offices of NGOs that are serving victims of domestic violence, theological institutes/seminaries, and/or clergy offices.

**Research Questions, Data Collection & Data Analysis**

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<tr>
<th>Research Question</th>
<th>Data Collection Methods</th>
<th>Types of Analysis</th>
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<td>1. What are the main Christian clergy’s perceptions in regard to domestic violence?</td>
<td>In-depth interviewing: “Elite” interviewing – interviewing leaders of the chosen 6 major denominations</td>
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<td>– will help the researcher understand how the leaders of that particular religious group perceive domestic violence</td>
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<td>Formal and informal interviews with clergy</td>
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<td>- will help the researcher understand how these authoritative figures that are experiencing first hand interaction with prospective victims of domestic violence, perceive the topic of study</td>
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<td>Focus groups with clergy</td>
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<td>- presents high face validity, provides quick results, increases the sample size (more people interviewed at one time), etc.</td>
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</table>
| 2. Are there any inclusions in the theological institutes and/or seminaries of curriculums requiring counseling and/or psychology courses? | Analyzing documents and material culture:  
- Collect curriculums from Christian Theological Institutes and/or Seminaries’ administrative offices | Use of Quasi-statistical analytic style |
<p>|                                                                                  | It is an unobtrusive and noreactive method that will provide the researcher with an inside look on specific church/denomination acknowledgement or or lack thereof of their clergy’s responsibilities beyond addressing the spiritual needs of the parishioners, to their emotional and physical needs. |
| 3. What other formal and/or informal training in psychology, counseling or related fields do Christian clergy possess? | Formal and informal interviews with clergy | Use of template strategies |
|                                                                                  | - will help the researcher understand if clergy that do not have any specific training, are recognizing their limitations in regard to dealing with this sensitive issue, and their willingness to ‘walk the extra mile’ to better prepare themselves to address the issue |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Research Question</th>
<th>Data Collection Methods</th>
<th>Types of Analysis</th>
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<tr>
<td>4. What role could professional/Christian social workers play, if necessary, in helping Christian clergy address the issue of domestic violence among their parishioners?</td>
<td>In-depth interviewing: “Elite” interviewing – interviewing leaders of the chosen 6 major denominations – will help the researcher understand how the leaders of that particular religious group perceives social workers - valuable info since they have the authority and the power to influence policy and change</td>
<td>Use of editing strategies</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Formal and informal interviews with clergy - will help the researcher understand if clergy are willing to accept outside help</td>
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<td>Focus groups with Christian clergy - presents high face validity, provides quick results, increases the sample size (more people interviewed at one time), etc.</td>
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As portrayed in the above table, the main data collection method would be represented by focus groups and interviews (formal, informal, and in-depth interviews). The following primary and secondary data sources will be used:

**Primary data sources:** (a) Focus groups; and (b) In-depth interviews - Interviews using unstructured, open-ended guides will be conducted with a small group of 5-10 Christian clergy within each of the six religions/denominations. The expected maximum time for the interview will be one hour. The participants will be asked to sign a formal consent agreement to audiotape the interview. During the process of data collection and sampling, sustained attempts to use Christian clergy from various ages, gender and social classes will be made.

The primary locations for interviews will be the offices of NGOs that are serving victims of domestic violence, or clergy offices.

**Secondary data collection:** (a) A study of the curriculums used by Christian theological institutes and seminaries; (b) A review of data collected from other sources than the study at hand will be done; (c) Other external data sources will be considered: demographics from the
Census data and basic statistical information about the targeted population from their main church WebPages, NGOs, etc.

During this study, confidentiality and privacy issues are very important in order to gain people’s trust and consent to participate. The following steps will be taken to assure confidentiality: (a) Participation in this study will be strictly voluntary; (b) Before starting the in-depth interviews and focus groups, the participants will be assured of the confidentiality regarding their names and personal information; (c) An informed consent form written in English and Spanish (if necessary) will be given to every participant of the interviews and focus groups.

**Threats to validity**

According to Maxwell, validity refers to the “correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation, or other sort of account” (Maxwell, 2005, p.106). The following are some threats to the validity of the proposed research study:

1. **Misinterpreting the meaning of what participants say** – due to the fact that the participants are religious leaders, they are most likely to use specific theological terms or expressions in their statements; therefore there may be room for misinterpretation of specific religious responses in regards to the topic.

2. **Factor analysis** – when reviewing the various curriculums from different churches/denominations, a diversity of terminologies to be used for the same topic could be found. As a result, repetition of themes can take place.

3. **Reflexivity** – when trying to find ‘what role/ if any, can professional social workers play in helping Christian clergy address the issue of domestic violence among their parishioners’, my social work perspective may influence the outcome of the focus groups and interviews.
The following are several ways in which the researcher will use to control for the above threats to validity:

1. *Misinterpreting the meaning of what participants say* – can be minimized by using respondent validation (systematically soliciting feedback from the participants in the study)
2. *Factor analysis* – can be avoided by a clear identification of the items that can be coded together
3. *Reflexivity* – can be avoided by not including leading questions

**Ethical Considerations**

Since the project is centered on primary data collection (in-depth interview etc.), confidentiality is likely to be the main ethical concern. Because of that, the information that can link respondents to their responses will be stored in a safe place, and nobody but the researcher/s will have access to this information.

**Limitations of the proposed research study**

Some study limitations are related to the secondary data used. The data that will be gathered from studies conducted by other agencies and may be limited regarding the depth of variables studied in this research.

Other limitations of the studies identified for the research review are as follow: (a) Lack of generalizability, due to data collection methods, and to the exclusivity given to a specific religion by different studies; (b) Lack of comprehensive measures of domestic violence when using data from national surveys, limitation acknowledged by Ellison & Anderson (2001) as well: “further study should utilize more comprehensive measures of domestic violence then are available in the NSFH-1, which contains only a single-item indicator of physical violence; (c) Participants’ self bias, due to the fact that some of the research studies relied on self-reports of domestic violence - “domestic abuse evokes significant social stigma, and perpetrators can face
serious criminal and civil penalties, individuals may be tempted to deny or underestimate the frequency or severity of their abusive conduct.” (Ellison & Anderson, 2001); etc.

The Importance of the Study to Social Work Practice

Based on the findings of different research studies, some of which were presented above, we can conclude that due to the majority of victims’ inclination to seek out the counsel of their spiritual leaders, there is an increased need for collaboration between clergy and different mental health professionals such as marriage and family therapists and/or social work professionals. This collaboration is necessary to insure adequate screening of couples at risk for intimate partner violence and make appropriate referrals (Cunradi, Caetano & Schafer, 2002).

At the same time, the literature showed increase in the number of the domestic violence victims which are turning to their peers for help and support (single-sex ministries), or are trying to deal on their own with domestic violence related issues. This may happen because they lost their confidence in clergy, and at the same time, based on their beliefs, they do not feel comfortable to use the services offered by the secular professionals. As a result, a need for training of the single-sex ministries leaders, and the Christian community at large, in regard to domestic violence issues, arises.

Moreover, this research study will be a helpful resource for social work practice due to the fact that, based on its findings, the social work practitioners will be able to understand better the nature and the implications of domestic violence within the Christian community. As a result, they will be better prepared to use tailored interventions when dealing with conservative Christian clients.
**Definition of Key Terms**

*Christian Denominations* – for the purpose of this study, all religious denomination that profess to believe in Jesus Christ will go under this category

*Conservative Christians* – characterized as being more authoritarian and more traditional in regard to gender matters, and as having lower self-esteem (Brinkerhoff, Grandin, & Lupri, 1992)

*Resilience* – specific skills, behaviors, or competencies that can be used as coping mechanisms in the time of struggle with hardship

*Social Capital* – participants’ informal and formal social networks that enable collective action

*Spirituality* – the degree to which individuals endorse a relationship with God or a transcendent force that brings meaning and purpose to their existence (Berkel, Vandiver, & Bahne, 2004)

*Violence* – defined as any act carried out with the intention, or the perceived intention, to hurt another person physically (Brinkerhoff, Grandin, & Lupri, 1992)
References


US Department of Justice (2003)

PROJECT PROPOSAL

TEACHING CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE FOR STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY LEVEL:
FROM READER-RESPONSE CRITICISM TO CROSS-CULTURALISM

by DINH THI MINH HIEN

RATIONALE

It goes without saying that the twentieth century has had many profound critics and theorists of literature who develop the legacy and heritage of the past and announce a change in the direction of literary study. These scholars might even suggest that literary study is being revised into cultural studies (Trimmer and Warnock, 1992). To some, this change might seem not more than an extension of conventional practice, since we have often believed that studying culture was actually synonymous with studying literature, and since ‘culture’, in Matthew Arnold’s terms, referred to literary works that contained “the best that has been known and thought” (Arnold, 1966-1977). Yet, for others, the shift toward cultural studies has stimulated a revolution in theory and practice since the term ‘culture’ has been “twisted through the words of art and work, and its current usage evokes both ‘material production’ and ‘signifying and symbolic systems’” (Raymond, 1983).

The shift toward cultural studies also makes teachers of literature rethink the basic assumptions of their teaching practice: How do words and worlds interact? How does this interaction create cultural contexts? How do texts produce traces of those contexts? What is a literary text? How does a literary text relate to other texts? What do we do when we study texts, and which one should we study? (Trimmer and Warnock, 1992). These issues were actually brought into discussions in the 1989 (Cultural Studies) and 1990 (Cross-Cultural Studies) Summer Institutes for Teachers of Literature that marked a new orientation for the teaching of literature (Trimmer and Warnock, 1992).
So far, as stated by Kirszner and Mandell (1991), the dominant critical views can be divided into three categories: (i) formal, (ii) social and (iii) personal. The first category is concerned with the structure or form of texts such as formalism, structuralism, deconstruction, modernism. The second one relates to texts in relation to social contexts such as new historicism, feminism, Marxism, poststructuralism and postmodernism; and the last category is concerned with the interaction between the individual who might be readers or learners and the texts. This approach might be seen through reader-response criticism and psychoanalytic criticism.

For years, literature itself has been taught by traditional approaches in the field of critical theory. Formalism, which started in England with I. A. Richards’s *Practical Criticism* in 1929, stresses the importance of literary form in determining the meaning of a work, and considers biographical, historical, and social questions to be irrelevant to the real meaning of a work. In opposition to this trend, sociological criticism was born; it asserts that a literary work cannot be separated from the social context in which it was created. Sociological criticism has emerged as the dominant theory in the twentieth century with two strong arms: Marxist criticism and feminist criticism.

Marxist criticism developed in the 1920s and 1930s in Germany and in the Soviet Union, and has received the greatest attention in Britain and America since 1960. Critics of this school base their readings of literature on the social and economic theories of Karl Marx (*Das Capital, 1867-94*) and his colleague Friedrich Engels (*The Communist Manifesto, 1884*). Marxist critics, including Raymond William, tend to analyze the literary works as products of the ideology, or network of concepts, which supports the interests of the cultural elite and suppresses those of the working class. Feminist criticism opposed the idea of seeing the feminine as passive and emotional in opposition to the masculine as dominating and rational. Feminist criticism was popular in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Simone de Beauvoir, an advocate, states that the female reader of literary work must identify with the male protagonist or accept a marginalized role.

Both Marxist and feminist criticism share some theories with new criticism, which focuses on literary texts in relation to historical and cultural contexts of the period in which it was created and evaluated. Rosenblatt, one of the advocates of this trend, prefers the term ‘cultural politics’ since it acknowledges the integral role literature and art play in culture and history of any country.

Another trend--psychoanalytic criticism, stresses that a work of literature is an expression in fictional form of the inner workings of the human mind. This trend was developed by Sigmund Freud whose ideas and literary applications were strongly disagreed with by his contemporaries. He believed that literature could often be interpreted as the reflection of our unconscious life, and Freud himself was among the first psychoanalytic critics, often using the techniques developed for interpreting dreams to interpret literature.

Critics of structuralism--a literary movement with roots in linguistics and anthropology, advocate that literature is a part of a larger literary system; therefore, in order to fully
appreciate a literary work, the reader must understand the system within which it operates. Deconstruction—developed from structuralism, argues that the structure that seems to hold the text together is unstable because it depends on the conclusions of a particular ideology. One of the representatives of this theory is Jacques Derrida, who believes that all writing is essentially literary and metaphorical since language, by its very nature, can only stand for what people call reality or truth (Kirszner and Mandell, 1997).

Also originated from structuralism, poststructuralism begins with the assertion that “consciousness” resides in language and that language is always a social phenomenon created by an interactive community of speakers. As Carey-Webb states, no one can have an isolated, complete, or “unified” consciousness separate from the language and culture in which we all live. Individuals are cultural beings, and language and social practices script the way people think and act. From this viewpoint human nature is particular and depends on culture, social codes, and the historical moment (Carey-Webb, 2002).

Another trend—“modernism” which emerged in Europe and America in the early years of the twentieth century, expresses a new vision and viewpoint toward modern life that is in sharp contrast with the Western civilization’s classical tradition Critics of this tendency suppose that the way the story is constructed became as important as the story itself (VanSpanckeren et al, 1994). And a school of “new criticism” arose in the United States to analyze the modernist novels and poetry. New critics, with a store of new critical vocabulary, hunt the ‘epiphany’, examine and clarify the work, hope to shed light upon it through their insights (VanSpanckeren et al, 1994).

As opposed to modernism, postmodernism means different things to different people. This trend has been increasingly recognized by intellectuals as the dominant cultural movement of the present time. Postmodern teaching invites different voices from different historical and cultural backgrounds; in other words, it “would find the historical in the contemporary, and the contemporary in the historical (Carey-Webb, 2002). Postmodernism has been considered the most playful of the poststructuralisms; however, it refuses to accept any simple separation between the individual and society. Postmodernist teaching can be understood as respect for difference, recognition of compositeness, mixture, blending, and examination of the restrictions that prevent people from creative participation in the making and hybridizing of culture (Carey-Webb, 2002).

When the communicative movement gained momentum in the late 1980s, literature came back into English language teaching (ELT) and has had a modest place in the ELT mainstream. Much of the current use of literature in ELT involves reader-response theory (Rosenblatt (1978), Culler (1982), and Hirvela (1996), which aims at using literary texts as a resource for stimulating language activities and creating opportunities for learners to generate personal language discourse. It sees the reader’s interaction with and contribution to the text as essential. This is seen in such popular literature-based teaching texts such as Bassnet and Grundy (1993), Marley and Duff (1989).

Indeed, reader-response criticism has been popular since the 1960s, with Norman Holland’s *The Dynamic of Literary Response* (1968) formulating the theory. An
American critic—Stanley Fish, in his book *Is There a Text in This Class*, also states that no two readers reading the same book have had similar responses to it (Fish, 1980). In *The Implied Reader* (1974), Wolfgang Iser, the author, goes even further by stating that in order to be an effective reader, one must be familiar with the conventions and codes of writing. Hans Robert Jauss proposes *Reception theory* (“Literary History as a Challenge to Literature Theory” in *New Literary History,* Vol.2.1970-71) from which he states that each new generation reads the same work of literature differently since each generation of readers has experienced different historical events, read different books, and been aware of different critical theories.

**AIMS:**

As suggested by the title, this study, on the whole, aims to develop a more thoughtful and principled theory to use literature in the classroom based on the foundation of reader-response criticism and cross-cultural approach. The primary aims of the study are (i) to improve students understanding of literary works of different cultures other than themselves; (ii) to bridge the gap between / among people from different cultural backgrounds via literature; (iii) to enhance students’ appreciation and enjoyment of literary works; (iv) to make students aware of cultural aspects in literary texts and know how to explore the content of literary texts written by writers of different cultural backgrounds; (v) to stimulate students for more advanced learning and (vi) to stimulate personal growth across cultures.

**OBJECTIVES:**

To achieve these final purposes in reality is difficult. However, reading library books for document studies might help the researcher to find out advantages and disadvantages of cultural—cross-cultural approach and reader-response theory that can answer the hypotheses of the question, “Why choose cross-cultural approach and reader-response theory as the starting point for the study rather than other approaches?” and “What reader-response approach needs to develop?” More specifically, with teachers, the study aims (a) to help them select texts and materials which are suitable for use with their students, (b) to provide them with teaching techniques and text-attack skills, (c) to make them aware of cultural aspects in literary texts and (d) to provide them with teaching strategies for solving cultural problems in their class.

As for students, the study aims (a) to improve their interpretation and their reaction to literary texts. In order to stimulate personal growth across cultures, the study aims (a) to enhance students’ interest in learning literature, and (b) to make students aware of the cultural aspects in literary texts. Moreover, the researcher’s overall aims are to carry out document studies and to co-operate with university teachers and/or teaching staff at the research site to organize workshops on teaching and learning literature.

**JUSTIFICATION:**

Culturally speaking, literature has been seen as one of the most obvious and valuable means of attaining cultural insights. It provides a model of a culture, which might
empower readers to overcome the limitations of sex or race. It also helps them overcome many barriers between cultures so that they become more responsive to them and improve their communication across cultures.

Linguistically speaking, students can benefit from literature in many ways. In general, literature models a wide range of communicative strategies. Through literature, students are exposed to various cultures. This certainly stimulates and improves students’ critical thinking, creative competence, and interpretation skill. In other words, literature extends students’ knowledge on the levels of usage and use.

Another major value of literature can be measured through its effects on learning. The questions here are that what the actual educational implications that reader-response and cross-cultural theories contribute to education. As we can see, literature provides much besides knowledge of basic skills. It presents a “new reality” in which the reader is not only expected to understand a passage within a conventional frame but also given an opportunity to experience a unique kind of discourse. By this way, literature contributes to both the process and product (Widdowson, 1983).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

Although reader-response approach has many advantages in supporting learning and teaching literature, it is believed that there still needs to consider the cultural aspects that students have to be aware of when exploring literary texts since literature reflects the culture of a nation. Originated from this viewpoint, the first question to be addressed in this study is “What do reader-response criticism and cross-culturalism need to be developed so as to improve students’ awareness of cultural aspects cross cultures in the university settings?”

And, the answers to the above research question might help the researcher see the significance of the study. This raises the idea for the second, “What contributions can cross-culturalism make to literature-based teaching?” And, the conclusions of the second research question would be of no effect if teachers and learners were not provided with appropriate techniques and methods to apply in real class. Therefore, the third question is “How should cross-cultural theories be made use of in literature-based classes at the university level?”

TERMINOLOGY:

*Imaginative literature:* begins with a writer’s need to convey a personal vision to readers. His primary purpose is to give a unique view of experience, one that has significance beyond the moment. Imaginative literature is more likely than other types of writing not only because they communicate the writer’s ideas, but also because they are memorable. A work of imaginative literature encourages readers to see the possibilities of language and to move beyond the factual details of an event. At another level, it also can lead readers out of their lives and times, enable them to see their lives and times more clearly. Imaginative literature can be divided into types called genres--fiction, poetry, and drama.
Reader-Response Approach: A theory concerns the effect of learning created from literature. Hirvela (1996) believes that literature can create a wide variety of learning opportunities for learners. This theory originates from the field of literary criticism. Its main focuses are on championing the reader’s role as an active participant in the creation of meaning and on providing both learners and teacher with a vital window into how the learner reads the original text and produces the evoked work. It emerges through the transaction that occurs when the reader engages the original text. And it is this evoked work that is accorded interpretative authority. In other words, the evoked work is a by-product of the reader’s experience of the original text together with the meaning embedded within the text. Reader-response theory works as an instructional tool in language teaching. It develops Rosenblatt’s idea (1978) that “The text itself...is incomplete; it needs a reader’s experience to make it understood”. In other words, the reader plays a critical role in the interpretative process. As Tomkins (1980) said, “We can no longer talk about the meaning of the text without considering the reader’s contribution to it.”

Personal-Response Approach: defines the use of literature within communicative language teaching (CLT). It aims at using literary texts as a resource for stimulating language activities and at assigning as many tasks as possible to create opportunities for learners to generate personal language discourse through engaging in the learning tasks. This approach is seen in such popular literature-based teaching texts as Bassnet and Grundy (1993), Marley and Duff (1989).

Top-down processing: a process of learning in which teachers take into account students’ intelligence and experience--the predictions they can make, based on the schemata they have acquired--to understand the text. This kind of processing is used when they try to interpret assumptions and draw inferences. Teachers make conscious use of it when they try to see the overall purpose of the text, or to get a rough idea of the pattern of the writer’s argument, in order to make a reasoned guess at the next step.

A reader adopts this approach when he considers it as a whole and relates it to his own knowledge and experience. This might help him predict the writer’s purpose, the likely trend of the argument and so on, and then use this framework to express himself. This approach gives a sense of perspective and makes use of all that the reader brings to the text: prior knowledge, common sense, etc, which have sometimes been undervalued.

Bottom-up processing: In bottom-up processing, the reader builds up a meaning from the black marks on the page: recognizing letters and words, working out sentence structure. Teachers can make conscious use of this approach when an initial reading leaves students confused. Bottom-up processing can be used as a corrective to ‘tunnel vision’, that is, seeing things only from our own limited point of view.

Cultural and Cross-Cultural Approach: promotes cultural communication and understanding across national boundaries, is inevitably bound up with the notions about culture that prevail in a given time and place (Cary-Webb, 2001)
Culture: is seen as “structures of meaning”, including memory, ideology, emotions, life styles, scholarly and artistic works, and other symbols (Carey-Webb, 2001).

International culture: cultural traditions that extend beyond national boundaries (Kottak and Kozaitis, 2003)

National culture: experiences, beliefs, customs, and values shared by people who have grown up in the same nation (Kottak and Kozaitis, 2003)

Subcultures: the diverse cultural patterns and traditions associated with subgroups in the same nation. Subcultures may originate in ethnicity, class, region, or religion (Kottak and Kozaitis, 2003)

Cultural criticism: Stuart Hall describes the emergence of this kind of criticism in the 1950s as a “significant break” in the history of criticism. In such a break, “old lines of thought are disturbed, older constellations displaced, and elements old and new, are regrouped around a different set of premises and themes (Hall, 1980).

Cultural Relativism: refers to a tendency from which is supposed that there is no superior, international, or universal morality—that the moral and ethical rules of all cultures deserve equal respect (Kottak and Kozaitis, 2003)

Cultural generalities: similarities that occur in many but not all cultures (Kottak and Kozaitis, 2003)

Internationalism: refers to an idea, a movement, or an institution that seeks to reformulate the nature of relations among nations through cross national co-operation and interchange (Iriye Akira, 1997).

Cultural internationalism: The fostering of international co-operation through cultural activities across national boundary (Iriye Akira, 1997)

Culture shock: refers to disturbed feelings that often arise when one has contact with an unfamiliar culture… It is a feeling of alienation, of being without some of the most ordinary and basic cues of one’s culture of origin. Usually culture shock passes if one stays in the new culture long enough (Kotak and Kozaitis, 2003)

Economic internationalism: envisaging a global network of economic changes (Iriye Akira, 1997)

Ethnocentrism: The tendency to use one’s own cultural standards and values to judge the behavior and beliefs of people with different cultures. Ethnocentrism is a cultural universal. That is, people everywhere think that familiar explanations, opinions, and customs are true, right, proper, and moral. They regard different behavior as strange or savage (Kottak and Kozaitis, 2003)

Globalization: linkages (through transportation, migration, the media, and various economic and political processes) that are developing at an accelerating pace among
people and nations throughout the world. Globalization links all contemporary people, directly or indirectly, in the modern world system (Kotak and Kozaitis, 2003)

*Socialist internationalism:* promoted by those who believed that world peace must be built upon the solidarity of workers everywhere (Iriye Akira, 1997)

*New Criticism:* Arising in the 1930s and 1940s, New Criticism emphasized the artistic or aesthetic aspect of literature, where “metaphor, irony, and poetic devices are interpreted so as to come together to create an ‘organic unity’ of form and meaning” (Carey-Webb, 2001).

*Multicultural Studies:* brings new and broader conceptions of literature to teaching. It reworks traditional philosophical approaches, recovers oral and popular traditions and stresses the importance of understanding literature in cultural and historical contexts (Carey-Webb, 2001).

*Multiculturalism:* seeks to multiply the number of socially defined groups that have access to the society’s dialogues about itself and to place those groups in dialogue with each other (Carey-Webb, 2001).

*New Historicism:* attempts to incorporate insights from many of the emerging schools of thought such as multicultural studies, gender studies, political criticism, media studies, popular culture, cultural studies, and so on (Carey-Webb, 2001).

*Text:* something that can be creatively “read”, interpreted, and assigned meaning by anyone (a “reader”) who receives it (Kotak and Kozaitis, 2003)

*Third World:* The recognized realities that come to “modernize” and look more into the stark contradictions between rich and poor, cultural contrasts, families and communities pulled apart by economic forces, religious revivalism and tenacious holds on fundamentalist truths in the face of rapid social change (Carey-Webb, 2001).

*Third World cultures:* are declared “fashionable and grantable” by major cultural institutions, to adapt Guillermo Gomez-Pena’s remarks about the sudden attention being showered on Latinos. This includes academic area, where more and more courses about Third World cultures are being tacked on to already existing curricula (Trimmer and Warnock, 1992)

*Postcolonial studies:* looks with a critical eye not only at European economic and military authority but also at the cultural traditions and Eurocentric legacy that identified colonized peoples as “savage”, “uncivilized”, “backward”, or “underdeveloped” (Carey-Webb, 2001).

*Poststructuralism:* begins with the assertion that “consciousness” as we experience it resides in language and that language is always a social phenomenon, created by an interactive communication of speakers. Thus, no one has an isolated, complete, or
“unified” consciousness separate from the language and culture in which we all live. Individuals are cultural beings, and language, texts, institutions, and social practices script the way we think and act. In this view, rather being than universal, human nature is particular depends on culture, social codes, and the historical moment (Carey-Webb, 2001).

**Deconstruction:** is a probing and intellectually intense version of both structuralism developed by the avant-garde French philosopher Jacques Derrida. Derrida attempts to demystify Western humanist thought not from the outside, but by examining its internal instabilities, its untenable dualisms, and the porousness of its definitions and boundaries. He considers everything we see, experience, and understand as always and already made for us, embedded in social and historical context. “Truths”, when examining closely, when “deconstructed”, turn out to be fictions created by language and particular systems of meaning situated in time and place. (Carey-Webb, 2001).

**Postmodernism:** alternately see the world as a cartoonesque Disneyland, an unremitting play of striking cultural difference, the overflow of an uneven and diverse globalism where African slum dwellers watch the Cosby show, where modern buildings are patterned like gift-wrapped Greek temples, where ancient Native American spiritual beliefs set the pattern for cosmopolitan Latin American novels. Postmodernism examines the kaleidoscopic variety of contemporary life. In its best versions, postmodernism teaching means respect for difference; recognition of compositeness, mixture, blending; an examination of the restrictions that prevent people from creative participation in the making and hybridizing of culture (Carey-Webb, 2001).

**METHODOLOGY:**

**Research design:** The study mainly takes the design of a qualitative educational research (Fraenkel and Wallen, 1996; Fetterman, 1986; Burns, 2000; and Nunan, 1992) in which the researcher will conduct an ethnographic study. The ethnographic study is in forms of document studies, participant observations in combination with in-depth interviews and field notes through which data collection will be reinforced by follow-up interviews. The study, on the whole, is in the field of cultural studies (ethnic studies / international studies), teacher education, content-based instruction (CBI), particularly in literature-based ELT in the university setting. It is a kind of action research (CR) in which some central issues of cultural—cross-cultural theory and reader-response approach such as view of text, role of discourse production, conceptualization of tasks, and view of reading literary texts will be under investigation.

**Sampling, instrumentation, and methods of data collection:** On the whole, since this study takes the design of qualitative research, sampling is not a matter of concern. However, integrating into the real life of teaching and learning literature at the research site is quite necessary. This is appropriate with the aims of an ethnographic study. To carry out document studies, reading library books will be of great importance so as to search for new theories in developing reader-response approach that can be served as foundation of the study. This will be done in combination with participant observations,
in-depth interviews and field note taking as triangulation to guarantee validity of the study.

In the ethnographic study, with participant observations, non-random sampling type in which cluster random sampling will be used. Standard format, which composed of three phases: before the lesson, during the lesson and after the lesson, will be applied. In the before- and after-the-lesson phases, the researcher will make contact with teachers, discuss and exchange ideas with them on the teaching points and the task types should be employed to create communicative classroom interaction during the lesson. In the during-the-lesson phase, the researcher will focus on observing how students are organized and how they interact with one another during the lesson.

The issues of culture will be categorized into three types: subculture, nationalculture and crosscultur (Kottak and Kozaitis, 2003). Issues to observe in real classes will be on (a) How much student talk occurs? (b) What are students required to do? (c) What difficulties do the students appear to have in exploring the cultural aspects in literary texts? (d) What activities are involved? (e) What helps learners express their viewpoint in literature-based classes? and (f) Can the material be a helpful source of strategies for making systematic connections between literature learning and cultural awareness? (Source: Fraenkel, 1996). And some issues to consult, discuss, and exchange ideas with teachers in participant observations will be (a) What difficulties might students have in learning literature? (b) What do students like and dislike when learning literature? (c) What are the cultural aspects in the lesson? (d) Are they understandable to the learners? (e) What makes them understandable, or motivating? (f) How could the teacher help learners grasp the teaching points? (Source: Fraenkel, 1996).

To measure explicit reactions in real classes, responses from students will be categorized into six types: Responses take place (a) individually, (b) between student-student, (c) between teacher-student, (d) among students, (e) between teacher-students, and (f) between student-material. These responses will be leveled according to the percentage of classroom participation.

Following is the format of the checklist used to measure explicit responses from classroom observations.

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<th>Types of Response</th>
<th>Types of Interaction</th>
<th>Levels of Interaction</th>
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<td>Subculture-Related Responses</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crossculture-Related Responses</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
(a) Individual  (d) Between student-student
(b) Between teacher-student  (e) Among students
(c) Between teacher-students (f) Between student-material

(1) Always : 80-100% of the participation
(2) Frequently : 50-79% of the participation
(3) Occasionally: 30-49% of the participation
(4) Seldom : 1-29% of the participation
(5) Never : 0% of the participation

To measure implicit reactions in real classes, responses from students will be categorized into five types: (a) background-related response, (b) knowledge-related response, (c) experience-related response, (d) opinion-related response, and (e) feelings-related response (Source: Fraenkel, 1996).

And following is the format of the checklist used to measure implicit responses from classroom observations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Response</th>
<th>Aspects of Response</th>
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<td><strong>Subculture-Related Responses</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Nationalculture-Related Responses</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Crossculture-Related Responses</strong></td>
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</tbody>
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Notes:  
B: Background-related  
K: Knowledge-related  
E: Experience-related  
O: Opinion-related  
F: Feelings-related

With in-depth interviews, non-random sampling in which informal conversations will be conducted with open-ended questions formatted on the basis of background questions, knowledge questions, experience questions, opinion questions and feelings questions (Source: Fraenkel, 1996). To achieve the final aims of the study, the question items in the in-depth interviews with teachers and academics will center around the following issues: (a) text selection and material development, (b) classroom tasks or text-attack skills to conduct, (c) cultural aspects in literary texts and (d) teaching strategies for solving cultural problems. Interviews with students will focus on (a) their learning style and learning strategies, (b) their concerns in learning literature, (c) classroom interaction, (d) students’ interest, and (e) their awareness of the cultural aspects in literary texts. Each subject will be interviewed for about 20 minutes each time and at three different stages. These interviews will be recorded and the participants will be required to listen to the
playback and answer questions for introspective data. With follow-up interviews, subjects will be varied according to the needs created by the environment.

In addition, **field notes** will be taken throughout the project when necessary. They include three types: **field jottings** used to take quick notes about something for later use; **field diary** used to reflect the researcher’s personal feelings, opinions, and perceptions; and **field log** to plan what will be done (Fraenkel, 1996). In short, triangulation will be used to ensure validity of the study. This can be seen through the use of a variety of instruments to collect data such as in-depth interviews, participant observations and field notes in the ethnographic study.

As far as the content of the project is concerned, the cross-cultural theory in this project will be conducted in a comparative setting. The researcher will speculate on different cultural formula within and across the border of Western culture which center around the following questions: (i) How do cultures represent themselves to outsiders? (ii) What roles do class, gender, race and ethnicity play in that presentation? (iii) How are these terms in conflict, and how are they subject to change over time and in different places? (iv) How do texts written in one’s culture address multicultural audiences? (v) How do outsiders interpret and evaluate texts written in other cultural contexts? How do texts written in other cultures contest and reconfigure the kind of literary works canonized by Arnold’s sense of culture? (Trimmer and Warnock, 1992). The cultural and cross-cultural aspects dealt with in the project based on the following backgrounds: multiculturalism, cultural nationalism, cultural internationalism, national boundary, globalism, new globalism, race, gender, ethnicity, pluralism, and cultural industries.

Also several aspects in the reader-response criticism might be taken advantage in this project: (i) recursive reading, (ii) explicit responses between the students and the text that could be seen through classroom interaction taking place between the students and the text, between teacher-student(s), between, within or among the students themselves; (iii) implicit responses that could be evaluated from students’ reaction and responses in their papers or assignments given by the subject teachers.

**VALIDITY:**

As mentioned earlier, the study mainly takes the design of a qualitative educational research (Fraenkel and Wallen, 1996; Fetterman, 1986; Burns, 2000; and Nunan, 1992) in which the researcher will conduct an ethnographic study. The ethnographic study is in forms of document studies, participant observations in combination with in-depth interviews and field notes through which data collection will be reinforced by follow-up interviews. This is intentionally done as triangulation to guarantee internal validity and stability of the study.

**DURATION:** The research project is intended to conduct in nine months, that is, in one academic year. In the first three months, the researcher will do literature review, familiarize with the new academic environment, take field notes and start participant observations in real classes. The project outline will be finishing by the end of this stage. In the next three months, she will conduct in-depth interviews with students, university
teachers, senior academics / administrators at the research site. Some follow-up interviews would be conducted if necessary. It is intended that the researcher will cooperate with colleagues at the research site to do some micro-teaching, or to organize workshops on learning and teaching literature. Data collected from document studies, classroom observations, in-depth interviews, and field notes will be analyzed and synthesized before the researcher start writing the first draft. In the last three months, the researcher will be reviewing and editing the final draft before having it printed.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The study includes four parts. Part One entitled “Introduction” in which an overview, rationale, objectives, questions and scope of the study will be presented. Part Two which is entitled “Investigation” will include two chapters: Chapter Two under the heading “Literature Review” will clarify the meaning of some principal concepts related to the study such as Content-Based Instruction (CBI), Cross-Cultural Approach, Reader-Response Theory, Bottom-Up Approach, Top-Down Approach, Interactive Approach, Personal Approach, Modernism / Postmodernism; National / Internationalism, Cultural-internationalism, Colonialism / Postcolonialism, Globalism / New Globalism, national boundary, Race, Ethnicity, Pluralism, and so on. Chapter Three—“Methodology”—presents the research design, and how the structure of the study will be organized. In Part Three—“Results and Discussion”, all he results of the questionnaire and interviews will be presented in Chapter Four entitled ‘Results”. An elaborate analysis and discussion of the research questions based on the data collected from in-depth interviews, participant observations and field notes will be presented in Chapter Five—“Discussion”. In Part Four, a summary of all the findings will be done before coming to some conclusions that lead to the pedagogical implications of the study in Chapter Six “Conclusion”. This will be followed by Chapter Seven—“Suggestions” from which a number of teaching and learning strategies are provided and some suggestions for further research in the area are made. And finally are the references and the appendices included all documents relating to the study.

SIGNIFICANCE:

The project might offer benefits in many ways and for many objectives. As for the researcher herself, the project will certainly build up confidence and improve her teaching. Language teachers in colleges / universities of languages might also directly benefit from this project. ESP teachers, especially the ones in the literature-based section, might find this helpful for their teaching. The project might also be of great help for ESL students, language students at the university level in Colleges / Universities of Social Sciences and Humanities, Colleges of Education, and Colleges of Languages.

SCOPE:

Since reader-response criticism focuses on the interaction between the reader and the text, it “opens the door to a variety of approaches that further and more compellingly elaborate the connection between literature and lives” (Carey-Webb, 2001); however, it is
also due to this principle that reader-response approach tends not to be very beneficial and helpful in terms of facilitating how people define “culturally literacy” (Carey-Webb, 2001). The study, therefore, just limit to investigate the responses that might stimulate students’ cultural awareness taking place between and / or among themselves and the text rather than the ones that base on literary language elements such as plot, character, setting, and so on.

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Johns Hopkins University Press.


TITLE: EFFECT OF COUNSELING ON NEEDS AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT OF Jr. INTERMEDIATE STUDENTS

Topic Area: Education

Presentation Format: Panel Session

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<th>Dr. SAROJA. DOKKUPALLE</th>
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<tr>
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ABSTRACT

EFFECT OF COUNSELING ON NEEDS AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT Jr. INTERMEDIATE STUDENTS

No one can deny the crucial role of +2 education in the life of a student which is a turning point for their graduation. As they are in the period of adolescence, undergo lot of stress and strain. Unless their special needs and problems are identified and cared for they cannot cope up with academic pressure and achieve their best. Hence there is an urgent need to guide and counsel them for their proper adjustment in family, school and society at large.

A preliminary study has been conducted to find out the relationship between counseling needs and academic achievement of Junior Intermediate students.

A random sample of 200 students are administered Minnesota Counseling Inventory (Ralph F. Bardi and Wilour L. Layton (1957) to identify their needs for counseling. The scores of their academic achievement are also collected to find out the relationship if any.

Findings
1. Counseling needs of Junior Intermediate students are 39.06%.
2. The profile of the different areas of counseling needs follow the order of merit is - Mood - I (44.77%), Reality - II (44.45%), Leadership - III (41.58%), Emotional Status - IV (41.15%), Social Relations - V(38.6%), Conformity - VI(35.7%), and Family Relations - VII (29.5%).
3. There is a significant high negative correlation between counseling needs and academic achievement.
4. Female students have significantly more counseling needs than their counterparts.
5. Socio-economic status significantly influenced counseling needs.
6. Students of low socio-economic status had significantly more counseling needs than that of moderate and high SES.
7. Employment status of mother did not influence significantly the counseling needs of students.
CASE STUDIES

14 cases, whose scores of counseling needs are high are selected for study. The profiles of areas of counseling needs are prepared for each case to provide proper counseling.

Method

Exercises of behavior, hypno therapy and meditation are used. Along with these exercises, parents, family members and teachers are counseled.

The specific exercises given for each case are - (1) Jacobson's progressive relaxation; (2) Breathing exercise, tension, anger relaxations, thought stopping and worry chair. Hypnotic suggestions and meditation (omkar exercise) are also given.

One hour weekly session are conducted for one and half months. At the end of last (6th) session again counseling inventory is administered and also their scores of academic achievement in their final examination are collected.

Findings

13 out of 14 cases (92.3%) lowered their counseling needs and showed 10 to 20% improvement in their academic achievement.

The pretest mean of counseling needs is 42.23 and the post test mean is 29.41 (t=significant at 0.01).

After counseling their counseling needs are significantly reduced. The group showed significant improvement in their academic achievement (Pre test Mean = 42.6 Post test Mean = 57.23, t = significant at 0.01 level)
Abstract:

In recent years there has been a trend among companies, governments, and churches to offer public apologies and/or to ask for forgiveness for past wrongs. In fact, when pressured by public opinion, it is the first thing and perhaps the only thing that such an organization can do - or is it? A public expression of remorse and regret can actually serve to advance covert self-interests. A publicly contrite heart can win public sympathy, even public admiration. Wrongdoers then find or receive the grace of a new start. On the other hand, many groups of victims have expressed a clear and genuine invitation to their former oppressor to apologize for their actions—actions sometimes committed decades ago. In November 1993, President Clinton apologized to Native Hawaiians for the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893. Many Native Hawaiians were pleased with this confession, while others expected more from this acknowledgment. Such public confessions of collective wrongdoing raise several legitimate concerns. In this paper, I will focus on the sociological and ethical ramifications of the apologies that the US government
and the United Church of Christ offered to Native Hawaiians for the ways in which the military, political, and religious authorities oppressed and mistreated a people who were at that time living in a UN-recognized independent country.
a. **Title**: “The War Against Oxy Contin and Heroin Use In New England Youth: Applying Social Inoculation Theory to Prevent Community Disintegration”.

b. **Topic Area**: Theory-Based Community Substance Abuse Prevention.

c. **Format**: Paper Session.

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The War on Oxy Contin and Heroin Use in New England Youth:
Applying Social Inoculation Theory to Prevent Community Disintegration

Introduction

Communities and particularly school districts have long sought effective strategies for preventing substance abuse and its extended effects (psychological distress, reduced academic success) among youth. In one area of Eastern Massachusetts, a multidisciplinary collaboration between the District Attorneys Office, university researchers, substance abuse prevention specialists and social workers, merged expertise to design an “inoculation-based” oxy contin and heroin abuse prevention intervention in the community. Rising rates of youth using oxy contin and heroin prompted this coalition to join forces.

Theoretical Base

Psychosocial inoculation theory derives from original research during post World War II at Yale and other universities hypothesizing that individuals would better “resist” enemy propaganda if they were systematically forewarned and provided practice against its persuasive appeals well ahead of exposure to it.

Formulated from the biomedical analog, where a future threat (e.g., flu virus) is weakened and then injected into the person ahead of exposure to enhance immunity, inoculation programs expose youth to the verbal and nonverbal communications (threats) they will likely encounter and gives them practice on how to successfully negotiate them. The scientific research on how youth come to be pressured into trying dangerous drugs concludes that young people receive less-than-adequate preparation on how to effectively manage this very clever “propaganda”. To the extent young people are “inoculated” about what they will hear or see in situations where drugs are being shared, they are more apt to be able to employ an array of resistance and extrication strategies. The more such strategies are utilized with success the more the problems of substance abuse are reduced. Such reductions inevitably translate into less neighborhood decay and better quality of life for those in the community. While inoculation interventions do not work effectively on all persons they have been shown to produce favorable results for a majority of participants.

Methods

In conjunction with the District Attorneys Office in ****…….. and their associates (social workers, substance abuse prevention specialists) an inoculation program was designed using multiple community and school interventions. Central among these is a curriculum of role play simulations where facilitators and participants simulate situations where young people report being pressured to experiment with oxy contin and heroin. The simulations psychologically and
behaviorally prepare participants to resist and/or extricate from both coercive verbal appeals as well as nonverbal signals they may eventually encounter in social settings in their community (concerts, movies, parties, athletic events, dances). Some simulations are scripted where participants are provided a variety of refutations to the appeals while others are unscripted and participants must generate their own rebuttals. Throughout these exercises participants and facilitators examine why and how a specific resistance or extrication strategy might work. For instance, while being pressured to try oxycontin at a party one participant is rehearsed to feign severe intestinal illness thus allowing for him/her to leave (extricate) the gathering without taking the drug. A wide variety of such strategies have been designed and tested in the program.

**Epidemiologic Trajectory**

We present the progression and epidemiology of the oxycontin and heroin epidemic in the community, how it drives the need for a *multidisciplinary effort* in creative substance abuse prevention, the entire theoretical formulation for this and comparable interventions in neighborhoods/communities and the sequence for how psychosocial inoculation programs are designed, implemented and evaluated.

**Projected Results/Analyses**

*Note:* Results and specific data analytic treatments are in process. Tentative outcomes indicate decrease oxycontin and heroin usage among the newest wave of susceptible participants relative to a comparable non-inoculation cohort (p < .05). We will report a set of dependent measures after data analyses are finalized.

**Confidentiality Assurance**

**** Due to the sensitive nature of this particular problem in the host community and affected neighborhoods, confidentiality –> at this time, prohibits identifiers or potential tracers to the identities of the participants or the community. We anticipate this will be favorably managed at a later date.
The Aged Population: The Emergence of Grandparenting

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The Aged Population: The Emergence of Grandparenting

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Introduction:

The twentieth century witnessed a number of dramatic changes. Advances in technology and medical care along with new weapons of mass destruction are all products of this past century. Social norms changed with shifts in perceptions of women, lowering fertility rates, and changes in sexual behavior. One of the more important changes that has received less notoriety than the others is the change in life expectancy.

In the year 1900 about one out of twenty-five Americans were 65 years of age or over. As of 2000, the proportion of elderly has risen to one out of eight or 12.4 percent of the entire population. There are almost 35 million persons in this age category. In fact there are currently almost 17 million persons 75 years and older, while there are 19 million persons under the age of five. Our oldest age cohort is almost the same as our youngest age cohort.

Another way to examine the changes in life expectancy is to look at the median age of the total population. In 1900, the median age of the population was 22.9 years. This means that 50 percent of the population was over 22.9 years and 50 percent of the population was under 22.9 years. In 2000, the median age of the population was 35.3 years. In fact since 1820 (with a median age of 16.7!), there has been a steady increase in the median age with the exception of 1960 to 1980 period where the baby boom period and its accompanying high fertility rates lowered the over age median age.

These data indicate that the United States is an aging society. This is not unique to the United States. Many of the more developed societies such as those in Europe are experiencing this same aging pattern. Life expectancy is now close to 80 years for

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1 This paper is adapted, in part, from the author’s book Understanding Families: Critical Thinking and Analysis. Boston: Pearson, 2004; chapter 13: 126-34
females and almost 75 years for men in the United States, and some other more
developed countries have even higher life expectancies.

Perhaps even more significant is the fact that if one reaches the age of 65 years;
one has, on average, another 18 years of life. These demographic data are the
underpinnings of an interesting, but sometime overlooked phenomenon in our society,
and that is the emergence of grandparenting. One of the myths of family life is the belief
that in the past three generation households were common. This is a myth because in the
past there were not many grandparents. With relatively low life expectancy, very few
children ever saw their grandparents.

Today it is much more common for children to have grandparents. Evidence
indicates that grandparents are vital members of the extended kin network of children. A
recent survey by the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) revealed that four
out of five grandparents had at least spoken to their grandchild in the previous month, and
about 70 percent had shared a meal with their grandchild.

There is no one type of grandparent. There is substantial variation in
grandparenting relationships. Different researchers have developed different grandparent
typologies. What follows is a summary of several different typologies. The grandparent
topology includes the following: family historian, mentor, entertainer, formal,
distant, and counselor.

The family historian is the grandparent who relishes in telling stories about the
family’s past. (S)he may be the repository of the family’s history and relishes passing on
this information to the younger generations. Younger grandchildren may not appreciate
this information, but as they get older the grandchildren are sometimes sorry they were
not as attentive as they should have been.

The mentor is the family elder others look up to and want to emulate. S(he is a
teacher who serves as a role model for others. Similar to the mentor is the counselor and
in many cases the grandparent combines both roles. The counselor is a good listener.
(S)he helps to soothe over conflicts between parents and child. This person has a good set
of ears and allows the child an alternative to the parent. Although this may be a very
difficult role to play, the grandparent may serve as a mediator between parent and child.

The **entertainer** is the fun loving grandparent. This person is typically a source of
great joy for the grandchild. This is the grandparent who tells jokes or wonderful stories.
This grandparent is the child’s “pal.” Somewhat opposite of the entertainer is the **formal grandparent**. As the term implies, this grandparent is very formal and “proper” in their
interaction with the child. They don’t seem to let loose. This type of grandparent was, in
all likelihood, a formal parent.

The **distant grandparent** is not defined by geographic distance. This is the
grandparent who has infrequent contact with the child. This may be due to individual
personality characteristics, issues related to their own son or their in-laws, or this
grandparent may be the parent of a divorced child who is the non-custodial parent.

How do these various types of grandparenting styles emerge? A key factor, of
course, is the relationship the grandparent had with his/her own children. This three-
generation relationship constitutes a **triad**, with each generation influencing the
relationship with all other generations. If a grandparent has a difficult relationship with
his or her own child, this may help to sour the relationship with the grandchild.
Grandchildren, on the other hand, develop strategies as to how to interact with their
grandparents by observing how their own parents interact with the grandparents.

In addition to these internal dynamics, the larger culture will also influence the
interaction patterns. Variables such as social class, race, religion and ethnic background
may all impact on the triadic relationship. Cultural perceptions of the elderly will also
play a role. It seems to be the case that in the United States there has been a sea change in
the perceptions of the elderly. In the past the elderly were seen as **old**. This may seem
odd so allow me to explain. Years ago the elderly were older in how they behaved.
Perhaps because of closer ties to traditional notions of the elderly, they were to be
revered. You would not see the entertainer type of grandparent as much as you would see
the formal or distant type.
Today many grandparents are what one researcher terms the “young-old.” Persons 65 years and over are in many ways more youthful than their counterparts in the past. They are certainly healthier and are often better educated as well. The culture’s entire perception of old age is changing. This may be due to the large numbers of baby-boomers who are beginning to enter this stage of life. To put it in a historical context, this emerging grandparent generation was there when Rock and Roll began in the 1950s. They were fans of Elvis Presley, and later on the Beatles and The Rolling Stones. They listened to Bob Dylan, and participated in the Civil Rights Movement, the Women’s Movement, and debates about society’s involvement in the Vietnam War.

They are also a generation that is the wealthiest the society has ever produced. In large measure because of the high level of educational attainment, and the expanding economy this generation is better prepared to retire than any generation before. It understands the importance of 401Ks and IRAs and other retirement products. Perhaps because they understood that unlike previous generations there was a much greater likelihood that they would have a large number of retirement years, they took greater care to plan for that retirement. The reader, however, should not misinterpret this information. There are still elderly members of the society who are not well off economically. A number of elderly are poor, although the proportion of elderly who are poor is not as great as was the case in the past. What of course all this means is that the emerging generation of grandparents has both the physical and economic resources to be more active grandparents.

Because the potential to grandparent is greater today than in the past the question then arises as to how to integrate oneself into the life of the grandchild. One important issue that may be contentious is parenting styles. Grandparents and parents may differ as to the strategies being utilized by the parents. The reverse may also hold true. For example, the grandparents may wish to give things—money, toys, etc.—to the grandchildren. The parents may interpret this as spoiling the child. What constitutes giving and spoiling is not clearly delineated. It seems to be a matter of one’s point of view. However, real disputes may arise over this very issue.
What is interesting is the underlying dynamics. The grandparent is still the parent of the parent. Your own children may be different parents than you were; their children are certainly different children than were your own children. There are not only different personalities at play here, but also different generations. Each generation is a product of a different cultural milieu with different values, beliefs, and certainly with different experiences. This three-generation triad then has the potential for much friction. What is surprising is that there is little evidence that much friction occurs. Most grandparents, when surveyed, appear to be quite happy in their grandparenting role.

The most intensive form of grandparenting is when the grandparents take on the parenting role full time. We will refer to this as the grandparent as parent (GAP). This is often seen as an oddity or at the very least somewhat unusual. It is often the result of a tragic set of circumstances whereby the biological parent has died; there is a young unwed mother who is incapable of raising the child; the parent is incapacitated by physical or emotional illness; there is the presence of substance abuse; or, one or both parents are incarcerated. In some cases, GAP may not be the result of a tragedy of such dimensions, but may be due to situations where both parents work, and work long hours. It may be due to divorce, and the custodial parent must work to support the family. In any case, GAP appears to be somewhat of a social anomaly and there is relatively little social support and unclear legal status for grandparents.

There have been a number of recent legal cases involving the legal rights of grandparents. Courts have not sent any clear message as to these legal rights. In some cases the grandparent(s) may be granted physical custody of a child where the child lives with the grandparents. There is also the issue of legal custody—who has the right to make legal decisions for the child. Grandparents may also seek or be assigned guardianship that typically involves temporary physical and legal custody. In some cases grandparents may adopt their own grandchildren which would result in permanent physical and legal custody. All of these cases involve a difficult and perhaps costly legal process. In most states the court cases indicate that courts favor parents over grandparents even in cases involving visitation rights. If custody is at issue this will be even more difficult for the
grandparent to attain. Because this is largely an emerging form of family, the legal process will evolve over time.

There are several positive and negative attributes to GAP. **Positive attributes** include helping the child to grow and mature and the emotional benefits derived from this experience. Raising a child may also help the grandparents stay or at least feel young. Being around young people may stimulate one’s own feeling of well being. In some cases, raising the grandchild also benefits one’s own child - if he or she needs to work, or if he or she is going through some difficult period in their own life.

**Negative attributes** may include the economic hardships one may incur in trying to raise a child. Bringing the child in may alter the grandparent’s own retirement plans. As the grandparent ages, health issues may arise, and their capability of raising the child may be brought into question. For many grandparents put in this position, this may be viewed as a mixed blessing.

Next, this paper will examine some of the relevant data on grandparenting.

**Data Analysis:**

**Table 1 Total Number of Persons and Persons 65 or Older (in millions): 1950 to 2000**

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<td>9.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>203.3</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>9.9</td>
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<td>1980</td>
<td>226.3</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>11.3</td>
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<td>1990</td>
<td>248.7</td>
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<td>2000</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 presents data on the overall change in the aging population. Since 1950 the proportion of the aged population has risen by 50 percent, from 8.1 percent of the total population in 1950 to 12.4 percent in the year 2000. The total population has increased by 85 percent, while the aged population has risen by 185 percent.

The data in Table 2 help to explain the growth of the aged population. Life expectancy, both at birth and at age 65, has increased substantially since 1900. For men, at birth, life expectancy has increased by 26 years, and for women the figure is close to 29 years. At age 65, life expectancy for men is now almost five years more than it was in 1900, and for women it is 7 years more.

Table 2: Life Expectancy at Birth and At Age 65: 1900 to 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life expectancy at birth</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>68.1</td>
<td>76.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>74.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>79.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life expectancy at age 65</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


These data clearly indicate that there is a larger number and percent of people living longer lives. How then does this impact on grandparenting patterns. Table 3 presents data on grandchildren living in the homes of their grandparents.
Table 3 Grandchildren Living in the Home of their Grandparents (in 1,000s): 1970 to 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Children Under 18</th>
<th>Living with Grandparents</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>69,276</td>
<td>2,214</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>63,369</td>
<td>2,306</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>64,137</td>
<td>3,155</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>72,012</td>
<td>3,842</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Grandchildren Living in the Home of their Grandchildren: 1970 to Present, release date: June 29, 2001 www.census.gov/population/socdemo/hh-fam/tabCH-7.txt

There has been a consistent and steady increase in both the number and percent of children living with their grandparents. While the total percent increase in children under 18 years of age between 1970 and 2000 was a mere 3.9 percent; the increase of children living with their grandparents rose by 74 percent.

What are these households like that have grandparents and grandchildren? Are the biological parents (and children) there as well; or, are the biological parents absent? Table 4 presents data that will help to answer these questions.

Table 4 Percent Grandchildren Living in the Home of their Grandparents by Household Configuration (in 1,000s): 1970 to 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total children living with grandparents</td>
<td>2,214</td>
<td>2,306</td>
<td>3,155</td>
<td>3,842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both parents present</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother only present</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father only present</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No parents present</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>35.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Grandchildren Living in the Home of their Grandchildren: 1970 to Present, release date: June 29, 2001 www.census.gov/population/socdemo/hh-fam/tabCH-7.txt
The household configuration of grandchildren living with grandparents has undergone changes over the past thirty years (see Table 4). In 1970 and 1980 the modal category was no parents present. In 1990 this changed to the mother only present category. This, in part, may be accounted for by the increase in out-of-wedlock births and the rising divorce rate. A number of single mothers, regardless of cause, may return to their parental home for both financial and emotional support. A little over one-third of the children living with their grandparents have no parents present in the household.

The 2000 Census allows for further analysis of the grandparent-grandchild relationship. Question 19a. on the census long form asked: “Does this person have any of his/her own grandchildren under the age of 18 living in this house or apartment?” If the response was “yes” then there were two follow-up questions:

19b. Is this grandparent currently responsible for most of the basic needs of any grandchild(ren) under the age of 18 who live(s) in this house or apartment?
19c. How long has this grandparent been responsible for the(se) grandchild(ren)?

The census took as their population all persons 30 years old and over. Table 5 presents some of the data derived from these questions. It examines both the percent of grandparents who were responsible, and the duration of that responsibility. The analysis includes the variable of race and Hispanic origin for those listing one race only.

If one looks at the entire population 30 years old and over there are some significant differences based on race and Hispanic Origin in the percent of grandparents who reside with their grandchildren. For the white subgroup, it is 2.5 percent. For Black or African Americans, the figure is 8.2 percent. For Asian Americans it is 6.4 percent, and for Hispanic Americans it is 8.4 percent. The data in the table allows for a more in depth analysis.

Over one-half of all African American grandparents were responsible for their grandchildren, while for Asian American grandparents, it was only 20 percent. Therefore, not only is there a larger percentage of African Americans living with their grandchildren, a larger percentage is also responsible for their grandchildren. For all groups, the modal duration time for this responsibility is 5 years or more; however, there is a larger percentage of African Americans who fall into this category as compared to the other groups. For African Americans close to one-half of all grandparents are responsible for 5 years or more while for the other
groups the data indicate about one-third of the respondents fall into this same category. What is somewhat surprising (at least to this author) is that for all groups the responsibility lasts over an extended time with only one-fifth to one-quarter of the grandparents responding that their responsibility is for one year or less.

Table 5 Grandparents Living with Grandchildren, Responsible for Co-Resident Grandchildren, and Duration of Responsibility by Race and Hispanic Origin: 2000 (in percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black or African American</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>Hispanic or Latino</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of</td>
<td>3,219,409</td>
<td>1,358,699</td>
<td>359,709</td>
<td>1,221,661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandparents living with</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandchildren</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsible for</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandchildren</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 6 months</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 to 11 months</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 2 years</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 to 4 years</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 years or more</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Conclusions:
This paper has examined what is often an overlooked emerging pattern in family life in the United States—the emerging importance of grandparenting. As the data indicate, there is a growing trend in children being raised by their grandparents. In 1970 one out of thirty-three children, under the age of 18 years were living with their grandparents. In 2000 this had increased to one out of twenty. In 2000, 42 percent of those children had grandparents who
were responsible for them as reported by the grandparents themselves. In addition, as noted above, this responsibility lasts for an extended period of time (5 years or more).

This raises many questions for the society as a whole. There appears to be relatively little public discussion of this family pattern. Are there support networks, financial, legal and other, in place to assist families with this household structure? At the very least, it appears that there is a need for further research on this emerging phenomenon. This paper may be viewed as a very preliminary effort in that direction.

**Selected Bibliography**


www.research.aarp.org/general/grandpsurv.html
Paper Session Proposal: 4th Annual Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences

“Convergence phenomena in a European context: the role of Europeanization?”
(Political Science/European Studies)

by

**Enos-Attali, Sophie** (Ph.D. candidate in political science Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Paris-CERI); **Jönsson, Alexandra** (Ph.D. candidate in political science Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Paris-CEVIPOF, fellow of the CNAF) and **Sheppard, Elizabeth** (Ph.D. candidate in political science Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Paris-CERI and Professor of European Studies at IES Paris)

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Convergence phenomena in a European context: the role of Europeanization?

By

Sophie Enos-Attali, Alexandra Jönsson
and Elizabeth Sheppard

Understanding the relationship between convergence and Europeanization is at the heart of European integration studies. The quest has in general essentially been to determine if Europeanization leads to the convergence of national policies, the convergence of public policies at the domestic level being considered as the obvious impact of the European integration on policy-making in Europe. Our analysis is rooted in an analysis of the effects of European integration upon the administration of public policy in Europe as well. Nonetheless, such an inquiry is different from traditional analyses, in that we propose to pursue our investigation by using convergence, and not Europeanization as the starting point. Rather than focusing on the amplitude or the limits of convergence engendered by Europeanization, our analysis asks whether the existence of convergence between EU member states in given policy fields can be explained as the result of Europeanization?

The observation of the convergence of national policies in Europe in the sectors of family policy, foreign policy, as well as security and defense policy leads us to question the notion of Europeanization. While the examination of the possible factors of convergence does not highlight the EU as the principal explanation, the analysis of processes of convergence highlights the role, not necessarily central, but ever-present of Europe. Relying on the perspectives introduced by different works on policy transfer, our analysis allows for the detection of several mechanisms by which shared norms, perceptions and logics of action can be diffused between different political systems. From our reflection we find that Europeanization plays an important role in the societal and political transformations in European countries. This role notably surfaces as Europeanization intervening indirectly in the interactive processes that link the different levels of governance and by which the diffusion of cognitive and normative conceptions pass. Thus, Europeanization appears as a useful resource to understand the convergence of public policy.
Be On the Look Out: Exploring the Neighborhood Correlates of On-Campus Crime

This study is a secondary analysis exploring the relationship between neighborhood conditions in areas adjacent to a major university in a large southeastern city, and rates of on-campus crime and victimization. The goal of this study is to increase knowledge of the impact local neighborhoods have on institutions of higher education in urban settings. An important benefit from this study will be developing more innovative campus-community partnerships to enhance quality of life for both local residents and students.

The geographic location of many metropolitan universities places them within a broader community context shared with surrounding neighborhoods. As a result, the impact of social and economic conditions within these adjacent communities may influence rates of on-campus crime committed by “non-affiliates” (i.e. non-students). This study uses existing data available through the campus police department, the U.S. census bureau, local law enforcement agencies, and city/county government to address two research questions: 1) What are the rates and types of on-campus crime perpetrated by non-affiliates; 2) Do increased rates of crime, poverty, and residential instability in neighborhoods adjacent to the university result in higher rates of crime committed on-campus by non-affiliates. In addition, Geographic Information System (GIS) software will be used to geo-code and map data from this study. The purpose is to determine which neighborhoods have the highest concentration of arrested offenders, and to more closely examine the social and economic conditions within those locations.

Findings from this study will be used to further develop university-community partnerships that promote neighborhood revitalization efforts as an anti-crime strategy both on and off campus. A re-examination of the role of campus resources to support crime prevention efforts aimed at ensuring the safety of students is necessary. Consideration will be given to a partnership approach that embraces re-development
initiatives which may raise the quality of life for all residents in a community, including students housed on and off campus. Potential partners in this endeavor include local community residents, neighborhood associations, faith-based organizations, business leaders, law enforcement agencies, student organizations, and the university community.
Linking Kinship Families to Community Supports:  
The Role of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to Inform Service Delivery

This paper reports on a study that used Geographic Information System (GIS) technology to examine the need for service delivery among families providing kinship care in five counties of West Central Florida. The goal of the research was to increase awareness of the spatial disparities between kinship families requesting linkage to community-based resources and the availability of those services within their immediate geographic area. One important benefit from this study is to inform policy decision-makers about the gaps in service delivery for families providing kinship care and the need to more effectively utilize resources to match the requests for support within the geographic locations most in need. A second benefit is the continued development and dissemination of cross-disciplinary knowledge to inform social work practice and positively impact social welfare policy.

Background
Kinship care is defined as “the full time nurturing and protection of children who must be separated from their parents by relatives, members of their tribes or clans, godparents, step-parents, or other adults who have a kinship bond with the child” (Child Welfare League of America, 2002). A variety of social factors contribute to children requiring substitute caregivers, including neglect, abuse, abandonment, substance abuse, non-marital childbearing, mental illness, HIV/AIDS, emotional difficulties, teen pregnancy, incarceration, parental death, divorce, unemployment, and general familial dysfunction (Caputo, 2001; Flint and Perez-Porter, 1997; Landry-Meyer, 1999; Minkler and Roe, 1996; C. J. Smith and Beltran, 2000).
The rates of children being raised in kinship family homes have risen markedly in recent years. In 1997, it was estimated that 1.8 million children lived with relatives, with neither of their parents present in the home, according to analyses of the 1997 National Survey of America’s Families (NSAF) (Ehrle & Geen, 2002). The 2000 U.S. Census presented higher national figures, including reports of 4.5 million children under the age of 18 living in grandparent-maintained households, and another 1.5 million children under 18 living in other relative-maintained households (Generations United, 2001).

**Research Objectives**

The overarching goal of this research is to increase awareness of the spatial disparities between kinship families requesting linkage to community-based resources and the availability of those services within their immediate geographic area. Several objectives are identified: 1) to increase our understanding of the need for information and referral services among families providing kinship care in five counties of West Central Florida; 2) to increase awareness of the spatial disparities between kinship families requesting linkage to community-based resources and the availability of those services within the immediate geographic area, and; 3) to maximize the effective utilization of community resources by identifying existing gaps in service delivery and enhance planning for the distribution of additional supports.

**Methodology**

Administrative data were collected from telephone calls to a help line for kinship care providers seeking assistance in locating community resources and supports. The data covered a five county area of West Central Florida and included 160 kinship families (n = 160). Addresses provided to the help line were geo-coded and mapped at the census tract level using ArcView GIS software. Community resource data were also mapped indicating the location of available services within each county at the tract level. Finally, a set of indicators from the 2000 U.S. Census were mapped to display the social and economic characteristics of each census tract. The spatial data were examined to determine the distribution of kinship families requesting assistance and the availability of community-based resources to meet the needs expressed.

**Discussion**

One important benefit from this study is to inform policy decision-makers about the gaps in service delivery for families providing kinship care and the need to more effectively utilize resources to match the requests for support within the geographic locations most in need. Child welfare practice, policy and research have championed efforts designed to meet the unique needs of kinship care families. However, most kinship care is informal and unaccounted for by any agency, making it difficult to accurately assess the number of families affected and services needed. Many of the families involved in kinship care are not involved in the child welfare system and do not receive the amount or quality of support available to those families with differential child welfare oversight. Results from this research can assist in raising awareness of the spatial disparities that exist with regard to the distribution of community-based resources available to families providing kinship care. This is particularly true for families residing in rural communities. This information can aid agencies in the decision making process.
to maximize limited resources by ensuring that services are accessible to the greatest number of families expressing need.

A second benefit from this research is the continued development and dissemination of cross-disciplinary knowledge to inform social work practice and positively impact social welfare policy. This study was designed in partnership with a regional community agency on aging to apply current technology for thinking innovatively about service delivery issues. The study provides an interesting way to use administrative data for informing policy decisions to help families engaged as kinship caregivers.
Title: The Risk and Reward to Pension Investments in Employer Stock

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Abstract:
This study examines the consequences of a pension fund investing in the stock of the sponsoring firm. Using a merger of data on pension asset holdings from IRS Form 5500 filings and financial data on the company’s stock from CRSP, two broad questions are addressed: First, what factors influence the extent of a pension funds’ investments in the employer’s stock? Second, when a pension invests in the employer’s stock, how much is lost as a result of poor diversification? The empirical results suggest that investments in employer stock are responsive to non-diversification costs, tax consequences, and employee risk preferences. Also, a 10 percentage point increase in the holdings of the typical employer stock is estimated to result in an expected return that is 0.9 to 1.2 percentage points below what could be earned by an efficiently managed portfolio.
Smiling and Agreeableness

Topic Area: Psychology
Poster Session Abstract

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Smiling and Agreeableness

Abstract

Studies indicate that women tend to smile significantly more than men (Dodd & Russell, 1999; LaFrance, Paluck, Hecht, 2003). In addition, some researchers suggest that smiling is a sign of agreeableness; thus the reason for the findings that women smile more. Others see smiling as a sign of submissiveness or a way to ease tension rather than a sign of agreeableness (Eagly, 1995). Based on these studies, the present study was designed to investigate the relationship of smiling and gender in the attribution of perceptions of the personality characteristic of agreeableness.

A total of 24 black and white pictures were used as the stimuli for this project and included two pictures each for six females and six males of similar age. Each of the twelve individuals was pictured smiling in one picture and not smiling in another picture. Each of the 24 pictures had a rating scale based on Norman’s twenty markers for the “Big Five” personality traits of surgency, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability and culture attached to the bottom of the picture.

Four forms of participant questionnaire packages were developed each containing six pictures consisting of three males and three females; three smiling and three not smiling. The same individual did not have both a smiling and not smiling picture in the same packet.

Participants were read a Consent Agreement when requesting their participation in the study. A packet was then given to each participant that included the pictures with the attached rating scale. The participants were asked to 1) look at each picture and decide what type of person you think is in the picture and 2) for each trait, circle the number that best represents the personality
characteristics of the person in the picture. Participants were asked to provide limited
demographic information regarding gender and age on the instruction sheet. Participants were
given a debriefing form as soon as they completed the packets.

Preliminary analyses focused on differences in the assignment of the personality trait of
agreeableness to the pictures based on the gender and smile of the individuals pictured.
Agreeableness was measured by adding together Norman’s four markers of agreeableness on the
rating scales. Values ranged from a total maximum of 20 (least agreeable) to minimum of 4 (most
agreeable). The 137 participants include sixty-four males and seventy-three females. Seventy-
seven percent of the participants were 18 to 25 years of age, twelve percent were 26 to 35 and
eleven percent were over 35 years of age.

Multivariate Analysis of Variance (Wilk’s Lambda) indicated a significant main effect of gender
(F = 4.101; p = .045) and a significant main effect of smiling (F = 66.233; p < .001). The
interaction of gender and smiling was not significant. Pictures of males (mean = 10.949) were
rated significantly more agreeable than pictures of females (mean = 11.480). Pictures of
individuals smiling (mean = 10.076) were rated as significantly more agreeable than individuals
not smiling (mean = 12.354).


“The White Man’s Burden”: Female Sexuality, Tourist Postcards, and the Place of the Fat Woman in Early 20th Century U.S. Culture

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6. The cultural and ideological meanings of the stigmatized fat body have been largely unexamined and undertheorized within historical scholarship, with the exception of recent works such as Braziel and LeBesco’s Bodies Out of Bounds: Fatness and Transgression and older works such as Hillel Schwartz’ Never Satisfied: A Cultural History of Diets, Fantasies, and Fat. This paper explores the symbolic place or rather no-place of the fat woman’s body within early 20th century U.S. culture through a discussion of a collection of “fat women” tourist postcards from the 1910s-1940s, which I located at the Alice Marshall Women’s History Collection at Penn State-Harrisburg, while researching my book, Fat Shame: Stigma, Dieting, and the Fat Acceptance Movement.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, fatness for women became associated less with matronliness, healthful fertility, or attractive sensuality, than with a body out of control, exuding an overabundant sexuality that threatened to suffocate men. Illuminating this particularly well are these popular postcards sent in the first half of the twentieth century, often from beach destinations or national parks and arriving with clever sayings from the sender. The butt of many of the postcards’ jokes—literally and figuratively—were women’s voluminous buttocks, portrayed as so comically huge that they literally overcame the elements, blocking out the sun, providing shade for sunburnt children, stemming the tide, or causing tidal waves of their own.

Literally, then, these fat women took up too much geographic space; in addition, the cards clearly suggested they took up too much sexual space. In postcard after postcard we see women bending down—to look for a shell, to do the laundry, to reach over the railing of a ship. We see the round cheeks of her bottom, clad in some absurdly decorated, lacy undergarments. While all these postcard women are white, their poses are reminiscent of the early 19th century representations of the African “Hottentot Venus.” The only men in these postcards who look happy with these fat women are poor (hobos), working class (such as plumbers) or exceedingly silly (the absurdly small or thin). In contrast, most of the men in the “comic fat women”
postcards are more like the white middle class white man who sits in a drawing room with a heavy woman on his lap, with the telling caption “The White Man’s Burden.”

This paper places these representations within the context of medical and popular literature from the time that increasingly valorized the superiority of the thin body as one showing “correct” attitudes of control, both in terms of sexuality and appetites for food. According to this literature, the “thin ideal” needed to be taught to the “primitive”, meaning immigrants, the working class, and, certainly, people of color. Ironically, then, these tourist postcards illuminate both the increased mobility of the middle class within the United States, and the decreased symbolic and literal space available to any woman who did not toe the line of bodily control.
Submission for Conference Proceedings

1. Title of the submission
   CBAT: An Innovative and Integrative Approach To Psychotherapy

2. Name of the author
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6. Abstract
   Please see next page
In this workshop, a new approach is outlined in which “affective” techniques are systematically combined with cognitive and behavioral techniques for alleviating emotional disturbance. This is referred to as “Cognitive Behavioral Affective Therapy” or CBAT. This approach is placed in historical perspective by taking a glancing look at the dawn of behaviorism, the advent of cognitive science, and the present resurgence of interest in the topic of emotions. It is pointed out that affective approaches to therapy may take advantage of current developments in the psychology of emotion. It is explained that the cognitive and behavioral are indeed vantage points for tackling human psychological problems but that they are greatly complemented by another direct point of entry: the emotional or the affective. When these three avenues converge, a holistic approach to therapy is produced.

The second phase of the workshop is devoted to an exposition of the affective techniques. Here, the primary consideration is to ensure that the techniques chosen are compatible with techniques from the cognitive or behavioral domains. A distinction is made between theoretical compatibility and pragmatic compatibility. A second issue is the need to engage in some selection process so that techniques are tailored to the particular client and the particular problem at hand. Among the techniques described are time-honored emotionally evocative or emotionally cathartic techniques. These include adaptations of Gestalt therapy, psychodrama, play therapy, expressive writing, but they also extend to components of modern-day emotion-focused therapy. Applications of these techniques to certain types of emotional disorders (e.g., the anxiety disorders, depressive symptoms, and maladaptive anger) are illustrated with reference to case studies. The author also draws upon his recently published research and ongoing projects where CBAT has been employed.

The third and final phase of the workshop is highly discursive and interactive. Ethical considerations in the use of CBAT are explored in comparison to the ethical challenges that typify other types of therapy. Methodological issues for outcome research on CBAT are broached. Prospects for greater multicultural relevance of psychotherapy are raised. Finally, ideas for further innovation and selective integration of therapeutic techniques are invited as part of the need to keep pace with the changing discipline of psychology and the ever changing world of human problems.
Submission for Conference Proceedings

1. Title of the submission

   The Core of Negative Affect: Anxiety, Depression, and Anger

2. Name of the author

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6. Abstract

   Please see next page
Anxiety, depression, and anger are not only the modal affective problems experienced by medical populations (as documented in a recent book by the author) but they are also the most common affective disturbances in the general community. Recent research supports the view that these are highly prevalent as well as closely co-morbid with one another. They are therefore termed the “Core of Negative Affect”.

With reference to the psychology of emotions, it is explained that anxiety, depression, and anger disorders are extensions of the primary emotions of fear, sadness, and anger. With reference to evolutionary psychology, these emotions are interpreted as the prime motivators of our defenses against aversive stimuli.

Evidence for the prevalence and co-occurrence of anxiety, depressiveness, and dysfunctional anger (or their emotional rudiments) is drawn from research on community samples. It is further evident that at the root of these types of affect are specific cognitive appraisals and at the motivational end of these types of affect are action tendencies: in the case of fear or anxiety, the perception of threat motivates escape or avoidance; for anger, perceived wrongdoing generates the urge to retaliate or resist; for sadness or depressiveness, perceived loss or misfortune generates a tendency to withdraw or submit or yield. The author proposes another facet of these affective types -- the action fantasy or what the individual would like to be able to do.

The author incorporates these three facets (cognitive appraisal, action tendency, action fantasy) in a new rationally constructed assessment tool for anger, fear/anxiety, and sadness/depression. Called the CONA (Core of Negative Affect), this instrument yields scores on each of the 3 affective types that correlate highly with scores from existing clinical scales of anxiety, depression, and anger. By implication, the CONA can serve as a prescreening tool for these core affective conditions. Assessing the three core negative affect qualities in one instrument provides the added advantage of a common metric for scoring and interpretation of results. Further research is proposed to test the long-term predictive validity of the CONA and the generalizability of its results.
Submission for Conference Proceedings

1. Title of the submission

Culture, Space and Meaning: Interactions of Environment-Behavior in Chinatown, New York City

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6. Abstract

Please see next page
As they grow and expand on global economic endeavors, cities in the U.S. attract immigrants from many developing countries who seek greener pastures and better employment opportunities. Relying on mutual social support systems and on various economic prospects within the systems, these immigrants often form ethno-specific neighborhoods that are distinctive in their social character. As a result, urban ethnic enclaves are an increasingly common phenomenon in the multicultural American metropolis today. Literature examining cultural enclaves in cities often focus only on their economic aspects and/or inter-group politics within cultural communities. While the foundation is undoubtedly an economic need, there are many other socio-cultural forces at play in ethnic enclaves in cities. Ethnic neighborhoods also contribute significantly to contemporary American urban landscapes by creating a plethora of cultural expressions through the physical built environment. However, how the phenomenon of culture interacts with the urban built environment to create a distinctive enclave character is a rarely addressed topic in scholarly discussions. This paper examines the specific nature of the inter-relationships between cultural behavior and the urban built landscape of Chinatown in New York City. Based on empirical research and naturalistic data collection, the study analyzes various mechanisms with which the culture of the Chinese immigrant community is expressed through the medium of the urban built environment of Chinatown. The key concepts discussed are the group behavior shaped by culture and represented through various activities that involve space use, the nature of architectural elements and built spaces that aid in such behavior, and the resultant community and place identities and meanings. Findings of the study show that interactions between culture and the urban environment in Chinatown are complex and heterogeneous in type. Urban streets are widely used not only for economic activities but also as social, religious and community spaces; they are spaces with culture-specific meanings. The built environment also renders itself beyond the instrumental uses; building facades, street level stores and services and sidewalk spaces are all spaces that carry cultural meanings, generating a sense of community and place identity for the Chinese American inhabitants. The results of the study add knowledge to the current quest in understanding the role of the built environment in accommodating socio-cultural differences of the users. It also complements the research efforts towards developing the concept of inclusive urban design and planning practices in multicultural cities in the U.S.
Title of the Submission: Using Public Policy to Promote Community Economic Development: Focusing on Transportation and Workforce Development Policy

Topic Areas: Economic and Urban and Regional Planning (Student Paper Submission)

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Basic Planning Ideas

**Ebenezer Howard**

Howard is the innovator of the Garden City. He was an advocate for small self-sufficient cities. He supported the human scale, which he delineated as 10 sq. miles. The city was based on public ownership with a small intimate feel. He did not advocate the through traffic associated with mixed use cities. He believe amenities such as laundry, restaurants and small industry should be kept on the outer limits of the city.

**LeCorbusier**

LeCorbusier was of child of the Bauhous Movement. This was the ideological movement of simplicity and functionality. He was one of the forefathers of the prototype of the housing complex. This is exemplified in his large towers with small footprints. He also saw the need to bridge the gap with man and nature. In housing complex that use his knowledge as precedent this is seen with the use of courtyards. He took a kit of parts approach to architecture and planning. He had a one size fits all attitude, ignoring the aspects of infrastructure, class and context.

**Mumford**

Mumford is pretty much the opposite of LeCorbusier. He supports a non-mass productionist approach. Through the individualistic approach like Howard, he advocated the more intimate scale. However, he believes zoning fell under the sins of separation and embraced the idea of mixed use. This mixed use would be implemented through more cellular communities. This included low-rise multi-family units that developed through organic growth.

**Wright**

Wright did not support the tract housing approach to planning. In his Broad Acre City, he supported the idea that every American had the right to the American dream by being allocated no less the one acre of land. He advocated the individualistic approach to the point of isolation. He despised the idea of multi-family unit. The apartment build depicted a jail cell. He believed in as little interference from federal government as possible, a strong supporter of local power. Americans have the right to be left alone with their families. This meant a high depends on the automobile. Today he would be a chief advocate of sprawl. He too was blind to the diverse situations of the populous, ignoring class or social constraints.

**Jacobs**

Jacobs is a New Yorker who loved the city. She is a strong advocate of inner city life and out rightly condemns suburban life. She believes planners should utilize a small block format to encourage mixed primary uses. Within these small blocks should be buildings
that speak to the character of the place. This includes occupying old buildings as well as new ones with mixed-use occupancy. She supports more intimate parks opposed to large parks. She suggests the problem with cities losing population is white flight. A way to alleviate this situation is there should be more of balances economic accommodations. She never deals with the fact that people are territorial, value ownership, the automobile or infrastructure.

**Neotraditionlist View**

The Neotraditionlist view supports walkable suburbs, mass transit, mixed-use development, pedestrian friendly design and private-public partnerships. The mix-use can be linked back to Jacobs. The pedestrian friendly more intimate scale can be connect the Howard and Mumford. Perry supported private-public partnerships. He also used the technique of curvilinear streets to deter through traffic like Howard.
Using Public Policy to Promote Community Economic Development: Focusing on Transportation and Workforce Development Policy

By
Zenobia L. Fields

Thesis submitted to the faculty of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Masters of Urban and Regional Planning
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Thomas Sanchez, Ph.D., Committee Chair
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Keywords: Economics, Job Access, One-Stop Center, People-Based Strategies, Poverty, and Workforce Development

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Using Public Policy to Promote Community Economic Development: Focusing on Transportation and Workforce Development Policy

By Zenobia L. Fields

Abstract

This study is being conducted in the interest of discovering changes that can be made in transportation and workforce policy to promote economic development. These changes will revolve around the amalgamation of place-based and people-based strategies with an emphasis on investment in people. The people-based strategies will relate to transportation policy, while place-based strategies will pertain to workforce policy.

The following research questions will be answered: What people-based policy changes need to occur through collaborative efforts to foster environments in urban areas that synthesize upward mobility through workforce development? What are the advantages of place-based and people-based strategies? How can transportation policy like Job Access and Reverse Commute grant programs, a people-based strategy, be changed to produce greater outcomes? What lessons can be learned from products of workforce development policy such as one-stop centers, a place-based strategy, in terms of performance? To answer these questions, the investigation uses case studies of Job Access and Reverse Commute grant and one-stop center programs, with the intent of deriving a framework for interagency coordination strategies.

The case studies include the Northern Jersey Transportation, the Baltimore Metropolitan Regional Transportation and the Portland, Oregon Tri-Met Plans. In addition, one-stop centers within the same three regions were examined for potential connections. A comparative analysis of all the case studies will be performed focusing on six major components in order to propose a policy framework that includes federal influence, governance structure, mechanism to connecting with the marker, feedback mechanisms, incremental career step provisions, and accountability systems.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This investigation employs the use of literature reviews, case studies, and comparative analyses to illustrate the changes in policy needed to foster the synthesis of people and place-based strategies, which allows greater upward mobility for low-income citizens through workforce development. Recommendations for change are developed through the discussion and evaluation of two different types of case studies, which illustrate people-based and place-based strategies. The first set of case studies will focus on transportation policy, particularly Job Access and Reverse Commute grant programs, to illustrate a people-based strategy. The second set of case studies will be a product of labor policy, in particular one-stop centers, a representation of a place-based strategy. The investigation will lean in the direction of people-based strategies. Even though one-stop centers are in the realm of place-based strategies, one of the centers main functions is skill development of the workforce, which is a people-based strategy. The combination of the two economic development strategies is thought to have the greatest potential for increasing the standard of living among low-income citizens.

This paper begins with a literature review, which includes a discussion of potential implications resulting from this study. The three major points of interest are economics, access, and one-stop centers. The various strategies and initiatives covered under these topics contribute to the progression of workforce development, which will inevitably contribute to economic development. Next, case studies relating to transportation and employment initiatives will be presented. Finally, a comparative analysis of all the case studies will be performed focusing on six major components in order to propose a policy framework that includes federal influence, governance
structure, mechanism to connecting with the marker, feedback mechanisms, incremental
career step provisions, and accountability systems.

Research Question
What people-based policy changes need to occur through collaborative efforts to foster
environments in urban areas that synthesize upward mobility through workforce
development?
Specifically:

- What are the advantages of place-based and people-based strategies?
- How can transportation policy like Job Access and Reverse Commute grant programs, a people-based strategy, be changed to produce greater outcomes?
- What lessons can be learned from products of workforce development policy such as one-stop centers, a place-based strategy, in terms of performance?

Hypotheses
1. Coordination across disciplines (i.e. transportation and labor) is not seen as an
efficient method of economic development by decision-makers.
2. Collaborative initiatives though envisioned in a comprehensive manner are
implemented in a piece-meal fashion.
3. Place-based strategies inevitably cause inequalities.
4. Sustainability provisions for initiatives affecting workforce development specifically,
accountability systems are lacking.
**Objectives and Methods**

*Objective 1:* To understand current transportation policies in place that could be changed to promote economic development.

*Method 1:* Perform comparative analysis of three case studies that have implemented Job Access and Reverse Commute grant and three case studies of One-Stop center program initiatives in the same metropolitan area as the grant programs in terms of economic development potential.

*Objective 2:* To suggest changes in policy and implementation tactics based on analysis conducted in objective/method one.

*Method 2:* Interview organizers with standard inquiries and get feedback on possible changes. The organizers were asked the following: Who are the necessary stakeholders and what fields should be targeted for recruitment? What are the coordination issues? What continuation factors are built into the programs? What are the criteria for the targeted populations participating in the program? What are the criteria for evaluating progress? What non-work travel services are offered with the program, if any? How are issues of accountability handled?

Note: Response can be reviewed in Appendix A.

*Objective 3:* To suggest ways to improve the standards of living for low-income and welfare populations, based on the research conducted in objective/method one and two.

*Method 3:* Develop a model that includes missing or underrepresented issues necessary for consideration in order to promote career ladder progression.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Community Economic Development Strategies

The issue of poverty in this country has a serious effect on economic development potential, particularly in urban areas, and has to be examined at a community level, more specifically at the people-based level in order to encourage viable projects of change. The poverty rate in the U.S. has fluctuated from 12.6% in 1970 to 19% in 1990 to a declining 16% in 2000 (Dalaker, 2001: US Census Bureau, 2000). The growing concentration of poor in large cities has made it almost impossible for governments to raise funds to provide basic services. This means the closing of crucial public facilities such as schools, hospitals, health care center, police stations and fire stations (Dreier, 2003). Welfare reform was originally seen as way of dealing with fundraising issues.

According to Jared Bernstein with the Center for Social Development, “The goal of welfare reform was not to transform the welfare poor into the working poor, but to significantly lift the living standards of former recipients. That hasn’t happened” (Bernstein, 2003). The underlining assumption of welfare reform is that work for the poor is the cure for poverty. Recipients responded by working more than ever with the employment rate of low-income single working mothers reaching an all time record high (Bernstein, 2003). This did increase their income in comparison to their situations on welfare rolls but not by much. Studies have shown the former welfare recipients in low-wage careers make an average of $7 per hour with little flexibility in mobility.

The key to increasing the living standards of low-income working families is substantive-wage employment with potential for upward mobility. This investigation
hopes to prove that in order to actually focus on increasing the living standards for low-income communities, the focus of the investments has to be on the community.

The focus of the investments decides the project emphasis for community economic development. If the focus is on the economy, the emphasis is on the growth in numbers referring to jobs, revenue, and other cash flow producers. If the focus is on the development, the emphasis is on structural change with long-term effects- stability, sustainability, and advancement. If the focus is on community, the emphasis is partnerships- mutual place-based commitment (Boothroyd, 1993). For the purpose of this investigation, the interest is community economic development that focuses on community or social-economic change with an emphasis on long-term effects. Similar to this is the Boothroyd’s community focused economic development approach, which is comparable to the people-based strategies, aspired to in this investigation. The chart below shows the comparison of community economic development strategies.

**Chart 2.1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goals and Strategy</th>
<th>Approaches</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cEd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concept production Of Economy</td>
<td>Monetary Transaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concept Of Community</td>
<td>Locality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Goal</td>
<td>Growth in job Income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Strategy Development</td>
<td>Increase in Monetary inflows</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Community Economic Development: Three Approaches, (Boothroyd, 1993)
The community-focused approach has to have a larger goal than gainful employment. This investigation will reveal it is no longer enough to be satisfied with obtaining of entry-level jobs for low-income citizens. Entry-level jobs in the food and retail sectors such as checkout clerks are being reduced, deskilled or abolished as a result of automation (Blakely & Bradshaw, 2002). Research shows that the problem is not a shortage in jobs. It is a shortage in well-developed human capital that can survive in the current workforce. A Hudson Institute study revealed 90% of U.S. workers need to improve their computer skills, and 60% of workers need to improve their analytical skills to keep doing their current jobs (Blakely & Bradshaw, 2002). This means there is a need for incumbent worker development.

Worker development includes skills training, mentoring, placement and post-employment services (Fitzgerald & Leigh, 2002). In this investigator’s opinion, the most important of these activities are the post-employment service because they continue the development process for incumbent workers. The process has to go beyond job placement. There has to be continued support for members of the population transitioning from unemployment to work in order to solidify the foundations of self-sufficient workers with increased standards of living. A people-based development goal has to be the creation of economically self-sufficient populations with the skill set necessary to increase standards of living. This study seeks to prove that doing this requires an ongoing connection with the changing workforce development issues.

The Seattle Jobs Initiative (SJI) is considered one of the most successful workforce development programs in the country because it considered the ongoing connection with the changing workforce development issues. SJI undertook their charge
of linking low-income residents using living-wage jobs with four main goals of the initiatives:

1. To help residents obtain jobs that pay living wages of at least $8 per hour plus benefits
2. To ensure long-term job retention
3. To secure employer involvement to ensure that people receive relevant training, that jobs exist at the conclusion of training, and that employers get skilled workers
4. To integrate human services with employment and training services

Source: Fitzgerald & Leigh, 2002

The key components of the strategies were employment linkages and targeted sectors. The employment linkages strategies focused on immediate placement of citizens who were job ready. The targeted sector strategies focus on the structure of job training, the support services, and the case management necessary to place residents in growing sector with opportunity for advancement.

The implementation process required for the targeted sector strategies uses tactics which set the initiative apart from its peer programs. The support services are truly targeted towards the low-income populations’ needs. Some residents who either have never been in or have little experience in the labor market, there is a need to start with the “soft skills” or work ethic (Holzer, 1996; Moss & Tilly, 1996; Turner Meiklejohn, 1999, Wilson, 1998). The support service range needs to encompass drug treatment, psychological counseling, child care, and transportation (Fitzgerald & Rasheed, 1998; Osterman, 1993; Pavetti & Acs, 1996; Stawn & Martinison, 1998). There may also be services needed in resume writing, interview techniques, English as a Second Language (ESL), or even basic hygiene or other life-skills (Pitcoff, 1998). These provisions are
essential to long-term employment success.

Another key provision in long-term employment success is case management before and after employment. Case managers maintain contact with all employers and service providers. This is what maintains the approach as comprehensive instead of piecemeal, which is a primary interest of this study. SJI took on the responsibility of facilitating partnerships through one-stop centers. This network of information and actual programs housed in one location is crucial to sustain workforce development initiatives. SJI made sure all partners were upholding their ends of the bargain and subscribing to the overall mission. The systematic networking of one-stop centers made this possible. One-stop center are essential to the creation of systemic reform because it acts as the core delivery mechanism for job placement and federal employment training programs (Fitzgerald & Leigh, 2002).

SJI efforts have resulted in a decline in welfare rolls, and an increase in education and training programs (Fitzgerald & Leigh, 2002). The training programs include the creation of a budget for wage progression and advancement strategies. As a result, the state community college system has received funds to develop wage progression and career ladder programs. This was $17 million moved from the Department of Social and Health Services to the State Board for Community and Technical Colleges. In support of the ideology that workforce development for low-income populations is not a “social work” issue; it is an economic development issue (Fitzgerald & Leigh, 2002). The reason for detailing the provisions made SJI program is to provide an example of a program that
Using Public Policy to Promote Economic Development

considers soft skills, support services, and incumbent participant development services as needed elements to ensure the success of workforce development efforts.

**Workforce Development**

As defined by the Center for Community Change, workforce development is the act of implementing a system of programs that provide citizens with competitive advancement skills needed in the labor market to attain a higher standard of living (Okagasi, 1997). Population, ethnicity, employment, employment type, poverty, education, and services available are the variables that influence workforce and consequently economic development. In this investigation, employment, specifically workforce development, is the primary focus. There is a need for jobs that will benefit low-income populations now and in the long-term.

“Policies that are designed to help low-income individuals find better, more stable, higher-paying jobs are increasingly important in this time of economic and political change. Employment and income are at the root of many of the most pressing problems our communities face—poverty, blighted housing, alienated youth, single-parent families, crime . . .”

—Report of the Neighborhood Funders Group (Okagaki, 1997)

In 1996, Congress confronted these issues by passing the Welfare Reform Act, which emphasizes work for welfare recipients (Federal Welfare Reform Act, 1996). The Act created an urgent need to develop local and state-level policies and to derive strategies for moving people off welfare into jobs. Obstacles to moving people off welfare are poorly educated and trained populations, widespread poverty, institutional racism, and urban decline. The way to overcome these obstacles is workforce development aimed at preparing low-income citizens for jobs with potential for career progression.
The linkage between education and work is the key element in career progression. In 1998, President Clinton signed the Workforce Investment Act (WIA) supporting these ideals. As of now TANF funding far exceeds funding for WIA, which makes it a prime target for advocacy (Giloth, 2000). This act resulted in a reduction in poverty from 15.1% to 13.3% between 1993 and 1997, as more people went back to work and, in some cases, experienced wage gains (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1999; Giloth, 2000); a decline in welfare roles by 50% to 40%, as populations became more self-sufficient; and a decrease in unemployment from 43.1% to 31.1% for single-parent mothers and from 48.1% to 36.1% for black men between 1992 and 1998 (Freeman & Rodgers, 1999; Giloth, 2000). These results were achieved with the specific goals of the Workforce Investment Act of 1998:

1. Providing comprehensive education and training programs, especially professional and technical programs, for students and workers that equal the highest international standards of achievement.

2. Promoting continuous public and private investment in improved management practices, competitive production processes and worker training.

3. Developing the capacity of and providing significant opportunity for business and labor to direct the development and delivery of state education and training policy, programs and standards.

4. Coordinating the delivery of all education, training, employment, apprenticeship and related programs to eliminate needless duplication and assure the efficient and effective provision of these services.

5. Ensuring the equitable distribution of quality education, training and employment services statewide, especially to distressed and rural areas, and areas servicing the economically disadvantaged citizens.

6. Achieving the benchmarks established by the municipal Board that relate to education and training (Okagasi, 1997).
To achieve these goals, government and employment policy needed to be developed comprehensively towards a system of reform. According to Alan Okagasi, a planner with the Center for Community change, policies can be categorized into “Tiers.” (Okagasi, 1997) Tier one policies are those, which can be operational (administered by a funding agency). These policies either help or hinder job programs that are quite specific and single-faceted. Examples of these policies are transportation or employment agencies that operate exclusively from agencies of different disciplines. Tier two polices are broader policies which promote targeted strategies for using the powers of government to address issues with several dimensions. These policies often times involve cross-discipline collaboration, joint transportation and workforce initiatives for example. Finally, Tier three policies are the most multi-dimensional and comprehensive systems reform. These policies support block grants or vouchers over categorical programs. In the case of these policies, the focus is a variety of programs and their interconnection.

This investigation is concerned with Tier 2 and Tier 3 policies. For example, JARC initiatives, supported by Tier 2 policy, will be examined. Job Access and Reverse Commute (JARC) grant programs sponsor transportation service and the multi-faceted human resource development activities that include provisions for job training, healthcare and childcare. JARC funds are also used to support one-stop centers as the appropriate venue to house and conceive these human resource activities. The a major focus of this study is to suggest the changes necessary in Tier 2 policies to be evolved to and maintained as true Tier 3 policies. Not all Tier 3 policies remain true Tier 3 polices. Take Community Development Block Grants (CDBG) for example. This grant is
considered a Tier 3 policy because it is very comprehensive and requires interagency efforts including the agencies of housing, health, human services, transportation, and labor.

Unfortunately, even with broad based policies such as this example, the scope of the grant’s intent gets narrowed and individual agendas are still forged under a collective umbrella. For example, in some municipalities the grant can be renamed according to practice as an exclusive physical housing grant. To be fair, this is often times due to prioritization and resource availability. Still, this possibility needs to be considered by program initiators. Even though, planners of government and social service initiatives implement programs with good intentions, they often times fall short of true interconnected process. The visioning process is usually completely interconnected. However, the implementation stage is the stage in which awareness of long-term objectives are compressed by short-term products because of the desire for immediate results. Applied interconnection becomes lost in the selective consciousness of the grants original intent because of the desire of immediate results.

In the case of this investigation, the tangible products are a prepared workforce, transportation access, and support services. Increasing the quantity of these products does not ensure the future effectiveness on economic development initiatives among low-income communities. The quality of these products that will emerge as a result of interconnection between initiatives will have the greatest proportional impact on economic development in low-income communities. According to Okagasi, since the welfare reform, there has been an interest among community organizations, government officials, and service providers to collaborate on workforce development initiatives
Okagasi suggests that since most of the resources for workforce and economic development come from the federal level, federal policy is the proper context for local policy reform. He suggests the following policy changes are the most important:

- Welfare reform.
- Possible consolidation of categorical federal workforce development and vocational education programs into block grants or vouchers.
- Budget reductions and other changes in the federal Departments of Commerce and Housing and Urban Development (HUD). (Okagasi, 1997)

Welfare reform has a major impact on retail, homeownership, and the labor market in low-income communities. The basic elements of welfare reform are Temporary Aid for Needy Families (TANF) and a Child Care and Development Block Grant. TANF is funding stream not a program, so states do not have to distribute funds directly to recipients. Funds can be redistributed into job creation, training, transportation access, childcare, education, and other activities besides income assistance. Federal funds can only be used for welfare recipients for up to 60 months.

Cost-minimization is one of the main factors driving welfare reform. For this reason, quick job placement activities are favored over support-based placement that included education and skill development approaches. Time limits also encourage quick job placement since welfare recipients are restricted to five years of assistance. Restrictions create especially strenuous circumstances for young males because the provisions for fund distribution are not targeted towards them. The target population
consists of single-mothers, which can be seen in grants such as TANF and the Child Care and Development Block Grant.

The Welfare Reform Act is a policy, which sets-up a framework that alienates the untargeted, in this case young males age 18 to 35. It also encourages the use of workforce development funds for job obtainment in the public and private sector over education and skill development. This is in support of the “work first” philosophy over the education and training approaches (Giloth, 2000). The premise of this investigation is that in the long run this framework will prove to be counter-productive. The result will be increased homelessness and joblessness as well as a contribution to even greater social and economic instability (Okagasi, 1997).

This policy framework also risks the danger of “creaming”, which is the choosing of the most employable person to meet workforce development performance goals (Okagasi, 1997). Consequently, welfare mothers are targeted the most. Besides the fact that this leaves a considerable number of recipients out, the bigger picture of sustainable economic growth is compressed. The goal in this case has become the increased quantity of jobs not the quality of skills necessary for career advancement that leads to sustained economic growth.

Workforce development policy consists of a variety of uncoordinated federally funded programs. Okagasi describes these major programs as follows:

- The federal Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) system, including Private Industry Councils (PICs) and local employment and training agencies funded by the PICs.
- The state Jobs Service (funded through the federal Wagner-Peyser Act).
- The community colleges, vo-techs and other adult educational institutions, many of which receive funding under the Perkins Vocational Education Act.
• Social service systems, including childcare, substance abuse and mental health. (Okagasi, 1997)

Chart 2.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Implications of Federal Workforce Development Reform</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Federal Reforms</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Devolution to states and localities, workforce development boards</td>
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<tr>
<td>Block grants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elimination of federal eligibility criteria</td>
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<tr>
<td>One-Stop Centers</td>
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</table>

Source: Center for Community Change, (Okagasi, 1997)

From workforce development policy reform, a need arose for program creation that targeted specific population needs that were culturally and geographically sensitive. The proposed legislation that answered this need was one-stop centers. One-stop centers provide workforce development services in a central location that is specific to the geographic context of the targeted populations. The functions of these centers are a concern for some non-profit service providers. The providers’ funding could be lost due to competition from one-stop centers.

Another concern is the fact that many states limit the services of the one-stop centers to information. In some cases, these services do not include actual programs. These centers can do a disservice to welfare or low-income residents that are facing long-term unemployment without programs for skill development. It does not alleviate some of the fundamental problems of employability (Okagasi, 1997).

Welfare and workforce development reform policy has a large effect on economic policy in general because of the influences on the employability of citizens. Welfare
reform creates a competition for jobs. Workforce development reform focuses on strategies of training for jobs with living wages. Entry-level positions that offer livable wages are limited. The problem is there are still gaps between preparation and the type of jobs actually available. There are not enough jobs with a living wages in comparison to jobseekers. According to Okagasi, an average of 31 new job seekers competed for a livable wage job that required one-year or less training.

Thus far, research implies that the most prominent answer to this problem of job gaps is Tier 2 policies. These policies encourage the cross-discipline cooperation including job access, job training, support services, and employment providers. The framework includes hiring centers, linking neighborhoods and business development organizations, improving public transportation, and making child care provisions.

Even with all of these provisions, the issue of improving earning wages still needs to be a chief concern. This is covered partially through policy by having hiring agreements that states that employer can receive subsidies only with living wages for their employees. This restriction on subsidies can assist in helping target welfare and low-income citizens as the beneficiary population. These requirements are necessary in improving entry-level living wages.

However, entry-level living wages do not always accommodate entire families. To create an entry-level living wage that accommodates families, career ladders have to be explicitly defined by the employers. Employers must support workplace learning and skill-upgrading opportunities. In particular, employers must be clear on how workers can acquire the incremental skills necessary to increase productivity, which can translate into wage and benefit increases and promotions (Giloth, 2000). A step that can be taken by
public agencies towards achieving this goal is to train for skills sets that have been defined by the current labor market. Public agencies and employers together need to create both the external and internal maps to career advancement within and among firms, sectors, and clusters.

This tactic can fall under the title of cluster-based economic development strategies, which deal with the type of labor market that is in a specific geographic area. Mary Jo Waits, a director of a public policy center, defines cluster-based economic development as shared needs for common talent, technology and infrastructure (Waits, 2000). For the purpose of this investigation, the concern is limited to talent. Public agencies work at equipping low-income populations with the talent necessary to be competitive in the current labor market. Harvard Business School Professor Michael Porter claims the public sector’s role is to improve the circumstances that impinge on competitiveness” (Porter, 1990). This competitiveness will lead to advancement on the career ladder.

The research suggests that all training should include an incremental step-process or phased process. All workers do not start at same level nor do they wish to stay at the same level in their career permanently. Incremental career step provisions have to be made to ensure evolutionary competitiveness.

Made apparent by sample programs, a key element to this competitiveness is education, which has led employers and entire industries to invest in education. A 1998 report exhibits this by showing nearly 50% of manufacturers increased fourfold their investment in the training of production-level workers (National Association of Manufacturers, 1998). This report supports the fact that community colleges are
important players in the training arena. Employer and industry investment has been essential to the transformation from theory-based to application-based curriculum. Interdependency is developed with the constant exchange of talent and sponsorship. Here human resources are developed as well as the local market; both are contributing to economic growth.

Employers may fear this investment in training because of the “free rider” problem in which other, similar employers poach trained employees by offering pay bonuses without paying training costs (Giloth, 2000). However, this still can be a win-win situation. A well-developed workforce with trained employees that have upward mobility within the same firms can open up opportunities for new entry-level employees who cost less. Employers need to recognize that investing in increasing skill development over investing in decreasing worker turnover rates will lead to a dynamic cycle of well-developed employees.

The research previously stated suggests employers and service providers alike should be careful of exclusive industry investment. However, it may prove not to be as win-win as these researchers think. Take the investment in the biotech industry for example. It creates jobs, invests in the local market, and sponsors the education of citizen that could start them on career ladders. However, that career ladder only exists within the biotech industry. What happens when there is a change in technology? The worker’s developed skill set is only applicable to the biotech industry. This initiative does result in long-term affects but not as long as it could be. In order to have development initiatives with long-term effects there needs to be more encouragement for educational partners to invest in theoretical techniques as well as applied techniques. This
investigation is interested in educational techniques that will lead to the development of workers with skills that are malleable to changing labor market and technological situations.

There are situations in which job-readiness is not enough to overcome certain barriers such as discrimination. Many employers claim that just having workers with strong “soft skill” or work ethic, in other words showing up is enough (Giloth, 2000). Employers claim this is the main problem of workforce development in minority communities, particularly among young urban black males, although there is mixed empirical evidence to support this claim (Holzer, 1996; Moss & Tilly, 1996; Turner Meiklejohn, 1999, Wilson, 1998). This has to be considered since the new workforce paradigm seeks to challenge roles of race, culture, and gender in the labor market. Many employers lack the ability and willingness to find, accept, and support workers who come from wholly different backgrounds. This causes skills and aptitudes to be frequently misread and ignored during the hiring process (Miller & Rosenbaum, 1996). Intentional or not discrimination is still an issue of employment. A 1994 study revealed that employment discrimination, whether related to hiring, wages, or labor market information from employers, occurred in 20% to 25% of testing cases (Bendick, Jackson, & Reinso, 1994). This implies there is a need for understanding discrimination in the arena of workforce development.

These goals are to be implemented and monitored by quality control council and committees on the state and local levels. The Workforce Investment Act is a Tier 3 policy. A major component of Tier 3 policy is devolution of power from federal to local and state levels. Oregon is an example of a state that has embraced this Tier 3 reform
policy with success. First, Oregon composed Workforce Quality Control Council that consisted of representatives from the following:

- Oregon Department of Employment
- Office of Community College
- State System of Higher Education
- Oregon Department of Education
- Oregon Bureau of Labor and Industries
- Oregon Department of Economic Development
- Oregon Department of Human Resources

Source: Center for Community Change, (Okagasi, 1997)

Oregon moved forward with workforce development reform with the following system of elements based on the workforce act:

- An overarching goal with broad scope. “The best trained workforce in the United States by the year 2000” does not speak to any single program or agency, but rather to the overall effectiveness of the workforce development system in its totality.

- A new institutional structure—the state Workforce Quality Council and the regional Workforce Quality Committees—for leading this effort.

- A conscious attempt to bring together previously disparate programs so they are managed as part of a coordinated system, as suggested by Goal #4.

- An effort to make the system more market-driven, as evidenced by Goal #3 above, rather than being fundamentally driven by the program operators themselves.

- An accountability system (Oregon Progress Board) for measuring success and progress toward the goals.

Source: Center for Community Change, (Okagasi, 1997)

With this system in place Oregon still faced some obstacles. One, existing workforce development agencies have their own historic agendas. They may not be willing to compromise. It was difficult to make the vision and action of these agencies align with the council. Two, strong leadership was lacking. “States [must] assume a stronger leadership role.” This is crucial to maintain consistency in vision and the relationship of all program activities (Okagasi, 1997). Three, maintaining committees that were not driven by biased agendas was difficult. Several of the committee heads had
been prominent figures in local service agencies, for example, a director of the Private Industry Council. As a result, the discussion of the committee becomes governed by self-interest. The most disturbing problem revealed in this case is that low-income communities are inconsistently represented on regional workforce quality committees. A 1999 HUD report explains that some central cities and neighborhoods have not experienced the benefits of recent economic growth (Marcelli & Joassart, 1998; U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1999). The reason for this is poverty is a difficult issue to address and as a result change among the chronically disadvantaged is the most difficult to enact.

This study operates on the premise that change in workforce development in should also include disadvantage communities. Therefore, there needs to be a true paradigm shift in strategies from the demand-side, which emphasizes employer or market driven strategies, to the supply-side, which places emphasis on those low-income jobseekers that need work and a pathway out of poverty (Giloth, 2000).

The Oregon example demonstrates there is a need for policy that is responsive to workforce development barriers in the context of poverty stricken communities. These communities have an effect on their economy, the regional economy, the state economy, and the national economy. The Oregon initiative implies policy makers have to recognize that policies, which value expedient changes over all else will contribute to the degradation of already negative situations. Using federal funds to subsidize already successful initiatives will lead to more reactive rather than proactive behavior. If government agencies are encouraged to be innovative through incentives, programs will remain status quo and there will not be any real progress made in the workforce
development arena. For long-term change, it is in this investigator’s opinion that the difficult problems have to be addressed by taking the lessons learned from pilot programs such as the Oregon initiatives.

Through the examination of the initiatives of Oregon and others, a lesson can be surmised that workforce development simultaneously includes recruitment, training, retention, and advancement as well as unique, contextualized constraints and opportunities related to jobseeker characteristics, occupations, and regional economies (Giloth, 2000). The research reveals the problem is that none of the unique characteristics have received adequate attention, leading to a lack of quality benchmarks and standards. Recruitment, training, and retention are the predominant indicators of success, reducing the process in one, which is not effective in the context of low-income communities.

This investigation will offer suggestion for policy reform as defined by Okagasi, “Policy reform is the vehicle for applying the lessons from effective pilot programs to increase the effectiveness of the system as a whole” (Okagasi, 1997). It will suggest the changes necessary to evolve current Tier 2 policies to Tier 3 policies. The model presented by the Center for Community Change will be a control reference for measures taken by agencies in studies to be described later in the investigation. Although the primary components will be derived from the Center for Community Change model, the control reference will be a version modified according to the context of the study and additional suggestions from other literature. The initial phase of the model process begins by mapping the system for change. The phase begins by identifying key service agencies involved in workforce development as shown in Chart 2.3 below.
The next phase in the process is assessing the system. First, this involves the identification of the population being served and to what capacity they are being served. For the sake of this investigation, only the services that impact welfare and low-income citizens in specified regions of the country will be examined. Second, the investigation will identify strong service providers. Third, the study will identify agencies that are willing to collaborate. The final component of this step is the identification of policies that encourage strong performance. The policies studied in this investigation are transportation policies, specifically JARC grant programs, and workforce development policies involving the use of one-stop centers.

The third phase is to articulate the principles of the systems change. The principles will be empowering of participants, networking well, integrating across disciplines, being community-based, and being evolutionary. These principles were derived from the existing federal requirements of the two types of policies being examined.
The final phase in the process is the recommendation of system reforms, the adjustment that should be made in the policies. In this investigation the focus is on the adjustments that should be made in transportation policy, specifically JARC (a people-based strategy) and workforce development policy, specifically one-stop centers (a place-based strategy). The list of recommendations below reflects the primary components of a policy framework to be suggested based on the evaluation of the JARC and one-stop center case studies. The intent is to best account for strengths of the two types of strategies used in the policies. The components of the policy framework are as follows.

1. Federal Influence
2. Governance structure: This describes the executive body that will ensure accountability and commitment to overall vision.
3. Mechanism for connecting markets
4. Feedback mechanisms: agencies in the system to receive feedback from all participants
6. Accountability systems: Monitoring and evaluation process, identify clear benchmarks and standards

People-Based & Place-Based Strategies in Workforce Development

Both place-based and people-based economic development strategies seek to address the process of obtaining and maintaining employment. The differences between the two can be seen in the investments. On the one hand, transit investment is seen through the mobilization of people, which links workers to jobs without changing the location of the job or residential area, a people-based strategy. On the other hand, investment in skill development that brings new resources and opportunities to areas central to people in need, a place-based strategy (Ihlanfeldt, 1999). The outcomes of both of these strategies can be measured in economic effects. Greater access to employment whether it be through place-based or people-based mobility means an
increase in earning potential. The income increase in turn contributes to the boosting of the overall economy.

This paper will look at how the merger of the two strategies can produce the greatest outcome. Transportation policy is seen as an integral factor in the “geography of opportunity,” which means the places where individuals live or to which they have access affects their opportunities (Rosenbaum, 1995). Transportation policy can facilitate the linkages to opportunities outside neighborhoods or reaches of the disadvantaged. However, job accessibility is not the only factor affecting employability for the disadvantaged. Lack of information and lack of discrimination prevention measures are also factors, which prevent employment for disadvantaged residents (Ihlanfeldt, 1999). Potential workers are often not job-ready because they lack information including skill development. This skill development needs to be provided in a context that is molded to the specific social and cultural circumstances of an area.

Lack of knowledge of circumstance perpetuates the barrier of discrimination and also contributes to the lack of employment opportunities for the disadvantaged. As addressed in spatial mismatch theory, it is a false assumption to believe job access and centralization of services are the only governing factors in the process of obtaining and maintaining employment for the disadvantaged (Ihlanfeldt, 1999). Discrimination factors are also determinants of the potential employability of a population. Steps have to be taken to alleviate the cultural barriers that greatly influence career progression. Noted economists have stated many employers lack the ability and willingness to find, accept, and support workers who come from wholly different backgrounds (Miller & Rosenbaum, 1996).
The lack of impetus to dissolve cultural barrier has a significant impact on potential networking opportunities, which is a large factor in career development. It is true that sometimes it is “who-you-know.” Low-income citizens have more difficulty experiencing these networking opportunities. Dora L. Costa, a research at the National Bureau of Economic Research, notes that a lower income worker has an average workday of eleven-hours, while the well-to-do have an average workday of nine-hours (Costa, 1999). Considerations for networking opportunities that address these cultural barriers need to be infused in both place-based strategies and people-based.

This commentary suggests that policies which acknowledge the potential for career ladder progression and the cyclical economic benefits of networking for the beneficiary population are just as essential as job access and centralized skill development activity access. Having the lives of lower income populations transcend economic classes in more diverse ways will prove to produce greater proportional outcomes to the investments.

The case studies, to be described and analyzed later, put the diverse development investments into context focusing on people-based and place-based strategies. The first invests in geographic mobility. The focus of this strategy is getting people to the jobs in various non-centralized locations, hence, the interest in transportation policy. The second strategy focuses on skill development in a location that is central to people in need of training for employment. One-stop centers serve as an example since they are interaction nodes for various services in a specific area.

One-stop centers deliver services for skill development that are specifically targeted towards the geographical and cultural situations of the localities in which they
are located. This is in the hopes of prescribing strategies better suited for contributing to job growth in the local market. This is a place-based strategy involving people-based tactics. The reason this strategy uses people-based tactics is because it links of a population to jobs through the elimination of barriers. In this case, the barrier is lack of knowledge. With job-readiness training a population can develop the skills necessary for personal mobility. The job procured can be inside or outside their residence. Skill development for personal mobility is important for the progression on a career ladder.

The importance of investigating these strategies is to form a list of changes to be taken under advisement by policymakers, in order to forge more self-sufficient populations that contribute to their individual increase in living standards as well as the entire network of economies. As result even though this paper seeks to suggest ways to merge the two strategies, the support information to follow explains the impacts of investments in these strategies.
CHAPTER 3: ACCESS

Economic Effects

Transit initiatives have more single-faceted sets of evaluation measures as compared to workforce development but have significant potential impact on economic growth. A national analysis proved the year following the transit capital investment 314 jobs were created for each $10 million invested in transit capital funding (Vary & Weisbrod, 1999). This is the reason for transportation investment by local, regional, and state officials as an economic strategy nationwide.

Increased public travel service can have a number of impacts. First, it improves mobility and access to personal, neighborhood, and community level tasks. It can reduce travel time by eliminating the congestion caused individual travel. Research in travel efficiency lead can also lead to reduced congestion. The results of this research may be seen in rerouting or the addition of travel routes. The decrease in travel time leads to increased business productivity. A business is only as productive as its personnel. People can be more efficient when given access to transportation that saves time. With an increase in business and personal income there is more revenue for government, which is produced by sales, property and income tax (Vary & Weisbrod, 1999).

There are other economic benefits to transit investment that is more difficult to quantify. Examples of these benefits are environmental impacts; medical, particularly stress associated issues; and personal impediment reduction such as environments, noise, constructions sites, and spatially opened spaces. Results of these benefits can be associated with matters of property value, health care, environmental degradation, and personal well-being.
The magnitudes of these impacts are dependent on the context. In metropolitan areas, public transportation systems can add capacity to the regional area at rush hour. In smaller urban and rural areas, transit may play a role in preserving highway capacity. In the setting of smaller urban and rural areas, the economic benefits are not as tangible because with different qualities of life comes a different set of value measures.

In metropolitan areas, there is more value placed on economic and social well being, opposed to placing high value in environmental and historic preservation that is often the case in rural areas, for example. An area with a preference such this is more likely to be supported by non-transit investment such as workforce development (Vary & Weisbrod, 1999). This causes interdependency among agencies and government levels, local and regional, because of the shared interest of promoting economic and social well being of population (Vary & Weisbrod, 1999). This interdependency is the interest of this investigation. The interest is the coordination of government funds and policy towards a common use that impacts a population with the diverse characteristics that can be found in metropolitan areas.

According to economist Vary and Weisbord, investment in transit can be profitable for all members of society. The results are changes in operation costs, travel time, out of pocket expense, and emissions. Individual savings acquired from reductions in transportation cost, which increases disposable income causes the profitability. This happens because laborers are better equipped and more efficient. Businesses are affected by cost savings in wage, price, and profit, which affect the overall cost of doing business because of efficient labor and gain in sells. There are overall market benefits with the combined change in business cost and individual income. This increases regional
competitiveness and business market shares, which benefit the entire population (Vary & Weisbrod, 1999).

There are also the benefits represented jobs developed through construction, maintenance, and operation of transit systems. A rail system for example produces numerous new full-time jobs and other jobs are derived as new income is spent and re-spent in the economy (Wornum, 2001). All new employment is associated with the new system because there is a need for a person to build, operate, and service the facilities. The money invested in transit could be invested by the government in other ways. For example, investment in the construction of a sewer plant or welfare payment could be made. However, these investments do not have the same redistribution properties as transit investment with the job production.

**Job Access and Reverse Commute Grant Programs Description**

A large portion of this investigation will be centered on the evaluation of Job Access and Reverse Commute (JARC) grant projects. The program was born under the TEA-21, a federal Transportation Equity Act of the 21st century. The grant programs purpose is to help local governments and non-profit organizations with funding to develop transportation services to connect welfare recipients and low-income persons to employment and support services (FTA Website, Accessed 2003). Transportation access is one of the main hindering or helping agents in obtaining employment.

The main activities that are sponsored by the grant are transportation access and human resource development. The funding is provided by the FTA under the U.S. Department of Transportation. Therefore, Job Access projects are focused on developing transportation services such as shuttle vanpools, new bus routes, connector services to
mass transit, and guaranteed door-to-door programs for welfare recipients and low income persons. The Reverse Commute portion of the grant is defined by TEA-21 as projects designed to transport residents of any area to suburban employment opportunities (FTA Website, Accessed 2003). The Reverse Commute projects focus on making employment services available to all populations by providing necessary support services.

States and localities applying for funds from this grant program must make provisions for coordination, services, and a financial distribution schedule. For municipalities to be eligible for funding, human services, the transportation planning processes that administer the Temporary Aid to Needy Families (TANF) and Welfare-to-Work (WtW), and other stakeholders must be coordinated. The municipality must provide an outline that explains how services will meet a community’s need. Finally, each applicant must supply a project financing schedule that includes sustainability of funding, financial commitments from human services providers, and commitments from existing transportation providers.

All of these provisions are intended to establish a coordinated regional approach to job access projects. All projects funded by the grant program must be the result of a collaborative planning process. Agencies that may be included in this process are states, metropolitan planning organizations (MPOs), transportation providers, agencies administering TANF and WtW funds, human services, public housing, child care organizations, employers, impacted communities, and other stakeholders.

Applicants are selected by different government agencies according to level of urbanization, population size, and government authority. The MPOs select the applicants
in urbanized areas with populations of 200,000 or more. The states select the applicants of small-urbanized areas with population less than 200,000 and in non-urbanized, rural areas. For instance, tribal governments can submit to the state or directly to the FTA requests for selection. The FTA has been authorized to fund $150 million annually in Job Access and Reverse Commute grants since 1999. There is a 50/50 Federal/Local match required. The local match can be supplied by other federal funds. It is also important to note, applicants are not guaranteed a renewal of grant funds (FTA Website, Accessed 2003).

**JARC CASE STUDIES**

The purpose of investigating Job Access and Reverse Commute grant programs is to understand its possible applications of federal fund use as a method of economic development. This method is seen as a more comprehensive approach that includes a diversity of decision-makers and stakeholders, opposed to an incremental approach or tactics that are performed by isolated sectors with divergent interests in economic development initiatives. For the purpose of this paper, the investigation will be limited to case studies on Portland, Oregon; Northern New Jersey; and Baltimore, Maryland metropolitan area. Portland represents initiatives administered by a local agency (a more bottom-up approach), while both Northern New Jersey and Baltimore represent initiatives administered by state agencies (a more top-down approach).

**Portland, OR Initiatives**

Portland is a large urbanized area of 1.3 million residents with almost 220,000 living below the poverty level. In 2000, approximately 15,000 of the residents were on
welfare. Three of the biggest challenges identified for this area were moving out of poverty by acquiring job skills, finding affordable childcare and accessing transportation. Convenient and affordable transportation services have been the main challenge to obtaining and retaining employment (Portland, Oregon Area-Wide Job Access Plan, 2000).

There are still significant access issues, even though 85 percent of poverty-stricken individuals live within a quarter-mile of transit. A hire analysis showed that the majority of people accept jobs within walking distance their homes or easily accessible by public transportation. Suggested reasons for this occurrence are circumstances not considered when attempting to develop an efficient transit service for the welfare and low-income populations. Circumstances include childcare, shift work, multiple transfers, and excessive travel.

Portland developed a Regional Job Access Plan that focused on the use of collaborative efforts to address the needs of the welfare and low-income populations. Their goals were to maximize the existing transportation and social services. Doing this provided the needy population with improved job access and job related services. The plan was modeled after Oregon’s welfare reform program, which achieved a 47 percent reduction in welfare caseloads in less than four years. The model places significant value on partnerships between social services agencies; employers; and local, regional, and state agencies.

By using effective partnerships, Portland developed a three-tier plan that addressed the transportation needs for the welfare and low-income populations. The tiered approach included making provisions for an extensive regional information
program, the designation of multi-modal transportation centers and focusing on employers that retain as well as recruit from welfare and low-income populations. This was done in order to maximize resources for existing alternative transportation networks, the regional transportation systems, land use strategies and successful alternative transportation outreach programs.

Programs were implemented using the guiding principles of regional coordination, serving regional markets, committing to implementation, focusing on job retention, time of day matters, and employer-provided benefits. Participating partners employed some form of the guiding principles in the development of all the strategies.

First, Portland partners recognized that a plan designed entirely from a transit perspective would not meet the true needs of the welfare population. At the same time, partners acknowledged the fact that social service agencies do not have the expertise to design or operate an efficient transportation service. In order for the plan to be successful there needed to be coordination involving the regional transit agency; social service agencies; alternative transportation groups; and local, regional, and state jurisdictions. To develop an effective transportation solution coordinated efforts had to be made. Specifically, the coordination strategies include the use of private industry partnerships, employer partnerships, private transportation providers, and one-stop centers.

The Job Access Plan needed to meet the needs of a broad population. Therefore, the regional market had to be considered. This was necessary in the process to improve access to the targeted needs of the welfare population. This principle was intended to provide universal access to regional services.
The Portland partners worked on several service levels of human and transportation service industries that varied in complexity. This meant that implementation would be performed in phases. Partners focused on implementing the simple things right away that made a big a difference without a lot of investment. The remaining factors were done based on the predicted availability of resources.

Noting the location of job resources was also important. The Job Access Plan identified areas with projected growth in entry-level positions. It also noted the location of employers that hired people off of welfare and have a record of retaining those employees. This was done in order to designate a route of sustained use and the most promising areas for employees.

The developers of the Plan accepted the fact that if a transportation solution was going to be developed that was inclusive of the diverse needs of low-income employees, time schedule was an important factor. There needs to be transportation options that address off-peak work hours. The transportation options needed to address off-peak needs and designs flexibility into the network. Also, general life’s needs had to be balanced in the time schedule. For example, the time for drop-off and pick-up at childcare, especially on public transit, can drastically reduce an employees earning potential. Alternatives needed to be considered for transportation solutions.

According to these principles, the Job Access Plan needed a transportation solution that required an approach from many different levels. The Plan focused on three-levels of emphasis: regional, area-specific, and employer-specific. The levels focused on different elements of improvement.
The regional approach focused on improving coordination, training and information. Tasks associated with this approach were many, orchestrated by social service providers, who focused on developing new marketing materials and training methods to meet the special needs of the welfare and low-income populations.

The area-specific approach focused on designating areas most suitable for Job Access transportation hubs, which would service the targeted population. These areas were deemed suitable by being a centralized point where people could connect to the regional transportation system. These hubs would also house information on a variety of transportation and other support services. The hubs included information on car sharing, vanpooling, bicycling, transit and other information.

The employer-specific approach focused on targeting information about employment areas. The employment areas were selected on the basis of employment growth patterns and existing levels of transit service. Participants involved in this approach focused on employers that were likely to hire and retain welfare and low-income employees. The concepts for targeting these areas were built off of the Portland, Tri-Met employer outreach programs.

Tri-Met is a municipal corporation that provides public transportation for the tri-county Portland metropolitan area. Tri-Met operates a 33-mile light rail line, bus routes, and services for seniors and people with disabilities. The corporation also provides alternative transit choices including ridesharing options, bicycling, employer-based programs and innovative pilot programs that test new ways of providing an alternative to the automobile. All of these services are highly coordinated regionally, reaching from the downtown core to the outskirts of town and suburban employment centers.
Tri-Met also works with other transportation service providers on integrated services. These providers include C-TRAN, South Metropolitan Area Rapid Transit (SMART), South Clackamas Transportation District (SCTD), and number of private service providers. The corporation also keeps track of employers that make their own arrangement for employee transportation. Some of these employers are Intel, Nike, St. Vincent’s Hospital, transportation management associations and social services that make their own provisions.

Provisions for transportation remain a key objective when planning for new or expanded Welfare to Work services. Portland’s analysis has proven there is more to meeting the needs of the targeted population then proximity to transit services. This accounts for the diversity among partners involved in the use of the Job Access and Reverse Commute Grant for Portland. A comprehensive criterion towards developing a transportation solution that meets the diverse needs of the targeted populations has been employed. The criterion includes access to the transit system, connection to community and other transportation services, high population concentration, and easy access for the community.

**Northern New Jersey Regional Initiatives**

The Northern New Jersey region is a large urbanized area that encompasses the 13 northernmost counties in the region and is a part of the New York metropolitan area. It houses five of New Jersey’s six major urban centers, with several of the centers surrounded by old suburbs exhibiting patterns of poverty. In 1990, the total population for the region was 5.5 million, of which 417,460 (7.6 percent) people were below the
Using Public Policy to Promote Economic Development

poverty level. The region had an unemployment rate of 5.2 percent (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990). The profile to follow illustrates a more vivid picture of the region.

**Table 3.1: NJTPA Regional Household, Employment and Client Travel Profile**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Households</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• 64,947 households in NJTPA region receive TANF aid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• TANF aid is distinctively dispersed and heavily concentrated in the State's four northeast counties: Essex, Hudson, Passaic, and Union.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 77 percent of the region's TANF recipients live in these four counties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 49 percent of the region's TANF clients are concentrated in the NJTPA urban centers of Newark, Jersey City, Paterson, Elizabeth, and New Brunswick.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 70 percent of the region's TANF clients live in these urban centers and the municipalities adjacent to them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Approximately 85 percent of TANF participants are located within 35 of the region's 385 municipalities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Each of the 35 municipalities is within 6 miles of an urban center and accounts for only 8 percent of the region's total land area.</td>
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<th><strong>Employment</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>• Between 1972 and 1997, urban counties lost more than one-quarter of their share of private sector jobs.</td>
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<td>• Majority of employment growth is in areas that are largely vehicle dependent, not in the urban centers served by public transportation.</td>
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<th><strong>Client Travel</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>• Employed women in urban areas average 3.8 trips per day, usually involving a combination of work, school and running errands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Approximately 90 percent of New Jersey TANF recipients are female.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• An obvious need exists for effective and efficient complete trip chains.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Regional Job Access Reverse Commute Transportation Plan, NJTPA, 1999

By 1997, the need to develop programs that address these realities became even more urgent with the federal welfare-to-work initiative of 1996 (Welfare Reform Act, 1996). In the words of the state’s Secretary of Transportation Rodney Slater,

"Transportation is the to in welfare-to-work" (NJTPA, 1999). The comment recognizes that transportation is one of the challenges to obtaining and maintaining employment.

There are other unique challenges that at times compound the issue of transportation such as education, work skills, and training. The immediate concern of the state transportation
department is the fact that most welfare recipients lack access to vehicles or housing serviced by the public transportation necessary to reach entry-level jobs. Another concern is for the ability of welfare recipients to meet the challenge of balancing work and family responsibilities, access to support services such as child care and shopping must also be available. Original transportation services did not respond to the needs of unique groups such as welfare recipients.

The Job Access and Reverse Commute grant was designed to fund programs that responded specifically to the unique needs of welfare recipients and low-income citizens. The program required the state to collaborate with MPOs, local and regional transportation agencies, and social service providers. Their joint efforts orchestrated by the North Jersey Transportation Planning Authority (NJTPA), were essential to successful job access initiatives. Additionally, the New Jersey Department of Human Services (NJDHS) derived a plan coordinating county-based and regional services to implement projects integrating the reverse commute part of the grant program that focused on the support services such as child care and skills training. Both of these state agencies utilized funds and developed projects relating to job access and reverse commute, but implementing and reporting was done separately.

Both NJTPA and NJDHS recognized the importance of reliable transportation to the development of economic independence among welfare participants. For the New Jersey Department of Human Service specifically, GIS was used to identify transit routes that would be responsive to housing patterns, support services, and jobs for the target population. The spatial analysis provided the percentage of client residences, training centers, childcare and family day care facilities, and potential employers within walking
distance of the transit routes. The study also considered that the average transit rider would not walk more than one-half a mile to a transit stop or destination. The study revealed the need for feeder transit connections that fill missing links to existing transit stations, park and rides, and circulator services to area stores and restaurants.

The Northern Jersey Transportation Planning Authority also used the grant to conduct the same GIS analysis and examine the same current data. This information complemented the Regional Job Access and Reverse Commute Transportation Plan, which included identifying the current location of TANF recipients, mapping concentrations of poverty and employment, illustrating prospective client travel, screening projects for established or showing the potential the establish regional links, and prioritizing programs.

The NJTPA analyzed and documented the patterns using data collected from NJDHS and the Census in GIS applications. This helped in the connection of transit-dependent populations to job opportunities. The authority developed the following guiding principles for transportation strategies:

Table 3.2: NJTPA’s Recommended Transportation Strategies

- Modify existing bus routes and schedules to increase the frequency of service, add destinations, or provide connections to other services.
- New services, operating on fixed or flexible routes and schedules, to link county residents with regional transit services or employers and other major destinations.
- Increase coordination of para-transit services, including establishing transportation brokers.
- Expand para-transit systems to offer service to new user groups or add hours of service.
- Initiate programs to assist low-income individuals with the purchase and operation of their own cars.
- Initiate employer shuttles.
- Increase distribution of public transportation information to users, including trip-planning services.
- Implement NJ Transit’s WorkPass program and other incentives for using transit passes.
- Encourage car pooling and van pooling.

Source: Regional Job Access Reverse Commute Transportation Plan, NJTPA, 1999
This transportation plan was made possible through several cooperative federal, state, and local partnerships. Collaboration between agencies is essential to leveraging the resources necessary to begin to solve the multi-layered problems low-income populations have in obtaining and maintaining employment. However, the lack of collaboration between the NJTPA and NJDHS reveals redundancy in efforts in efficient use of federal resources. Tapping diverse resources and expertise is the key to filling the gaps of transit service to these communities. The federal government communicated the vision of helping welfare and low-income populations in the area of employment by eliminating transit barriers through policy and funds. The state made the vision applicable through specific program objectives and goals that required partnership to derive a comprehensive solution to satisfy the needs of the target population. The partners of this effort include:

- U.S. Department of Transportation (U.S. DOT)
- Federal Highway Administration (FHWA)
- Federal Transit Administration (FTA)
- New Jersey Department of Transportation (NJDOT)
- New Jersey Department of Human Services (NJDHS)
- North Jersey Transportation Planning Authority (NJTPA)
- 13 NJTPA counties, with participation from members of their economic development corporations, planning departments, divisions of social services, transportation divisions, and others
- The Bloustein School of Planning and Public Policy at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey

In this investigator’s opinion, these projects demonstrate that there is no single method to address transportation planning in low-income communities. The challenge to future planning initiatives includes inclusive data, effective partnerships, continued responsiveness to need, and sustainable programs. There has to be a continued effort to recover data from primary qualitative sources such as one-on-one interview, focus
groups, and surveys that reveal the public need. Quantitative tools, like GIS, require qualitative understanding. This should be complemented by partnerships that bring a diversity of expertise to the project. True success of the projects will be measured by the amount of low-income citizen can be afforded the opportunity of survival in the workforce because of the job access initiatives. This is accomplished through the combined strength of the previous elements and continued investment the policies and funds that make these initiatives possible.

**Baltimore, Maryland Metropolitan Initiatives**

The Baltimore, Maryland Metropolitan region is considered a large urbanized area. The region consists of six counties and is in proximity to the Washington, DC metropolitan area but is considered a separate metropolitan area. According to the Maryland Department of Human Services as of January 2000, there were a total of 20,151 TANF recipient households in the region. In 2000, the total population for the region was 2.5 million, in which 241,255 (9.6 percent) people are below the poverty level. The region had an unemployment rate of 2.6 percent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

The region was faced with the similar demand as other states to develop job access and reverse commute transportation services. This was in response to two conditions. The first condition refers to the relocation of employment centers from the central cities to the suburbs. Even though public transit continues to serve urban areas well, it is difficult and often impossible to reach new suburban job opportunities with conventional transit service. The second condition refers to the welfare reform criteria of 1996, which mandated recipients to join the workforce. The state of Maryland has reported 7,738 families have exited welfare between October 1996 and March 2000.
(Baltimore Regional JARC Transportation Plan, 2001) These issues had to be considered when devising a transportation plan that addressed the needs of low-income residents in an appropriate time period.

To address these diverse needs there needed to be a diversity of stakeholders involved in the planning process. The Baltimore Metropolitan Council has provided a forum for these diverse stakeholders and has convened since 1997. Participants of the council include transportation service providers, human service providers, economic development organizations, and employers from across the region. The intention is to develop a comprehensive approach to transit service for the special needs low-income populations.

The Baltimore Regional Transportation Board, the MPO for the region, orchestrates the development of comprehensive transit services in the region. The Board reviews JARC grant proposals and makes recommendations to the Maryland Transit Authority for statewide application. These proposals contribute to funding recommendations and long-term service planning for the region. The Regional Job Access and Reverse Commute Transportation Plan for the region is meant to build on existing welfare-to-work transportation activities, not supersede them. This allows stakeholders of the initiative to have an understanding of issues involving welfare recipients, employment centers, employment related services, and transportation gaps without reinventing the wheel (Baltimore Regional JARC Transportation Plan, 2001).

The Baltimore Regional Transportation Board examined population trends versus job growth trends as economic indicators to gather a better image of the progress being made in the areas of employment, employment centers, and employment related services.
The region performed studies on the Regional Planning District (RPD) level to note trends. The region concentrates on urban-suburban transition, in which the understanding of the transition heavily impacts the region’s capacity to assist low-income citizens in retaining employment. The trends were determined for the period 1990-2000. The trend study revealed a substantial population growth in all the districts.

As a result of the population growth in these RPDs, new business establishments have been attracted to serve new residents. There was a significant growth in the service industry in these areas. This led to the creation of service-oriented jobs in construction, office, retail, hotel or motel, hospitals, nursing homes, and institutions. These are the jobs that could be conducive to properly trained low-income citizens. However, due to lack of skills or experience, jobs in these industries are not easy to obtain by all welfare recipients. Welfare recipients often only qualify for low-wage or entry-level positions. According to the Occupational Outlook Handbook 1998-1999 Edition, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, the some leading low-wage occupations are cashiers, food and beverage preparation works, stock labors, home health aides, child care workers, and deliver route workers.

The Baltimore Regional Transportation Planning Board was charged with supporting projects that directly impacted transit service for low-income residents of the region keeping the previously mentioned contextual issues in mind. Using JARC funds, the Board’s objectives were to implement transportation service; to improve customer service and to operate efficiency; to promote the use of transit, transit vouchers and pass programs; and to develop employer-provided transportation. The guiding principles for the coordination of these job access projects are as follows.
Table 3.3: Baltimore Metropolitan JARC Transportation Plan Strategies

- Build upon existing partnerships among transit providers, social service providers, and workforce development agencies that formed as a result of the JARC grant program, both in planning for services and combining funding.

- Create new Transportation Management Associations (TMAs) with coordinated efforts to assist low-income commuters, including:
  - Provide a one-stop information clearinghouse for transportation services, including a toll free phone line;
  - Work with employers to promote and initiate employer-based transportation programs such as employee shuttles, carpooling, Guaranteed Ride Home (GRH), telecommuting, and flexible work hours;
  - Adapt traditional rideshare and carpool activities to include people who do not own cars; and
  - Implement the Maryland Commuter Choice program and the federal employee workforce transportation initiative.

- Improve safety at transit stops through design and land use enhancements, including:
  - Locate transit stops in mixed-use, higher-trafficked areas;
  - Install bus shelters with lighting, security cameras, and phones;
  - Increase police patrol of transit stops.

- Improve access to transit stops by providing sidewalks and other pedestrian infrastructure.

- Extend fixed-guide-way transit service to employment centers not already served.

Source: Baltimore Regional JARC Transportation Plan, 2000
Table 3.4: Additional Baltimore Strategies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Strategies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child Care and Health Care</td>
<td>• Conduct needs assessment for child care and health care and determines where and when additional services are needed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Reduce multiple trips by providing more convenient child care and health care in low-income neighborhoods, along major public transportation routes, and at work sites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Encourage child care and health care centers to provide van service to and from homes or work sites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Use and Housing</td>
<td>• Encourage transit-oriented and mixed-use development to improve car-free mobility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Offer affordable housing options close to employment sites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Encourage all jurisdictions and more employers to participate in the State of Maryland’s Live Near Your Work program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working with Employers</td>
<td>• Educate employers about transportation problems, potential solutions, and what they can do to help.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Encourage employers to locate in densely populated areas, which support transit and offer affordable housing options.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Encourage employers to implement employer-sponsored transportation services, including shuttles from the work site to existing transit stops that may include en-route access to employment-related activities such as child care.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Encourage employers to help pay for transportation services utilized by their employees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Help employers take advantage of federal and state employer tax credits by providing information and streamlining the process.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Encourage employers to provide opportunities for upward mobility, and pay for career advancement courses.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Baltimore Regional JARC Transportation Plan, 2001
All of these strategies are essential to a comprehensive approach to improve job access for low-income populations in the region that will lead to more sustainable employment, which in turn will lead to increased standards of living. The Board intends to enhance the plan with GIS analysis that includes more specific information of employers; new job growth data; and time related data such as frequency and bus hours, child care operational hours, and work shift time schedules.

Summary

The purpose of investigating these three Job Access and Reverse Commute grant programs was to understand its various applications as a method of economic development. The various techniques employed by the different metropolitan areas reveal the possible coordination options. Coordination across disciplines is essential to developing a wide-ranging approach to economic development, opposed to single-faceted sector approach that is most prevalent.

Included in the approaches of all three cases were partnerships with various sectors comprised of transportation planners, social service providers, municipal officials, private employers, and other stakeholders. By bringing these decision-makers together, there is more of an opportunity for sustainable economic development initiatives. The reason for this is that various disciplines of expertise that collaborate towards one common goal. The goal is to increase the economic situation of welfare and low-income populated communities. Recommendable is the acknowledgement that there is no-one-size-fits-all solution to economic development. Coordination across disciplines is essential to the viability of the various phases of economic development.
The main interest in this method is continuous viability and sustainability as expressed in career paths and the general improvement of life situations. It is one thing to provide entry-level jobs that remove a certain percentage of the population from welfare. However, it is much more valuable to start a population on a continuous upward spiral. One time intervention with an isolated focus will not do it.

The programs developed under this grant do consider external circumstances. For example, childcare is a large factor when considering travel time from work to home. However, the long-term advantages for the target populations are not clear. For instance, is it in the person’s better interest to take an entry-level position that causes them to sacrifice finances and the amount of time they can spend with their children? Unfortunately, the answer is sometimes ‘no’. It is apparent that these programs provide greater access to jobs but not the training to continue climbing. It can be difficult to see the incentives for self-sufficiency.

In the Portland study, there were provisions made for employment training but occupation levels for the trainees still were not clear. The most abundant jobs were available in the food service, transportation, security, and home care industries. It is not apparent that the skills necessary to develop a career are provided by these jobs. There were also employment opportunities made accessible in high-tech corporations such as Nike and Intel. However, the Portland Plan was not clear about the positions that the targeted population would qualify for, if any. The Northern Jersey case left similar concerns. Both plans did not include services for incumbent workers, which is necessary to career ladder progression.
The Baltimore regional model however, specifically mentions service for incumbent workers and partnering with employers concerned with providing opportunities for upward mobility. If Portland and Northern Jersey have programs in place that do set people on career paths in corporations such as these, which would change the lifestyle situations of welfare and low-income populations, these would be great models for economic development. However, it is not certain that this is the case after investigating the cases. The Baltimore regional model is the closet to aligning with one of the main overarching objective of this investigation, which is to develop a model that includes missing or underrepresented issues necessary for consideration in order to promote career ladder progression.

The Baltimore regional model addresses the often underrepresented issues which low-income citizens are confronted by including childcare, healthcare, basic skill training, housing, and job access. The state government has a substantial enough role in administration to more easily ensure consistency. Special considerations were made to recruit employers, which provided entry-level positions with potential for upward mobility. The study also considered program impacts in more affluent neighborhoods. The focus was not limited to acquiring the support of lower-income citizens but also the broader economic impacts. To compare the impacts of federal funds on economic development an addition strategy will be examined besides JARC. JARC programs are federally funded transportation initiatives. The case studies covered in the next chapter will examine federally funded workforce development initiatives, one-stop centers.
CHAPTER 4: ONE-STOP CENTERS

In 1998, the Workforce Investment Act (WIA) required states and localities to coordinate most federal funds supporting employment and training services into a single system, the one-stop center system. Possible federal support for these centers can be obtained for the Department of Labor, the Department of Education, Health and Human Services, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (GAO Report, 2003). The one-stop center system involves a central location, in which jobseekers can access information and/or programs pertaining to employment, training, and other related support services. The overall objective of the system is to unify the “patchwork” of categorical programs into one workforce development system (Kogan, 1997). The one-stop center system is a network node for employers, employees, and service providers.

The specific objectives of one-stop initiatives are as follows:

- **Universal access:** Core workforce development services universally accessible to all individual and employer customers, regardless of their eligibility for specific categorical programs.

- **Customer choice:** The transformation of the bureaucratic maze of categorical workforce development programs into a customer-driven system that allows jobseeker and employer customers to select services appropriate to their individual needs and interests.

- **Service integration:** The integration of the planning, design, and delivery of services across multiple funding streams and agencies to create a system of services that is seamless from the customer perspective and minimizes duplication of effort.

- **Outcome accountability:** The development of new system-level accountability mechanisms to ensure that the system is driven by efforts to improve outcomes for worker and employer customers.

Implementation Strategies

The one-stop centers, considered exemplary in a report prepared by the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO), implemented a range of streamline services for jobseekers, engaged employers in the community, and built solid one-stop infrastructure (GAO 03-725, 2003). Educational training of one-stop staff and the consolidation of case management and intake procedures streamlined the service needs of jobseekers. The successful centers also all had at least three methods of engaging employers that were tailored to the service needs of the employers. This meant that there was specialized staff for specific employment industries and assistance from intermediaries such as Chamber of Commerce and economic development agencies. Strong infrastructures of the centers were built by strong program partnerships and consistent fundraising to supplement the funds supplied by WIA. The program partnerships were strengthened through the encouragement of teamwork and joint projects. Additional funds were raised through fee-based services, grants, and contributions from partners and local or state governments. Below is a flow chart of the exchange fostered in one-stop centers.

Figure 4.1: One-Stop Center Flow Chart

Source: The U.S. General Accounting Office
The Department of Labor does currently track outcomes such as job placement, jobseeker satisfaction, and employer satisfaction to evaluate workforce development programs. However, there is very little known about the impact of various one-stop service delivery approaches on these and other outcomes (GAO 03-725, 2003). This investigation will examine those outcomes along with approaches. The approaches of the one-stop centers are lacking in evaluation of integrated services such as sharing customer intake forms across programs, employer partnerships, and the dedication of staff to focus on engaging and serving employers. Also, missing is the collaborative evaluation across federal agencies on the interdependent affects that does not just favor labor but includes issues of education, health, housing, and urban development. This study operates on the premise that an acknowledgement of the interdependency of these issues is needed for a comprehensive solution to increasing the standards of living for low-income populations.

**Coordination of Federal Funds**

As a result of welfare reform, there are increasingly more TANF dollars being used in the one-stop centers across the country. This allows increasing TANF-related services to be available on-site, and more importantly the joint efforts in serving clients. Examples of these joint efforts are electronic linkages and client referrals. There are many states, in which to some extent provider TANF services through one-stop center. As of 2001, only four states in the nation did not provide any TANF services through a one-stop center (GAO-02-696, 2002). This is important to states workforce investment programs with centers because once fully operational one-stop centers should serve 80% of the nations civilian labor force according to a 1997 projection (Kogan, 1997). TANF dollars are the main funding stream of welfare recipients. Various issues are associated
with the task of distributing these funds to increase the situation of the low-income population there comes a variety of issues.

A variety of issues including historic relationships, geography, adequate facilities, and different perspectives influence how one-stop centers are used to relay services to TANF clients. Historic relationships pertain to the staff of local agencies that do not have experience working with one-stop center staff, which leads to a lack of trust limiting coordination options. Geography can be a barrier because of uncertainty of service district. Some local agencies may be reluctant to work with one-stop center because of physical location and being unsure of the one-stop center’s service reach encompassing their area. In the case of adequate facilities there may not be enough space to house a joint staff. With different perspectives, there is a debate over whether or not TANF clients are better serviced in separate social service facilities. There is a concern that because of multiple employment barriers TANF clients may not receive priority of service in a one-stop environment (GAO-02-696, 2002).

These issues influence coordination provisions. For example, workforce staff might be outsourced in various welfare agencies to service TANF clients. Without a centralized locale, this hinders coordination. There are also program differences that hinder coordination efforts. For example, there are different measures of program success that include variations in definitions and report requirements. For example, defining what income level constitutes self-sufficiency (GAO-02-696, 2002). Currently, there is no evaluation of how coordinated service delivery forged by one-stop centers affects the outcomes of TANF clients. This investigation will seek information on those outcomes and efforts made to alleviate coordination issues through sample case studies.
Efforts that can be made to alleviate coordination issues include welfare and workforce information systems, which are not equipped to exchange data. A one-stop staff has to enter data on the same client into two different systems. A 2002 GAO report recommended that coordination issues should be dealt with jointly be the Department of Labor and Health and Human Services (GAO-02-696, 2002).

This research seeks to analyze policy coordination on the federal level that trickles down to states and localities, which is necessary to the promotion of positive development. Efforts need to start at the federal level, which is the proper platform to ignite consistency and momentum for real change. The previous conclusion is surmised based on preliminary literature support. Preliminary literature explains performance measures must be clearly outlined by the federal government before the devolution of funding control occurs (GAO 03-725, 2003; GAO-02-696, 2002; Kogan, 1997; and Okagasi, 1997). The standard of living for low-income populations will not be improved with the efforts of a few anomalies. Meaning the measures of success for one-stop centers need to be standardized and judged based on a set of criteria that are easily transferable. Knowledge from model programs as well as failed ones using one-stop centers need to be documented to promote the proper policy adjustments. One-stop centers are viable venues to promote economic growth for low-income and all citizens of society.

**ONE-STOP CENTER CASE STUDIES**

**Portland, Oregon Initiatives**

The Portland one-stop center case study will serve as example of initiatives involving the participation of community colleges. Today a portion of the curriculum of
community colleges around the country are being devoted to applied skill development directly relating to industry to better prepare potential participants of the labor market. This can be recalled from a discussion in Chapter 2 about workforce developers attempting to meet the specific needs of particular industries and the issue of industry cluster development. The particular interest in this tactic is the possibility of better preparing low-income population to join the workforce in a position directed towards upward mobility.

Metro One-Stop is the center being studied in this case. The center is one of three centers in the Portland Community College (PCC) workforce network. The PCC workforce network is an organization that seeks to optimize workforce performance. It serves the north and northeast regions of Portland. The network specializes in helping businesses fulfill their human resource needs and helping jobseekers in their career development.

Overall services provided by the network include workshops, Adult Basic Education (ABE) & General Educational Development (GED) services, computer classes, teen opportunities, short-term training programs, workplace English, career centers, and transportation assistance. Topics covered in the workshops are resume building, career exploration, interviewing skills, and mastering the application process. GED preparation courses are also offered. Computer classes are available at every center in the network with a mix of self led and instructor led classes. Teen opportunities range from life skills to career development. There is also a broader connection to transportation assistance in the region including access to a Tri-Met trip planner.
Network partnerships consist of self-sufficiency offices, departments of human services, regional one-stop centers, workforce developers, educational partners, employers, and teen services links. These partnerships equip the network with the tools need to serve employers and jobseekers. Services offered by the network are as follows.

**Table 4.2: Metro One-Stop Services**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Services</th>
<th>Extended Services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Full-service Career Center with current job listings</td>
<td>• Full time Employment Department Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Computers with Internet Access</td>
<td>• Self-paced computer classes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Resource library with over 250 job search books and videos</td>
<td>• Job search workshops on resume writing, interviewing and other topics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Employer presentations</td>
<td>• Community resource information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Instructor led computer classes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Short Term Trainings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Adult Basic Education/General Educational Development</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: WORKFORCE NETWORK website (http://wfn.pcc.edu/), Accessed 2004

**Northern New Jersey Regional Initiatives**

The Northern New Jersey region one-stop center case study will serve as example of initiatives involving state administration. The one-stop centers in New Jersey like the JARC initiatives are more from the top down in terms of governance structure. The program control is still maintained at the state level. The one-stop centers are part of a state network in New Jersey. The particular interest in this tactic is the possibility of system that exhibits standards for consistency and a capacity to easily transition into a process involving interdependent agencies with common missions. The importance of these standards and processes, as covered in Chapter 2, are crucial to the development Tier 3 reform policy that is multi-dimensional and is a comprehensive system of reform.

The Jersey City of Hudson County one-stop center will be examined in this case. The center is part of the Workforce New Jersey Public Information Network. The centers
in this network are divided by counties with one managing center. The Jersey City center is the managing center of Hudson County. The center and network is operated under the State Employment and Training Commission.

Overall services and programs provided by the network include the NJ Employer Council, services for employers, government contracting, professional service group, apprenticeships, intern programs, unemployment and disability information, labor market information, and transportation for employees. The NJ Employer Council is a statewide organization that partners with the state department of labor to work on ways of improving the state workforce through development programs and services. The network provides a variety of services for employers includes maintaining a 24-hour a day, seven days a week talent bank. New Jersey has professional service groups, which are self-help organizations of professionals helping professionals to find new jobs. There are a number of transportation options for employees in the region, a number of which tie into the JARC initiatives.

Participating partners of network initiatives are state departments of labor, personnel, education, human services, commerce and economics, community affairs, and veteran affairs, as well as private sector employers. The partners contribute to the service of jobseekers, employers, and career explorers. Services specifically provided by the Jersey City One-Stop of Hudson County are as follows.
Table 4.3: Jersey City One-Stop Services

**Services:**

- Public access to One-Stop computers for posting resumes and searching for jobs
- Assist applicant in registering for services
- Review the applicant’s job qualifications, experience, readiness, abilities, etc.
- Vocational counseling to veterans and other applicants
- Refer the applicant to employers with appropriate job openings
- Refer to other agencies for job training
- Refer to other agencies for supportive services (health, housing, legal, etc)
- Classes in job seeking methods (searching for job openings, writing resumes and cover letters, interviewing for a job, networking, etc.)
- Assist job applicants in writing and entering their resumes into America’s Talent Bank
- Public access to computers featuring the Workforce New Jersey’s One-Stop website (Job Bank, Resume Bank, directories of training and services, etc.)
- Assistance, when needed, to registered applicants using the computers
- Vocational rehabilitation services
- Fax, copier, phones available to applicants for use only in their job search
- Certification of unemployed job seekers for tuition-free training at any community college or state college (on a space-available basis)
- Orientation and referral to the Self-Employment Assistance program

**Services to employers include, among others:**

- Screening and referral of appropriate job candidates from the largest pool of workers
- On-site (at employer’s location) recruitment and screening for the employer
- Positive recruitment—employer can conduct recruitment using the office and facilities of Workforce New Jersey
- Employers can set up on-the-job training for workers through Workforce New Jersey


**Baltimore, Maryland Initiatives**

The Baltimore, Maryland region one-stop center case study will serve as example of information technology driven initiatives. The one-stop centers in Baltimore are similar to New Jersey in terms of being administered by a more top-down approach. The program control is still maintained at the state level. The one-stop centers are a part of a state network in Maryland. The particular interest in this tactic is the outcomes produced by a center that works as a node of information, instead of a node of information and
program activity. The center works as a collector of information but, out-sources actual programs. The center exhibits the possible tactics of one-stop centers that should be implemented with care since it can do a disservice to the region by not providing extensive development services, particularly in the case of low-income citizens.

The Baltimore City CareerNet one-stop center will be examined in this case. The center is a part of the Maryland Job Services CareerNet. This network is operated under the State Department of Labor, Licensing, and Regulation. The centers in this network are divided by counties. The technology is used by jobseekers and employers to find career matches by connecting people to jobs.

Partners of the network include Professional Outplacement Assistance Center, employment agencies, the state departments of human resources and health, licensing boards, bankers, educational institutions, and employers. The Professional Outplacement Assistance Center is for workers that already have professional, technical, or managerial skills. A host of other organizations collaborate by providing a comprehensive resource bank of websites and contact information for programs and information relating to employment.

Services specifically provided by the Baltimore City CareerNet One-Stop are as follows.
Table 4.4: Baltimore City CareerNet Services

- Full service WIA One-Stop Worker Services
- Locate job opportunities
- Receive free computer training in the Digital Learning Labs
- Discover winning job search techniques
- Access training opportunities
- Identify and assess current skill levels
- Explore career options
- Learn about financial aid
- Obtain information on local employers and labor market trends
- Participate in GED or adult basic education classes
- Create a winning resume Business Services
- Outreach & Recruitment Prescreening
- Assessment & Testing
- Occupational skills
- Cooperative programs (workplace & instruction)
- Upgrade skills training
- Job readiness

Source: Maryland Job Service CareerNet One-Stop Centers website (http://www.dllr.state.md.us/county/), Accessed 2004

Summary

The purpose of investigating one-stop centers in these particular regions is to examine potential connections to JARC initiatives, as well as evaluate impacts of the three different typologies. The typologies have different dimensions which contribute to the deriving of a comprehensive system. A comprehensive system, which involves standards of consistency, provisions for sustainability, and frameworks for interdependent government agency efforts, is one of the main interests of this investigation. A system of policy reform consisting of these measures will transition Tier 2 policy such as JARC to Tier 3 policy, which provides the necessary federal support for merging people-based and placed-based strategies leaning with preference towards the arena of people-based strategies that are believed by this investigator to produce the greatest outcomes.

Strategies such as these open up the dialogue between decision-makers with the intent of developing plans for economic growth that cause a large enough ripple effect, in
which there is no need to compete over place standings. Without the competition of place standings, the beneficiary population no longer needs to be single-faceted in order to produce meaningful outcomes. The benefits can be reaped across several income brackets. The focus does not need to be either exclusively on job opportunities for low-income citizens or network opportunities for well-educated professionals. The research implies that networking opportunities provide cyclical benefits, which are essential to economic growth. Meaning social networks can create career opportunities, which in turn contributes to monetary benefits. This is the reason for interest in merging the place-based strategy of one-stop centers with people-based strategy of people mobility.

Pertinent information that can only be acquired at the grassroots-level utilizing place-based strategies adds an advantage to the overarching people-based agenda, which is more likely to receive the federally support, a top-down approach, because of the protection of the public interest.

The advantage provided by all the one-stop centers is access to a node of employment information and activity. Diverse resources are apparent in every case. However, alleviation of bias barriers is not apparent in every case. In each of the case, a specific group of residents is targeted or shown preference. In the Oregon center, the younger generation has a higher likelihood of success in a community college based program. This assumption is made because most of the services and programs are directed at teens and young adults. In the New Jersey and Maryland centers, there is an assumption of populations with the above basic skills needed to take advantage of the services offered in the information-technology based systems. Systems with multiple phases to serve a diverse population with different skill levels are needed.
None of these models are exemplary collective one-stop center systems, which use these tactics successfully. However, each model has successful individual tactics, which should be integrated into a multi-phase system. The Oregon center works closely with local industries and community colleges on creating an applied curriculum that is reflective of the current labor market. The downfall is this ties a jobseeker to a place. In the New Jersey model, a participant is not as tied to a place and has more transient freedom within the state when looking for a job. Because of the state administered system, jobseekers can find fair consistent one-stop practices across the state. The Maryland model is also state administered system and in addition has in-house WIA staff to assist the particular needs welfare and low-income citizens. In order to comprise a successful collective model of one-stop center systems, the model needs the include all of the successful aspects of the individual models described above and a stronger connection to transportation initiatives such as JARC. To make suggestions of the specific dimensions of an ideal model, a comparative analysis of all the model samples will be performed in the chapter to follow.
CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS

This chapter is designed to comprise a framework for policy changes through analysis of the sample models of JARC initiatives and one-stop center systems. The chapter begins by further detailing dimensions of the model strategies to support the summaries at the end of chapters three and four. Then, the paper ends with consolidated analysis, which includes a framework of suggested policy changes to synthesize people and place based strategies to promote economic upward mobility.

JARC Comparison

The purpose of this segment is to perform a comparative analysis of Job Access and Reverse Commute (JARC) grant program applications in terms of process and resulting projects. The projects compared are located in Oregon, New Jersey, and Maryland. This sample was chosen for its ability to exhibit a diversity of situations across the country and initial information available on JARC programs based on Federal Transit Administration (FTA) resources. The information discussed in this section will cover both the state and regional level. In certain cases the focus stressed in implementation strategies differ between states and between regions within a state have agendas that go beyond the overall state agenda.

This serves as a preliminary study to identify guidelines needed to utilize transportation policy as an effective vehicle of community economic development. Using this strategy is seen as a comprehensive approach that includes a diversity of decision-makers and stakeholders. This approach is preferred over incremental approaches or tactics that are performed by isolated sectors with divergent interests in development initiatives. The study will first describe the JARC grant program. Then, the
study will compare and contrast coordination structures, guiding principles, and services provided by each state. This will be followed by an overall evaluation.

**Coordination Structure and Hierarchy**

The major criterion for the use of grant funds is coordination. All states are required to make provisions for coordinated services, employment and related services, and a financial distribution schedule. The difference discovered among the New Jersey, Maryland, and Oregon cases is the governance structure. For the most part, all of the states used partnerships to implement these requirements. The dissimilarity was the states’ organization of the partnerships.

In the case of Portland, Oregon, partnerships were heavily dependent on local participation encouraging individualized implementation tactics. Participants included members of public and private transportation providers as well as human service providers. The bulk of the effort was spearheaded by Tri-Met, an independent transportation provider. In Oregon, there is no apparent state committee or agency to oversee the day-to-day tasks after initial administration by the MPOs. Authority for day-to-day management is mainly deferred to the local level with necessary provisions for regional services (Portland, Oregon Area-Wide Job Access Plan, 2000).

This is not the case for both New Jersey and Maryland power of administration is maintained from inception to completion mainly at the state level. In both cases, there is a State Coordination Committee for Human and Transportation Services. Funds are still primarily distributed to local transportation providers for programming but final approval is up to the discretion of the state committees. In these states, programs are also generally examined on the county level.
In New Jersey, each county develops a Community Transportation Plan and there is a steering committee for each county that implements the action strategies. The steering committee consists of representatives from the State Departments of Transportation, Human Services and Labor, the NJ State Employment and Training Commission, and NJ TRANSIT. The county-based steering committees are responsible for updating transportation gaps and identifying possible strategies with specific types of services offered (NJDOT website, Accessed 2003).

**Guiding Principles**

Each state has its own set of guiding principles that governed the services to be researched and developed that is as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Table 5.1: State Overarching Guiding Principles</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Oregon</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Coordinating regionally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Serving regional markets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Committing to implementation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Focusing on job retention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Developing provisions that consider non-traditional work schedules</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Encouraging employer-provided benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New Jersey</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Reducing barriers to employment and self-sufficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Developing a transportation brokerage or feeder service model that can be replicated in other suburban counties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Encouraging the use of public transportation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Quantifying the degree to which child care and shift work pose transportation barriers for participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Determining the viability of these types of transportation systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Maryland</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Expanding route services to employment centers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Extending service to accommodate non-traditional work schedules</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Providing specialized services to meet local needs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Note: Each region derive their own more elaborate set guiding principles or strategies from the overarching principles of their states
Services

Each state provides a broad range of services. All the states supplied public and private transportation, employment resources, training, services for the aging and disabled, and information networks. Other services were reliant on the state’s partnerships.

In the case of Portland, other services included childcare, health benefits, and a large array of non-traditional transportation alternatives. These alternatives were CarSharing, in which recipients were loaned a vehicle to use for carpooling; the Bicycle Transportation Alliance, the recipients were loaned a bike for work; and the recruitment of companies that supplied transportation as a part of its benefits package (Portland, Oregon Area-Wide Job Access Plan, 2000).

At the state level, Maryland did not appear to look at alternatives to a straightforward package of transportation services. The projects found in this case do not seem to prioritize additional support services over additional access routes. Descriptions of social services beyond employment related services are limited. This makes the state stick out in comparison to Oregon and New Jersey since several of the programs in these states are hinged around childcare provisions. This does not seem to be Maryland’s focus.

Although on the regional level in the case of the Baltimore Metropolitan region, there were provisions made for both childcare and health care. These programs were necessary to respond to the needs of citizens in that environment. These considerations consequently affected transportation planning. For example, steps were taken to reduce
multiple trips by providing more convenient childcare and health care in low-income
neighborhoods, along major public transportation routes, and at work sites.

More detail on this case in covered in Chapter 3, along with the exemplary
strategies to the Baltimore region employed, using JARC funds, to utilize employer
partnerships to assist in starting low-income citizens on a career ladder. Baltimore JARC
planners went beyond recruitment and retention of employment for low-income citizen.
They established a criterion for working with employers that would allow even
incumbent workers to maintain continuous viability in the changing labor market. For
example, employers were encouraged to provide opportunities for upward mobility, and
pay for career advancement courses. A list of similar criteria can be found in Chapter 3.
These criteria or any similar criteria with this focus were not mentioned in process
performed by any of the other states or regions.

New Jersey does focus on childcare in their programs as well as reduce fares for
children and after-school programs. Studies have ranged from traditional route access
plans for employment and shopping centers to trip analysis of daycare and schools of
Welfare to Work participants. The state also includes programming that impacts more
diversified populations (NJDOT Website, Accessed 2003).

After reviewing a case study of the Northern Jersey region, the actual
administration that makes these impacts possible is interesting. The transportation
planning authority and the department of human services, these two municipal bodies
administering grant funds for the region, derive separate plans and implementation
strategies. Both agencies share and use data from but do not derive a joint plan even
though they are using the same federal funds and serving the same target population. The
reason for this is a difference in perspectives, transportation and human resources. This is an example of program differences the hinder coordination efforts. For example, there are different measures of program success that include variations in definitions and report requirements. For instance, defining what income level constitutes self-sufficiency. (GAO-02-696, 2002) This issue will be revisited because it has to be addressed for so-called comprehensive initiatives to progress.

**Evaluation**

The purpose of this comparative study is to compile the pros and cons that manifest as result of different implementation strategies for the Job Access and Reverse Commute Grant program. This will serve as a preliminary study to identify guidelines needed to utilize transportation policy as an effective vehicle of economic development. This method is seen as a comprehensive approach that included a diversity of decision-makers and stakeholders. This option is opposed to incremental approaches or tactics that are performed by isolated sectors with divergent interests in economic development initiatives.

The foundation of this method is built on partnerships of various sectors including transportation planners, social service providers, municipalities, private employers, and other stakeholders. By bringing these decision-makers to a common ground, there is more of an opportunity for sustainable development initiatives because various disciplines of expertise collaborate towards one common goal. This is feasible as pointed out in GAO reports in Chapter 4, but there needs to be more policy coordination among department on the federal level to support the efforts. Without this support universal indicators and measures of success will not result. Thus, there will be continued
redundancy and piecemeal efforts that do not have sustainable effects. The goal is to increase the economic situation of welfare and low-income populated communities inevitably leading to a more self-sufficient population with a higher quality of life. The best thing about these tactics is the acknowledgement that there are no one-size-fits all solutions to improving a person’s individual situation. Coordination across disciplines is essential for diversified solutions and for allowing continuous viability.

Continuous viability is the main reason for interest in a strategy that requires coordination across disciplines. Particularly, the interest is the creation of sustainable career paths and general improvement of living standards for impoverished communities. It is one thing to provide entry-level jobs that remove a percent of the population from welfare. However, it is much more to start a population on a continuous upward spiral. One time intervention with an isolated focus will not do it.

The programs developed under this grant do consider external circumstances. As advised by several economic developers, the range of support service need to encompasses drug treatment, psychological counseling, child care, and transportation. (Fitzgerald & Rasheed, 1998; Osterman, 1993; Pavetti & Acs, 1996; Stawn & Martinison, 1998) For example, childcare is large factor when considering the travel time from work to home. However, the long-term advantages for the target populations are not clear. For instance, is it in the person’s better interest to take an entry-level position that causes them to sacrifice finances and the amount of time they can spend with their children? Unfortunately, the answer to this question is sometimes ‘no’. It is apparent that these programs provide greater access to jobs but not the training to continue climbing. It can be difficult to see the incentives for self-sufficiency.
In the Portland project, there were provisions made for employment training but provisions for occupation levels are not clear. The most abundant jobs were available in the food service, transportation, security, and home care industries that did not allude to the potential for elevation. There were also employment opportunities made accessible in high-tech corporations such as Nike and Intel. However, the study was not clear about the positions that the targeted population would qualify for, if any. If Portland has programs in place that do set people on career paths in corporations such as these, which would change the lifestyle situations of welfare and low-income population, this would be a great model for economic development for its completeness. However, it is not certain that this is the case after investigating this study. The reason for this belief is the predominant jobs resulting from the project did not provide the option of upward progression on a career ladder.

In the case of Portland, one of better non-traditional transportation service plans was implemented. Workers had the option of a bike or a carpool, catered to the schedule of the individual more than the non-traditional services of the other states. These provisions were made recognizing the need for extended hours and expanded routes in public transportation is still sometimes not enough.

The presence of a State Coordinating Committee is a definite plus for both Maryland and New Jersey. Also, the organizational power at the county level with steering committees makes regional coordination and consistency easier to maintain. This level of hierarchy in coordination is necessary for efficiency.

New Jersey built in another level of efficiency for the state while still maintaining enough flexibility in program to cater to the needs of individual localities. Even with the
more top down approach, the diverse needs of the localities are recognized. This approach even extended to include populations outside the targeted low-income and welfare populations in which the grant is designed. The extension of servicing population will prove to be essential in the viability of projects that genuinely improve the quality of life. Individuals are afforded the opportunity to transcend and truly improve their life situation.

A negative for the Portland case was the diffused power involved in organizations implementing the plans. Oregon deferred most of the power to localities. This is good for responding to the needs of local populations but it makes it difficult to respond or be on board with the agenda of the state macrocosm. The lack of a State Coordinating Committee could cause a decrease in productivity and sustainability, particularly in overlapping geographic regions. After review these case studies it is clear that the rings of administration need to be orbiting on the same axis from the innermost ring being localities to the outermost ring being federal government. (See Figures 4.1 and 4.2 below) As noted in the GAO reports in Chapter 4, joint efforts need to be made starting on the federal level to ignite consistency and the momentum for change.
One-Stop Center Comparison

The purpose of this section is to perform a comparative analysis of One-Stop center services and programs in terms of typology. The three different type of typologies
covered will be a community college partnership center, a state administered center, and an information-technology based center. This sample was chosen for its ability to exhibit a diversity of situations across the country and potential connection with JARC programs in the same region.

This will serve as a preliminary study to identify guidelines needed to utilize one-stop centers as an affective venues for services and programs resultant of policies that promote community economic development. The one-stop center system involves a central location in which jobseekers can access information and/or programs pertaining to employment, training, and other related support services. The overall objective of the system is to unify the “patchwork” of categorical programs into one workforce development system (Kogan, 1997).

The interest in one-stop center is the fact that it is a network node for employers, employees, and service providers. Using this system is seen as providing the proper forum to forge a comprehensive approach that includes a diversity of decision-makers and stakeholders. The study will include a summary table center types, administering body, and services provided by each region. This will be followed by an overall evaluation.

### Table 5.4: One-Stop Center Summary Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Center:</th>
<th>Type:</th>
<th>Services:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metro One-Stop Portland, OR</td>
<td>Community College Network</td>
<td>Basic Skill Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jersey City One-Stop of Hudson County, NJ</td>
<td>State Administered</td>
<td>✓ Workplace English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore City CareerNet One-Stop, MD</td>
<td>Information Technology Based</td>
<td>✓ Adult Basic Education/General Educational Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓ Participate in GED or adult basic education classes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓ Assessment &amp; Testing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓ Job readiness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Using Public Policy to Promote Economic Development

### Computer Access
- ✓ Computers with Internet Access
- ✓ Self-paced computer classes
- ✓ Instructor led computer classes
- ✓ Public access to computers featuring the Workforce New Jersey’s One-Stop website (Job Bank, Resume Bank, directories of training and services, etc.)
- ✓ Receive free computer training in the Digital Learning Labs
- ✓ Discover winning job search techniques
- ✓ Create a winning resume
- ✓ Business Services

### Labor Market Resources
- ✓ Full-service Career Center with current job listings
- ✓ Resource library with over 250 job search books and videos
- ✓ Job search workshops on resume writing, interviewing and other topics
- ✓ Classes in job seeking methods (searching for job openings, writing resumes and cover letters, interviewing for a job, networking, etc.)
- ✓ Assist job applicants in writing and entering their resumes into America’s Talent Bank
- ✓ Obtain information on local employers and labor market trends
- ✓ Outreach & Recruitment Prescreening

### Employer Related
- ✓ Employer presentations
- ✓ Full time Employment Department Representative
- ✓ Screening and referral of appropriate job candidates from the largest pool of workers
- ✓ On-site (at employer’s location) recruitment and screening for the employer
- ✓ Positive recruitment—employer can conduct recruitment using the office and facilities of Workforce New Jersey
- ✓ Employers can set up on-the-job training for workers through Workforce New Jersey
- ✓ Use of talent bank database as recruitment source.

### Incremental Career Step-Provisions
- ✓ Career assessment
- ✓ Review the applicant’s job qualifications, experience, readiness, abilities, etc.
- ✓ Refer the applicant to employers with appropriate job openings
- ✓ Certification of unemployed job seekers for tuition-free training at any community college or state college (on a space-available basis)
- ✓ Access training opportunities
- ✓ Identify and assess current skill levels
- ✓ Occupational skills
- ✓ Explore career options
- ✓ Upgrade skills training
Special Needs

✓ Individualized services to help you find or keep employment
✓ Refer to other agencies for supportive services (health, housing, legal, etc)
✓ Orientation and referral to the Self-Employment Assistance program
✓ Full service WIA One-Stop Worker Services


Evaluation

This study is used to identify guidelines needed to utilize one-stop centers as an affective forum for services and programs resultant of policies that promote community economic development. Knowledge from these model-programs using one-stop centers can lead to more effective adjustments in policy. One-stop centers are viable venues to promote economic growth for low-income and all citizens of society.

All of these centers have different sets of pros and cons. The community college network center seems like a perfect model for escalation on a career ladder. The environment obviously supports education and training. The question becomes, is this environment more conducive to a certain age bracket, specifically the teens to the twenty something generation? The services offered by the center imply that its target population is the younger generation. The center operators try to appeal to student as they graduate from high school. This is not to say other generations are purposely excluded or that there are no programs directed towards their age group, but that services and resources available at this center are better suited for younger generations.
Using Public Policy to Promote Economic Development

The services and resources available at the state administered center in Jersey City can be suited for just about everyone. There is a plethora of services available through the state mandated collaboration of various departments. The problem is in the smorgasbord of programs available in the network, a client could become lost in the overwhelming knowledge not knowing how to process the information. Not everyone is a ‘self-starter.’ Some people need the extra guidance. The local center does offer basic programs. This still might not be basic enough for people coming off of welfare with little or no experience working.

As mentioned early by Giloth, many employers claim that just having workers with strong “soft skill” or work ethic, showing up is enough (Giloth, 2000). It seems like this center would consider this skill to be too remedial since, this particular center does not employ a WIA worker. A WIA work has a better understanding of the needs of welfare and low-income clientele.

The information technology based center in Baltimore City does employ WIA staff in the actual center. There is a separate list of services specifically designed for TANF and low-income population too extensive to include in the table above. However, the concern is whether low-income citizen can obtain labor marker information via the one-stop center. Or, are they still resorting to individual human service agencies? The abundance of information offered by the center requires a certain level knowledge. This requirement of knowledge can serve as a barrier to low-income citizen Maryland. Limiting centers to information can do a disservice to welfare or low-income centers that are facing long-term unemployment without programs for skill development.
As recalled by Okagasi, it does not alleviate some of the fundamental problems of employability (Okagasi, 1997). Information technology based center like this one also distract agencies for true joint efforts. From the perspective of this investigator being hyperlinked on a website does not replace joint policies, joint missions, joint goals, and joint initiatives. It avoids the necessary logistics of them.

Maryland has the programs, the initiatives, the networks, and the knowledge to use one-stop centers to their capacity but, it does not. Everything is in place except the true interdependent collaboration among agencies. The state is even orchestrating the effort but it is not a strong enough leader.

Okagasi mentioned, “States [must] assume a stronger leadership role.” This is necessary to make the vision and actions of these agencies align (Okagasi, 1997). The information collected throughout this investigation has implied this is crucial to the maintaining consistency in vision and the relationship of all program activities. The one-stop centers alleviate some of the communication barriers with physical proximity. However, they are not being utilized to their full potential.

This capacity usage includes interagency performance within states, especially when they are operating under the same federal policies and funds. Departments of labor, human services, health, housing and urban development, and transportation all should be working jointly on the issues of job access and employment support service for low-income citizens. The issues impact all of these departments. The piecemeal approaches sanctified in the past are not making a big enough dent.

The recommendations in a 2002 GAO report have to be taken under advisement, coordination issues should be dealt with jointly be the Department of Labor and Health
and Human Services (GAO-02-696, 2002). It is the opinion of this investigator that policy coordination on the federal level that trickles down to states and localities is necessary for the promotion of positive development. This would be a start to overdue comprehensive approaches. The standard of living for low-income populations will not be improved with the efforts of a few anomalies. There has to be an agenda of policy reform that encourages interdependent agency initiatives and the use of one-stop centers as nodes of activity not just information that responds to the needs of a diversity of populations including low-income citizens.

**Consolidated Analysis**

The purpose of proposing the merger of people-based strategies such as JARC initiatives with place-based strategies such as one-stop centers is to suggest a framework of policy changes which better suit the synthesis of the two strategies to promote economic upward mobility for all citizens. Currently, the policies discussed in the case studies are Tier 2 policies with the potential of becoming Tier 3 policies. JARC is a multi-faceted transportation policy that mandates regional coordination including funding the one-stop centers, which are the result of multi-faceted workforce development policy. In order for transportation and workforce policies to become Tier 3 policies, there needs to be a comprehensive system of reform, which requires federal influence in terms of administration to maintain universal performance standards.

The purpose of engaging in a discussion, which emphasized people-based strategies and their impacts on employment, was to illustrate the common need among diverse decision-makers for universal performance measures of collaborative efforts as common interest of diverse decision-makers. The discussion has led to the conception of
a policy framework which encourages interdependent agency initiatives based on lessons learned from the sample case studies and relevant literature. Described on the next page, in Table 5.1 and in Figure 5.2 are the current structures in position and the additional links to be made in order to create a system which produces a large enough ripple effect in economic development to be experienced by all.
### Table 5.5: Policy Framework

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Federal Influence</th>
<th>Portland, OR</th>
<th>Northern Jersey</th>
<th>Baltimore, MD</th>
<th>Missing Links</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Departments of Transportation and Labor</td>
<td>Departments of Transportation and Labor</td>
<td>Departments of Transportation and Labor</td>
<td>More Interagency Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance Structure</td>
<td>Tri-Met—municipal public transportation provider</td>
<td>County Commissions</td>
<td>Regional Municipal Council</td>
<td>Devolution with commitment to basic universal performance standards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community College</td>
<td>State Employment and Training Commission</td>
<td>State Department of Labor</td>
<td>Uncompetitive Administrative Bodies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanism to Connecting with the Market</td>
<td>Partnerships with employers and service providers</td>
<td>Partnerships with employers and service providers</td>
<td>Partnerships with employers and service providers</td>
<td>Incumbent support provisions for employers, workers, and administrators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Partnerships between industries and community college administrators</td>
<td>Advisor Committee of Employers</td>
<td>Advisor Committee of Employers</td>
<td>Diverse Social Networks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feedback Mechanisms</td>
<td>Online survey</td>
<td>Not Apparent</td>
<td>Not Apparent</td>
<td>Phased or Tiered System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incremental Career Step Provisions</td>
<td>Community College Curriculum</td>
<td>Professional Networks</td>
<td>Incumbent worker services</td>
<td>Universally accepted definitions of performance standards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Recruiting employers, which offered development programs for upward mobility</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountability Systems</td>
<td>Increased job access</td>
<td>Increased job access</td>
<td>Increased job access</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Job growth</td>
<td>Job growth</td>
<td>Job growth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vague coordination measures</td>
<td>Vague coordination measures</td>
<td>Vague coordination measures</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNING

The lessons learned from examining the policy framework components in Table 5.1, which identifies the missing links in policy have been used to form the suggested policy cycle in Figure 5.2. This cycle will be explained through a discussion of administrative changes, component changes in framework, and potential impact changes. Then, the paper ends with a suggestion for future initiatives to be undertaken by both planners and economic developers.

Both planners and economic developers need to create integrated workforce development and social welfare strategies because the strategies affect the overall public
interest and the greater economy. The integrated strategies should include interagency action with universal performance standards, an unbiased governing body, and provisions for workforce development that go beyond job access. As defined in spatial mismatch theory, the process of obtaining and maintaining employment is also impacted by lack of information and lack of discrimination prevention (Ihlanfeldt, 1999). The U.S. General Accounts Office also notes that joint efforts need to be made starting on the federal level to increase consistency and the momentum for change.

These recommendations need be taken into account starting with increased numbers of departments participating in coordinated efforts to address the issue of employment. These departments should not only include the departments of transportation and labor, but also departments of housing, health, and education. Extensions of joint efforts are necessary to address the underrepresented or missing issues of employment. Not addressing these issues is often times to the detriment of low-income populations. Addressing these missing issues will ignite true change because the needs of the weakest links in the economy, low-income populations, will be recognized.

The changed administration has to be governed be a non-biased body. Specifically, the governing body should be spearheaded by a municipality to avoid conflicts of interests or dominating voices. As previously exemplified in the Oregon Workforce Investment Board example, having initiatives led by private industry participants can lead to the forging of alternative agendas compressing the original comprehensive purpose of the Board.

To maintain the comprehensive purpose behind workforce development initiatives there has to be a comprehensive means of evaluating them, which means that new
performance standards have to be derived that measure new coordinated systems not old single-faceted systems. Transportation providers and social services providers cannot keep performing with different measures of success and claim to be coordinating their efforts. For example, as explained in the New Jersey JARC case study, having two agencies use the same federal funds to develop completely different plans and implementation tactics is an inefficient use of resources. An evaluation system that relates to the measure of coordinated outcomes, not the predictable historic outcomes of the separate agencies, has to be put in place in order to overcome perspective barriers to coordinated efforts. Historically, different government agencies use different methods to solve problems. There has to be a paradigm shift centered around collaboration in order to derive universal performance measures.

The shift needs to start at the federal level through incentives and directives, which orchestrate the mentality change. The federal government has the power and funding, which should only undergo devolution to the local levels with guidelines to support collaboration from inception to completion. This major step needs to be to taken to ensure a policy cycle of success.

Conclusion

Standardized evaluations of federally funded programs such as JARC and one-stop center systems can lead to the creation of better integrated workforce development, and therefore social welfare strategies. Development of these integrated strategies can begin with the synthesis of people and place-based strategies, which allow for greater upward mobility for low-income citizens. By focusing on low-income citizens, the underrepresented or missing links of policy structure can be added. By adding the
missing links to policy structure currently in position, a system can be created which produces a large enough ripple effect in economic development to be experienced by all.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX A

Portland, Oregon Response

Who are the necessary stakeholders and what fields should targeted for recruitment?
Stakeholders include regional transportation providers, social service providers, community colleges, vocational schools, regional employers, TANF clients, and people living at or below 150% of the federal poverty level.

What were the coordination issues?
Aside from arranging meeting times that work for many parties, the largest coordination issue has been making certain that no services duplicate fixed route transit service already offered by TriMet.

What continuation factors are built into the programs?
Ideally programs will sustain themselves beyond the duration of the grant, however there is no process in place to assure this.

What are the criteria for the targeted populations participating in the program?
What are the evaluation criteria for progress?
The criteria for the target audience is TANF clients and people living at or below 150% of the federal poverty level. The evaluation criteria is ridership on services funded by the grant. We may also review regional TANF data (enrollment) in the near future.

What non-work travel services are offered with the program, if any?
How were issues of accountability handled?
Non-Commute vouchers are funded by the Job Access grant. The grant also funds travel training. Accountability is not a problem. All vouchers have carbon copies. Travel trainings are tracked by instructors. This is especially important because students receive an all-day TriMet pass for completing the training.

New Jersey Responses

1. Who are the necessary stakeholders and what fields should targeted for recruitment?
   a. We have no specific employment fields we are targeting. The stakeholders have become the transportation provider, the human service agency, and the Metropolitan Planning Organization.

2. What were the coordination issues?
a. Some of the issues surrounding coordination have been establishing the benefits received. From my own observation many of the employers, human/social service providers, and transportation providers had to be shown what they would be receiving from any type of collaboration. For example, a transportation operator must feel confident that a certain level of ridership can be guaranteed in order to operate a given route.

3. What continuation factors are built into the programs?
   a. There are no guarantees on the receipt of future federal funds for a project that received an award. The guidance given is that grantees should incorporate into their programs methods of sustainability, barring a possible additional award, once all federal funds have been used.

4. What are the criteria for the targeted populations participating in the program?
   a. Are you referring to poverty level of an area?

5. What are the evaluation criteria for progress?
   a. JARC grantees are required to submit two reports, which assist the FTA in evaluating the program. First, they are required to submit a quarterly report to TEAM. TEAM is the electronic grant making system for the FTA. This system allows us to track a measure of the qualitative and the more quantitative data. These measures include the money drawn down, and the milestones met for different phases of the project. Second, the FTA has a more qualitative reporting database that grantees must utilize. This enables us to track data such as number of employer sites reached, number of new transit stops added, etc.

6. What non-work travel services are offered with the program, if any?
   a. The program does call for routes to employment sites, as well as, employment related services such as childcare centers, senior facilities, etc.

7. How were issues of accountability handled?
   a. Please explain
Abstract for Paper Presentation at the Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences

Assessing the Needs of Refugee and Asylee Families

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This is an abstract proposal for a paper or poster session on a completed research paper to be given at the Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences. The topic areas are: International Studies, Women Studies, Social Work, Psychology, and Sociology.
Abstract

Assessing the Needs of Refugee and Asylee Families

In 1996, Congress asserted that marriage is the foundation of a successful society and is an essential institution for promoting the interests of children. While recognizing that a healthy marriage would not in and of itself prevent poverty, research indicated “stable marriages are associated with more stable employment, higher wages and better physical and emotional health” (Administration for Children and Families [ACF], 2004). In an effort to encourage states to strengthen marriages, Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) policies included a directive to increase two-parent families and decrease out-of-wedlock childbearing (ACF, 2004; Rector & Pardue, 2004).

In 2003, President George W. Bush proposed the Healthy Marriage Initiative as part of the TANF reauthorization. The initiative included funding, to be administered by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Administration for Children and Families, to promote healthy marriages and strengthen families. Overall goals for such programs include: increase the number of children raised in healthy, two-parent marriages; increase the number of married couples in healthy marriages; provide premarital couples with the skills and knowledge to form and sustain healthy marriages; and, support research on healthy marriages and healthy marriage education (ACF, 2004). The ACF Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) was included in this initiative as related to refugees.

The Immigration and Nationality Act describes refugees as persons who have fled their native countries and who are unable or unwilling to return to their homelands because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion (ACF, 2003). The U.S. has been a leader among developed nations with regard to the number of
refugees resettled each year. Between October 1998 and September 2003, the U.S. resettled 465,967 refugees, 1,800 of which were resettled in Travis (Austin) and Bexar (San Antonio) counties in Texas. Refugees settled in these areas represented people from 23 countries with the largest groups immigrating from Afghanistan, Bosnia, Cuba, Iran, Sudan, and Vietnam.

While Austin and San Antonio agencies have a long history of resettling refugees, little research has been conducted with regard to the strengths and challenges that refugee families face during the resettlement period. The Office of Family Services Refugee Program of the Texas Health and Human Services Commission contracted with The University of Texas School of Social Work’s Center for Social Work Research (CSWR) to identity these issues, with particular emphasis on the goals of the Healthy Marriage Initiative. While the findings are limited to Texas, the discussion will also include comparative research studies done in Asian and Southeast Asian communities, such as China and Vietnam and other refugee dominant states like California, New York, and Florida.

This project’s purposes were to determine the marital and family challenges experienced by refugees, and outline services available to refugees, in Austin and San Antonio, Texas. Thirty-one families and 21 providers of refugee services participated. Refugees from 12 countries were included: Afghanistan, Bosnia, Colombia, Cuba, Ethiopia, Iran, Liberia, Republic of Congo, Serbia, Somalia, Sudan, and Vietnam. The Texas Health and Human Services Commission funded this project, which was completed in September 2004.

Researchers gathered data using a semi-structured questionnaire. Queries about refugee family composition, stressors and strengths of marriages and families, challenges to parenting and mental health, and available and unmet social services needs were included. Interviews were conducted in participant’s homes or in social.
Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. Data were analyzed using a modification of the grounded theory method, an iterative process that identifies and codes broad themes in interview transcripts in order to reveal thematic relationships.

Eight major themes were identified by refugee participants. These included: 1) family and marital dynamics, 2) parenting and discipline challenges, 3) family and marital strengths, 4) mental health challenges, 5) barriers to self-sufficiency, 6) resettlement and other services, 7) unmet needs, and 8) solutions. Service providers provided feedback on ten broad themes. These included: 1) services provided by agencies, 2) agency strengths, 3) agency limitations, 4) strengths of refugee marriages and families, 5) tensions in refugee marriages and families, 6) tensions refugees experience with U.S. culture, 7) consequences of resettlement, 8) barriers to success, 9) needs of refugee communities, and 10) solutions.

These findings both support the research literature on Southeast Asian, African, European refugees and provide data specific to the Austin and San Antonio refugee and asylee populations and service systems. They also reinforce what refugees, service providers and policymakers already know about the challenges faced by refugee families during the resettlement period. That is, that refugee families were committed to self-sufficiency but face barriers with regard to transportation, employment, language, and time limits of the resettlement process and although refugee families place high priority on family unity and cohesion, resettlement brings new challenges, such as the loss of and separation from extended family and shifting roles and responsibilities in families.

This empirical research project documents these findings, discusses implications for practice for educators, policymakers, or professionals who work with or provide services to refugee children and families, and makes recommendations for improved service delivery for working with children and families with international backgrounds. Additional recommendations will be made to educators and professionals
who work with or do research on refugee women who have experienced episodes of PTSD and/or human trafficking victimization trauma.
1. Problem and Significance

In today’s world it is hard to find a part of society and the creations that society has wrought that are not somehow touched by oil. The impact of oil on the lives of so many is on a grand scale, such that without oil society would be plummeted back roughly 100 years; until at least alternative sources of energy were harnessed.\(^1\)

*Oil and its Significance*

The term *oil* refers to a broader spectrum of products that aid in the services from heating a house on a cold day to creating the right kind of plastic used in a pace maker to regulate a heart. It is of little wonder why oil companies are so important to the daily flow of modern civilization.

It is also theorized by the U.S. Department of Energy that the first two decades of the 21\(^{st}\) Century will be the most oil dependant that the world has seen. The reasons for this are two-fold. First, nations that are developing will be growing towards parity with industrialized nations. This in itself wills nearly double the global consumption of oil.\(^2\) The second reason is that while alternatives to oil are being explored and made market ready, they are still a long way off from being readily accessible to the world. Hybrid

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cars are now entering the market at an accelerated rate, at least relative to an originally set date of 2010.\footnote{2002 International Energy Outlook is published by the US Department of Energy.} This is all a reaction to the instability that oil is routinely around.

Most of the world’s oil supply is tapped from areas of the world that are politically unstable and environmentally inhospitable. This adds to the cost of doing business. Specifically, at some point between the harvesting of oil to the delivery of the product to the market there is a risk of interruption. This risk often destabilizes the pricing of a barrel of oil. The interruption can be virtually anything from weather, to pinhole leaks in a pipeline, to terrorism.

\textit{Oil and Terrorism}

When thinking of terrorism one must not think of it in the traditional way of evaluating the damages only through the lens of the loss of life. Often the loss of infrastructure is underplayed, as are the long-term affects of the loss of infrastructure. The event of September 2001 not only was a loss of lives, but it was also an actual loss of financial and institutional infrastructure that sent the US economy into a decline. Similarly the war in Iraq has necessitated a drastic slow-down and even a halt to infrastructure activities in that country. Such a halt only exacerbates the already instable political, economic and social fabric of the country.

Although there is an increasing debate as to what a terrorist is and what constitutes an act of terrorism, the main goal of terrorism is to disrupt the normal flow of life, commerce and society. This goal has been satisfied as the result of many attacks throughout the years. Often, after the smoke and initial shock have cleared from a terror
attack, what remains is the lingering fear of other attacks and the lack of confidence in established systems.

The act of terror itself need not be a bombing or a hijacking. The recent threat of bio-terrorism has yielded an even more sinister an effective mode of operation for a terrorist. In October of 2001 a British Petroleum office in Ho Chi Minh City received a letter laced with anthrax. It is still unknown who the perpetrators of this attack were. What is known is that many of the employees of that office became ill and some were hospitalized as a result. This attack served to undermine the confidence that ordinary office employees.

Recently, oil employees have been targeted in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Hostages were taken, and later set free through the actions of counter terrorist forces. The impact though has been such that many of these foreign workers are now leaving for home. This will create a technical expertise drain upon the operations that these employees have been engaged with.

As a result, corporations have often felt the aftershocks of terrorism more so than other social organs within society. The oil industry itself is a risky industry where normally, 9 out of 10 explorations fail. Yet, in the face of a terror attack the oil industry has seemed to fair rather better than expected. If a casual observer were to look at the oil industry prima facie they would see that the industry is much more related to agriculture than other industries. Both are based in land, technology and resource, and thus are very dependent on location and permanently invested structures.

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5 The relation between agriculture and oil is more along the lines of landlord tenant and the ability to harvest a resource that is often at the whim of nature. One of the key tenets of being able to access oil
Yet, the reality of the oil industry survival in times of uncertainty including times of terror attacks is that oil companies appear to hedge their portfolios so that they are not adversely affected by terrorism. This is a trait that is evident when one looks at where most of the oil comes from in the world. Often oil companies are forced to install operations in some of the most inhospitable regions of the world.

Dealing with everything from genocide to typhoons has tempered the oil industry to be able to create fiscal systems that are able to account for such dramatic uncertainties. The recent kidnapping of an American contractor in the Middle East sent oil prices soaring. With his later beheading, the job of the terror act is complete. There is now a lingering fear amongst American workers and other expatriates in the Middle East that a similar situation could happen to them.

The Importance of this Study

With the above factors I am led to ask whether the events of 9/11 positively or negatively affect the oil industry? This is still hard to say in light of current market fluctuations and political trends. The majority of the nations where oil is extracted is now more unstable due to 9/11 (indirectly, or directly) and the cost of doing business seems to have risen in these regions.

This issue is of importance since oil companies are at the heart of foreign economic and diplomatic policy in several parts of the world, and in the formulation of national, regional and inter-regional policy to prepare corporate assets against the threat

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reserves is also being able to strike an agreement and gain concessions with the host nation. This is often akin to striking an agreement with a landlord.

6 Even though a great deal of oil comes from the ocean floor, the refineries and the majority of transportation is land based. In this regard, oil is viewed in the terms of dealing with terrestrial terms rather than maritime terms. An example would be how international boundaries are defined. For the most part an international boundary is defined in terms of where a certain submerged land mass ends.
of terrorist attack. Without an uninterrupted power source, civilization at least as is currently enjoyed and expected, will not function.

One academic justification for researching this topic is that academically, financial risk event studies have been pursued for over 40 years. The path-breaking work of Fama, Fisher, Jensen and Roll (1969) showed that successive price changes in individual common stocks are very nearly independent since in well-established financial markets, prices adjust rapidly to new information. They proposed a new "event study" methodology for measuring the effects of actions and events on security prices. This study would attempt to assess the role of a globally intervening event, such as terrorism, on the market’s view of a company’s stock returns.

The policy relevance in examining the connection between oil and terrorism is that there may be a connection between the UN Global Compact and a *triple bottom line* of corporate responsibility, quality, and size of corporate returns. Another relevant policy discussion is around the structure, provision and pricing of government-sponsored terrorism insurance. Recently, the US Government Accounting Office (GAO) issued written testimony regarding the effectiveness of the Terrorism Risk Insurance Act of 2002 (GAO (2004)). The significance of this report from the GAO shows current methodology of how insurance is being crafted to counter the losses of a terror attack on corporate entities.

The rest of this paper is organized as follows:

- Literature Review
- Variables and their Significance

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7 The Triple Bottom Line refers to a practice principle that is used in industry to accommodate the corporate governance.
2. Literature Review

There are many factors which affect oil stock prices. Some of these influencing indicators range in a spectrum from changes in corporate structure to erratic weather patterns to external catastrophic events. The rise in political violence in recent years has only proven that drilling for oil is a risky business.\(^8\)

Within the range of influencing factors that affect oil production and therefore oil prices, are certain factors that outweigh other all the others. These factors can be broken down into the two categories of governmental controls, and extraordinary catastrophic events. Catastrophic events include any of a variety of market, credit or operational circumstances. The effect of these categories would impact shareholder returns through revenue and cost, as well as taxation of profits.

Fama, Fisher, Jensen and Roll (1969) demonstrate that stock prices react quickly to new information and adjust the value of shares relative to the impact of that information on corporate earnings and balance sheet value. Since that time, several event studies have been formulated to examine the effects of external events on corporate shareholder returns. Relevant for a review of the effect of terrorist events on shareholder returns are two recent studies.

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\(^8\) Political violence encompasses a broad array of nefarious activities that are intended to bring about political change with the use of violence. Terrorism would fit under this overall moniker.
Cummins and Lewis (2002) develop a model of terrorist impact on insurance company value and the resulting change in insurance contract pricing. Their conclusion is that such an event simultaneously and severely depresses insurance industry shareholder returns and increases shareholder return volatility. Subsequently, and consonant with a long term persistence in negative impacts, there is a flight to quality underwriting and an increase in the price of insurance.

Abadie and Gardeazabal (2001) study the impact of terrorist conflict in the Basque Country on shareholder value. They find that per capita GDP in the Basque Country declined by 10 per cent and widened relative to more stable areas during times of terrorist attacks. Stocks of firms were positively impacted by times of credible truce with terrorist groups and were negatively impacted when cease-fires deteriorated. They conclude with the sobering thought that their study may aid terrorists by documenting the negative economic impact of terrorist action, an outcome that ostensibly is one goal of terrorism. Neither of these event studies examines the impact of 9/11 on the one set of companies that has a significant influence on the economy: energy and oil companies.

Both of these studies underscore the need to assess drivers of the impact terrorism has on shareholder value. Both develop an approach that measures both the systematic and specific risks of terrorism on the changes in shareholder value. Systematic risk is shared by many, if not all, market participants and represents a market-wide response to the terrorist event. This risk will be evident in economy-wide increases in insurance deductibles and premiums, the cost of funding any project, especially a project in a politically unstable region, as well as a higher hurdle for measuring the performance of management in any activity. Specific (also called idiosyncratic and unsystematic) risks
include the impact of a terrorist event on the operations of a company, having controlled for the market’s response to the terrorist event.

Examples of specific risk include the impact a terrorist event has on the negotiation of a production sharing agreement between a company and a foreign government, the maintenance of a pipeline that transport crude oil to a company’s dock bunkers and onto a company’s ship in a politically unstable country, and the detention or kidnapping of company personnel critical to the success of a company’s operations. Elements of the measurement of systematic and specific risk are elucidated in sections below.

2. Variables and Their Measurements

The null hypothesis is whether corporate returns are resilient to terrorist actions. The dependent variable is defined as publicly traded stock returns of several large oil companies traded in the U.S. The independent variables are expressed as a combination of broad-based market return and a terrorist event(s) indicator variable. Stock returns are the provisional indicator of a company’s ultimate market value. In this study, the percentage change of daily stock returns for over 252 days before the event window and 252 days after the event window will give light to the status of an oil company after a terror attack of massive proportions. These returns are computed as percentage changes of daily closing prices adjusted for stock splits and stock dividends. Market returns are the percentage change of the Standard & Poors 500 Composite Index. The event indicator variable will be coded a 0 if outside the event window and a 1 if

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9 The combination of market returns and a terrorist event become the independent variable. It is important to recognize that these two components in essence form one variable.
inside the event window. The event window will be initially defined as the 30 days following the reported terrorist event.

3. Research Design and Data Collection

The market index and stock price data are publicly available and downloaded from finance.yahoo.com into a spreadsheet. The event window indicator variable is manually coded against the reported 30 days following the terrorist event. After the 30 day period an analysis will be conducted to review how much damage was done to the stock prices after the attack. This survey of data will go on for over 252 days (as there are approximately 252 trading days per year for stock shares). The same endeavor will be taken for 252 days prior to the attack.

Research Design

The research design relies on the event study approach espoused by Fama et al. cited above. The event study approach makes use of statistical regression analysis to separate systematic from specific risks. Regression is a statistical technique used to determine the straight-line equation that relates a dependent variable with independent variables with the least margin of statistical error. The procedure to examine the effect of an event on shareholder value is summarized below.

1. Choose events and record dates based on publicly available information about events.

2. Select sample of publicly traded companies that may be affected by events. Select market index against which company stock prices may be compared.

3. For each company procure daily stock prices adjusted for stock splits and stock dividends for at least 252 days before and 252 days after the event.
4. Compute daily percentage changes in stock prices and market index.

5. Compute intercept, slope and standard error of regression of each stock return against the market index percentage change on a rolling 100 day sample across the event date.

6. Graph the intercepts, slopes and standard errors of the regression against time (in days) across the event date.

7. Set level of confidence for comparison tests. Against this level of confidence, compare the average intercept, slope and standard error of regressions: null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the regression parameters before or after the event; alternative hypothesis is that the parameters before are greater (or less than) the parameters after the event.

8. Interpret the results in the light of the wider research study.

**Regression Model of Share Returns and Market Returns**

If we were to plot a scatter plot of dependent variable on the vertical axis and the independent variable on the horizontal axis, the regression equation would be the line that passes through the scatter plot as closely as possible through all of the data points. In this study the dependent variable is the Stock Return and the independent variable is the Market Return. An equation that relates these variables is the following:

\[
\text{Stock Return} = a + b \times \text{Market Return} + \text{Event Indicator} + \text{Error Term}
\]

Where \( a \) = intercept, \( b \) = slope term, and \( e \) = error term. The intercept measures the average stock return accounting for sensitivity to market movements. The slope measures the average sensitivity of the stock to changes in the market index. For example, if \( a = 0.001 \), then the average stock return, adjusted for market movements, is
0.1%. Also, if \( b = 1.5 \), then a positive 10% movement in the market index will be associated with a \( 1.5 \times 10\% = 15\% \) positive move in stock return on average. This regression model is the approach recommended by Fama, Fisher, Jensen and Roll (1969) and adopted by Abadie and Gardeazabal (2001) and Cummins and Lewis (2002).

The plot of Halliburton stock price percentage changes (vertical axis, dependent variable) versus the Standard & Poor’s 500 index percentage changes (horizontal axis, independent variable) is depicted below for the full sample.

The slope of the line measures the degree of systematic risk of HAL versus the SPX. The degree of specific risk is the amount by which the scatter of returns deviates from the line. The sensitivity of HAL to SPX is 0.35, which means that if the SPX return rises by
10% then HAL’s return will rise by only 3.5%. The intercept of 0.00027 or 0.027% is the average amount of HAL return per day.

In the next panels we split the sample into two parts: pre-9/11 and post 9/11 to illustrate the effect of this event on HAL returns. For the pre-9/11 sample:

Before 9/11 HAL shows little sensitivity to movements in the market and is slightly negative, -0.066. Its risk is also entirely specific to HAL, or to other indicators not modeled in this study such as oil price shocks. These other indicators may be embedded in an intercept of -0.003% per day.

After 9/11 the scatter plot changes as depicted below.
The sensitivity of HAL to SPX is about 0.98 with a near zero average stock return after 9/11. There is a marked change in market risk before and after 9/11. This sort of risk would affect HAL’s ability to raise capital, approve new projects, and grow. The statistical measure of specific risk is the standard deviation of the regression. Before 9/11 the standard deviation of the error terms is 3.2% per day. After 9/11 this measure rises to 3.6% per day. HAL’s risk is consistent with the following statements:

- HAL’s systematic risk has changed and risen after 9/11
- HAL’s specific risk has changed and risk after 9/11

Given these two statistical consistencies, it appears that HAL’s total risk-return profile has changed coincident with the 9/11 terrorist event.
4. Methodology and Methods for Analysis

The methodology to be employed in this study is as follows:

- Posit a relationship between external event of terrorism and corporate shareholder returns for oil industry participants. Financial and economic theory would indicate that an event such as terrorism would raise the risk and reduce the available returns to shareholders.
- Choose oil industry companies, statistically measure the relationship between risk and return for these companies before and after the event, here, 9/11.
- Based on the statistical measurement, as well as background information about oil industry practices, comment on the results of statistical hypothesis inferences.
- Conclude the study with policy implications.

Shareholder Impact

Reviewing the shareholder impact of how terror events affect the stock price of an oil company is quite important. To say that one is not interdependent upon the other is an exercise in chop logic. Shareholder impact is linked with the conceptualizing of what the stock of a company is worth. The ripple affects of events in the market and ultimately in the world affects how a company perceives itself, and is perceived by the shareholder. If the perception changes the stock itself could be worthless.

To recap for the benefit of the reader, this study builds on two studies of the impact of terrorist events on shareholder value. Cummins and Lewis (2002) develop a model of terrorist impact on insurance company value and the resulting change in insurance contract pricing. Their conclusion is that such an event simultaneously and severely depresses insurance industry shareholder returns and increases shareholder
return volatility. Subsequently, and consonant with a long term persistence in negative impacts, there is a flight to quality underwriting and an increase in the price of insurance.

Abadie and Gardeazabal (2001) study the impact of terrorist conflict in the Basque Country on shareholder value. They find that per capita GDP in the Basque Country declined by 10 per cent and widened relative to more stable areas during times of terrorist attacks. Stocks of firms were positively impacted by times of credible truce with terrorist groups. They conclude with the sobering thought that their study may aid terrorists by documenting the negative economic impact of terrorist action, an outcome that ostensibly is one goal of terrorism.

It is important to keep in mind that both studies rely on the efficiency of financial markets to impound new information into stock prices through supply and demand of shares. Stock prices should react only to new information. Therefore, in the case of insurance companies, their stock prices should have been negatively impacted due to the increase in potential claims caused by a reassessment of potential loss from terrorist attacks. As security increases, businesses prepare for such losses in their plans and operations; insurance company returns should become less negatively impacted and improve over time, at least relative to the new information about terrorist attack preparation. In the case of Basque companies, as a truce is negotiated, company shares should react positively to this new information, and negatively when a cease-fire is about to be violated.

In this study, the new information is an unprecedented terrorist attack of magnitude on US soil. Stock prices should be depressed given the impact of such an impact on US GNP, consumer, investor and saver’s perceptions, confidence in the future,
and business ability to coordinate operations. All of these drivers of shareholder value were affected, and in turn, negatively impacted market prices. Thus oil company prices should also be immediately and negatively impacted. With a rise in economic volatility, oil company prices should also experience at least a temporary increase in volatility, an indicator of market perception of potential risks ahead. However, given oil company assets, strategies and operations that deploy globally, innovate with each new find and event, and impound pervasive loss controls contractually and operationally, oil company stocks should not experience lasting and persistently negative impacts.

Oil companies tend to possess global and local knowledge and skills that can compensate for events such as terrorism through preparation. Also, since oil company assets are located in several non-US locations, the impact of non-US terrorist events on shareholder value has already been impounded in oil company stock prices. Similarly, the impact of terrorist events, that occur on US soil, are ameliorated through oil company strategy.

5. Sample Data and Regression Results

Data to illustrate the hypotheses and analysis in this study are selected from oil service, integrated out and refiner and marketing companies in the oil industry. Oil service companies provide project management, oil field support, engineering, and manufactured products. Integrated oil companies span the value chain from exploration and production upstream, through storage and transportation midstream, onto refining and marketing downstream. Refining and marketing companies take crude oil and manufacture, market and distribution refined products such as gasoline for industrial,
commercial and consumer use. The following table lists the companies selected for this indicative study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company/Index</th>
<th>Ticker Symbol</th>
<th>Industry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schlumberger</td>
<td>SLB</td>
<td>Oil Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halliburton</td>
<td>HAL</td>
<td>Oil Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exxon Mobil</td>
<td>XOM</td>
<td>Integrated Oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shell Trading and Transport</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>Integrated Oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amerada Hess</td>
<td>AHC</td>
<td>Refiner and marketer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petro Kazakhstan</td>
<td>PKZ</td>
<td>Oil producer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard &amp; Poors 500</td>
<td>SPX</td>
<td>Broad-based market index</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the companies a broad-based market index is selected to approximate the market return. The Standard & Poors 500 index is often used as a leading indicator of major economic changes, including GNP, GDP, employment, interest rate and commodity price risks.

Data is downloaded from finance.yahoo.com, a provider of daily stock market information publicly available. 1,322 observations were gathered from January 26, 1999 to May 7, 2004. This allows us to split the sample into roughly two equal groups for events before and after 9/11 in 2001.

Employing the procedures outlined above, regressions of company stock returns versus the Standard & Poors 500 returns yielded three statistics. The first is the regression slope term. This measures the degree of market related systematic risk. The second is the standard deviation of the error terms. This measures the amount of risk
specific to the company. The third is the accumulated error term after 9/11. This measures the amount of shareholder return gained or lost immediately following the event. The results of the performing the above tasks may be summarized in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ticker</th>
<th>Beta Pre-9/11</th>
<th>SEE</th>
<th>Beta Post-9/11</th>
<th>SEE</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HAL</td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>-32.14%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLB</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>8.30%</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XOM</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>2.20%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AHC</td>
<td>(0.06)</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>-17.70%</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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Notes on the Table values:

1. Ticker is stock exchange symbol for sample company.
2. Beta is the regression slope term; SEE is the standard error of regression error in percentage/day.
3. AR is the sum of abnormal returns immediately following 9/11 until there are no statistically significant residuals; for Duration in number of days.
4. Pre-9/11 sample days extend from 26 October 1998 through 10 September 2001; Post-9/11 sample days extend from 17 September 2001 through 7 May 2004. Stock prices and market index are adjusted for stock splits, dividends and other adjustments as of the close of each day.

The sample clearly discriminates between HAL and AHC on the one hand and the other companies on the other. A severe drop in shareholder value occurred immediately following 9/11 for both HAL and AHC. The other companies actually experienced a rise in shareholder value during this event window. Most notably for all companies, the
degree of systematic risk rose. This can be interpreted as an increase in the required average return for investors to buy or hold shares of these stocks. If the equity cost of capital rises systematically, then any project that these firms would care to initiate would require a return that would have to be even higher to clear the higher equity cost hurdle. It is also important to note, that the specific risk of XOM, SLB, SC and AHC drops across this event. As these companies experience a higher systematic risk, they appear also to experience a lower specific risk. Regression results are reported in the Appendix with additional commentary.

6. Summary Comments and Key Findings

The above results are highly preliminary and exploratory in nature. That is to say that in the course of researching this study it became evident rather quickly that large gaps in motive and data are missing due to the nature of the oil industry. Simply put the trade secrets of the oil industry have only made this paper exploratory by its nature. It appears that the following holds for these oil industry participants:

- **Finding 1: Market related risk increases after 9/11.** This would mean that the cost of capital for these companies would be higher after 9/11 than before on average. Some firms had little or no market sensitivity pre-9/11. After 9/11 these firms report significant relationships to market movements. Higher cost of capital can also imply that investment would be curtailed, since investors require more compensation for the risk they perceive for each dollar they contribute to the capital of a firm.
Finding 2: Company risk drops or remains the same after 9/11. Except for HAL, risks not due to systematic or market influences seem stable or are even lower after 9/11. This might mean that investors view these firms as able to manage post-9/11 risks after the fact even better than before this event.

Finding 3: Some companies gain in “abnormal” returns after 9/11. Both HAL and AHC loose significant amounts of market capital in the first few weeks after 9/11. Other companies actually recover and gain during this period. Hopefully a non-recurring event, 9/11 does appear to have significantly affected the volatility of some oil industry companies. Not only is the volatility attributable to company specific actions (the standard deviation of “abnormal” or non-market related returns) lower, but the systematic risk of owning these stocks is higher. Overall, expected returns are higher than average because of 9/11 for these companies. A higher expected return means that companies face higher hurdles to their performance and investment activities. However, due to the disposition of company assets, strategies and tactics, some companies are experiencing lower company-specific volatility. All companies are affected immediately after the event itself. Future research will expand the sample, and attempt to infer drivers of systematic and specific risk.
Bibliography


“Terrorism & Oil” Pennwell Publishers 2003, Adams, Neal
Appendix: Regression Results for Pre and Post-9/11 Stock Return Response

Ticker Symbol: SLB

POST-9/11

Regression Statistics
Multiple R 0.504324
R Square 0.254343
Adjusted R 0.25322
Standard E 0.019428
Observatio 666

ANOVA

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X Variable | 0.860856 | 0.057201325 | 15.04958267 | 2.94E-44 | 0.748539 | 0.973173 |

PRE-9/11

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Adjusted R 0.032792
Standard E 0.027089
Observatio 666

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X Variable | 0.393343 | 0.081061223 | 4.852424 | 1.52E-06 | 0.23417612 | 0.552511  | 0.23417612 | 0.55251076 |

X Variable is beta, the average response of stock return to market return movements. For SLB, the post-9/11 market response is higher on two counts: higher beta and greater degree of market influence on stock returns evidenced by higher Post-9/11 R-squared (percentage of stock return movements explained by movements in market index returns). Betas and the regressions are significant at high levels of confidence (less than 1% probability that beta and regression significance is false).
X Variable is beta, the average response of stock return to market return movements. For XOM, the post-9/11 market response is higher on two counts: higher beta and greater degree of market influence on stock returns evidenced by higher Post-9/11 R-squared (percentage of stock return movements explained by movements in market index returns). Betas and the regressions are significant at high levels of confidence (less than 1% probability that the regression significance is false).
POST-9/11

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PRE-9/11

Regression Statistics

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PKZ is an example of a stock return that has little or no sensitivity (and not statistically significant) to market returns. Betas and the regression fail to reject the null hypothesis that beta = 0 or that the market does not explain returns. R-squares are also very low. Intercepts are positive and statistically significant. Other systematic independent variables would have to be specified to explain (statistically) these stock returns. However, an assessment of residuals around the 9/11 event reveals significant shocks in
PKZ’s stock returns prior to 9/11. These shocks cannot be attributed to systematic market movements since those movements are statistically insignificant.

It appears from this graph that there is a dampening of PKZ specific risk pos-9/11, while at the same time higher stock return volatility prior to 9/11.
X Variable is beta, the average response of stock return to market return movements. For SC, the post-9/11 market response is higher on two counts: higher beta and greater degree of market influence on stock returns evidenced by higher Post-9/11 R-squared (percentage of stock return movements explained by movements in market index returns). Betas and the regressions are not significant at high levels of confidence (less than 1% probability that the regression significance is false) for pre-9/11 stock returns. However, they are for post-9/11 stock returns. SC post-9/11 has become sensitive to the market.
X Variable is beta, the average response of stock return to market return movements. For AHC, the post-9/11 market response is higher on two counts: higher beta and greater degree of market influence on stock returns evidenced by higher Post-9/11 R-squared (percentage of stock return movements explained by movements in market index returns).

Betas and the regressions are not significant at high levels of confidence (less than 1%
probability that the regression significance is false) for pre-9/11 stock returns. However, they are for post-9/11 stock returns. AHC post-9/11 has become sensitive to the market.
Andrew Foote  
Research Project  

Ticker: HAL

### POST-9/11

**Regression Statistics**

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### PRE-9/11

**Regression Statistics**

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X Variable is beta, the average response of stock return to market return movements. For HAL, the post-9/11 market response is higher on two counts: higher beta and greater degree of market influence on stock returns evidenced by higher Post-9/11 R-squared (percentage of stock return movements explained by movements in market index returns). Betas and the regressions are not significant at high levels of confidence (less than 1% probability that the regression significance is false) for pre-9/11 stock returns. However, they are for post-9/11 stock returns. HAL post-9/11 has become sensitive to the market.
Background: The McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act, which was reauthorized in 2001, prescribed mandates to ensure the education of homeless school-aged children. Such mandates include immediate school enrollment, placement in meal and any other programs for which the child qualifies; appropriate transportation; liaisons between schools and homeless children and their families; as well as a monitoring system for school district compliance.

Prior research indicates that school districts fail to comply with the federal mandates included in the act (James & Lopez, 2003; O’Leary, 2001; Rafferty, 1998). There is a lack of study investigating parental knowledge about the Act or the perception of parents in enrollment experience.

Method: The purpose of this study is to investigate how Atlanta area public schools implement the provisions of the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act by listening to homeless parents’ voices. The researchers are conducting one on one interviews, using a structured questionnaire, with parents of school aged homeless children in five participating Atlanta area emergency shelters and transitional housing establishments.

Findings: Preliminary results based on 22 interviews, from four shelters, clearly indicate a lack of knowledge of the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act, as well as its provisions, among the homeless parents interviewed. Interestingly, 96% of parents reported that no one from any school has ever talked to them about their children’s rights as a homeless child to go to school. Approximately 36% of parents reported that they had to bring missing documents back to school in order to enroll their children in school instead of being enrolled immediately. Types of services to which homeless school aged children are entitled that parents are aware of were limited to transportation, free lunch, and uniforms. The educational needs of their children that parents addressed include day care, after school programs, access to computers for assignments, and change of attitudes and behaviors of school personnel toward homeless children.

Implications: Implications of this study include (1) to increase education of the parents of homeless children of the provisions of the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act, (2) to increase education of emergency shelter and transitional housing staff members, (3) to increase interaction or communication of mandated liaisons between schools and homeless children and their families, as well as (4) to increase funding for the implementation of the Act.
1) **Title:** Preparing Social Work Students for Practice in End of Life Care: One Approach for Action

2) **Author:** Cynthia Forrest, Ph.D.

3) **Affiliation:** The Center for Child and Family Studies, College of Social Work, University of South Carolina

4) **Address:** The Center for Child and Family Studies, University of South Carolina, College of Social Work, Columbia, South Carolina 29208

5) **E-mail:** cforrest@sc.edu
6) Workshop Abstract

Our growing aging population coupled with medical advances is demanding another look at how social work education prepares students for practice. This workshop outlines one approach that helps students learn about end of life care.

Essay

Many people are growing older, but are not necessarily living well. The one-two punch of advancing medical technologies that makes living longer possible is also creating conditions that are resulting in increasing demands for a stronger social work presence. Beyond the traditionally defined practice areas such as hospice, palliative care medical practices, skilled nursing facilities, and home-health services, it is likely that social workers will be exposed to this area of concern across diverse practice lines, including mental health, school-based, and other service arenas. The potential emotional, physical, and financial fallout of life-threatening and terminal illnesses on individuals and familial caregivers are requiring heightened levels of knowledge and skill in the area of end-of-life care for bachelors and masters prepared social workers.

Quig (1989) and Parry (2001) argue that social workers are best prepared to respond to the psychosocial concerns and needs of people facing the end of life. Based on the profession’s core components as defined in the Working Definition of Social Work (Bartlett, 1957), social workers are ideally suited to assess and advocate for individual and familial wishes through direct care, responsible systems changes, and to facilitate collaborative relationships in order to maintain a holistic system of care.

Three recent studies exemplify the critical need for social work knowledge and methods in end of life care. The 1995 Study to Understand Prognoses and Preferences
for Outcomes and Risks of Treatments (SUPPORT) is considered the landmark study of care of the dying in America. This study reveals alarming deficiencies in the way people are cared for as they are dying. In 1997, the Institute of Medicine (IOM) released their report, Approaching Death: Improving Care at the End of Life, further revealing the deficiencies of care in this country among medicine, nursing, and social work disciplines (Gelband, 2001). In 2002, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation sponsored a state-by-state survey of end of life care provision. Using eight areas of care as the benchmark, each state was graded on its performance in each of these areas. The results provided further evidence of the disturbing trends in caring for people who are facing end of life matters. From this report card’s findings, most states’ scores were mediocre at best and downright harmful in certain cases, further revealing the critical need for responsive educational strategies (www.rwjf.org).

Other studies looking specifically at social work practitioners and at social work educational efforts in end of life care serve to support the above-mentioned studies. These discipline-specific studies reveal alarming perceptions of low levels of competence and of educational opportunities (Christ & Sormanti, 1999). Social work education is in a critical position of exploring academic options that can better prepare future practitioners with a strong baseline of knowledge and skills in caring for those facing the end of their lives.

This workshop will describe a case study dissertation focusing on one educational approach that infuses academic course work with community-based experiences to provide social work students opportunities to learn about practice in end of life care. Specifically, the course connects students with agencies that serve people dealing with
end of life matters and with volunteer mentors – people facing the end of their lives. 

Using Social Constructionism as the theoretical perspective, this approach provides a ‘greenhouse’ effect in heightening learning opportunities for gaining knowledge, skills, and professional development specific to practice in end of life care. Evaluation results of the course’s effectiveness will be provided along with recommendations for educational replication.
References


AUTHENTICITY: A CRITICAL REVIEW

Sociology

1st choice: Paper Session
2nd choice: Poster session

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Corresponding author if different than lead author- None
ABSTRACT

AUTHENTICITY: A CRITICAL REVIEW

Authenticity—the idea of being one’s true self has been explored within a variety of disciplinary traditions. Philosophers, psychologists, and sociologists each offer different perspectives on what it means to be authentic. This paper provides a critical review of the literature across these three disciplines. Historically, philosophy was the first discipline to explore authenticity. Attention to authenticity within philosophy has focused on its moral underpinnings, social character, and contextual dependence on culture. Psychological approaches to authenticity traverse a number of branches within psychology from humanistic psychology to self-regulation. In tandem, psychological approaches to authenticity focus mainly on meeting the needs of the self, but suggest both the costs and gains to the self of authentic behavior. Sociological approaches to authenticity, especially the symbolic interactionist tradition, focus on the reflexivity of the self, the construction of identity, and the negotiation of social interactions. The sociological literature highlights the motivational basis of the self and self-enhancement functions of authenticity, and processes of impression management (including emotion management) and self-presentation. This paper integrates the literature from these three disciplines into a single conceptual framework that can be the basis for future research on authenticity. Drawing from these three intersecting literatures, authenticity is defined as the enactment of the true self. Authentic behavior is the subjective perception that one is behaving in a way that is in accordance with his or her core being. This paper concludes with discussion of trajectories for future research on authenticity.
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"WHEN I HAD HER MY LIFE TURNED TO HERS": MOTHERS’ PERCEPTION OF
COMMUNICATION WITH THEIR ADOLESCENT CHILDREN
IN LOW INCOME FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS

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6) Abstract and full paper follows
This study focused on mother-adolescent children communication, from the perspective of the mother and within the context of low-income female-headed households. Two primary objectives guided this work. First, it was the intent to understand everyday communication between mothers and their adolescent children in female-headed households, free from the "at risk" concerns and a priori labeling usually associated with such family-type. Second, there was a desire to provide a platform for these mothers to describe their family world and explore the success and struggles experienced within that world from their own point of view, which is distinguished from the male, two-parent, middle-class perspectives that dominate research. Phenomenology was selected as the methodology because it strives to understand everyday mundane occurrences and because of its suitability for studying women's communication. In-depth interviews were used to obtain phenomenological descriptions from 12 low-income mothers with adolescent children in female-headed households residing in Appalachia. 25 themes were brought to the fore and through a process of phenomenological reductions were further clustered to six essential themes. Arising out of the six themes, through hyper reflection, was a revelatory note from which major interpretations of themes were made and through which meanings not immediately apparent were discovered. The findings were brought to the field for member validation in a focus group discussion. The members agreed with the findings and provided additional insight to the interpretation. The findings of this study support existing research on some obvious strengths in female-headed households, and in particular, the closeness between mothers and adolescent children in this family-type.
The strengths of female-headed households have, as a rule, not been of great interest to researchers. Instead, studies of female-headed households have tended to focus on and emphasize the problems faced by this type of family (Richards & Schmiege, 1993). Additionally, existing research tends to hint at the culture of communication created within female-headed households while focusing primarily on other aspects of family dynamics. This study strives to break with that reality by contributing to the comparatively small body of work that focuses on communication within low-income, female-headed households. More specifically, our interest was in the mothers’ perception of their communication with their adolescent children.

While this research is primarily about mothers in female-headed households, a distinction is made when needed between single parent and sole parent mothers. In brief, the term “single parent is applied to situations in which, at some point in time, the mother experienced the presence of her child’s father within the household and whose child has (or children have) a relationship with their biological father. The term “sole parent” is, by comparison, applied to situations in which the mother has never experienced the presence of her child’s father in her household and whose child has (or children have) never had contact with their biological father. Additionally, as the research was conducted within an Appalachian region of the United States, the culture of Appalachia is discussed in the literature review. However, it must be stated that the research is not limited to the perceptions of women who identify themselves as “Appalachian.”
Background

There is a dearth of in-depth studies that focus on communication in low-income female-headed households. Existing studies tend to touch on a range of topics but fail to delve deeply into the culture of communication within these families. The significance of the problem created by this absence is, perhaps, best argued by Mohanty (2003) who observed that:

In knowing differences and particularities, we can better see the connections and commonalities because no border or boundary is ever complete or rigidly determining. The challenge is to see how differences allow us to explain the connections and border crossings better and more accurately, how specifying difference allows us to theorize universal concerns more fully. (p. 505)

While Mohanty’s statement can be read as applying to the “border crossings” involved in examinations of “Western” versus “Third World” countries, Mohanty goes on to argue for the use of the language of “One-Third World” versus “Two-Thirds World” as those labels move us away from geographic representations, invoking instead the specter of the “haves” and the “have-nots” within national boundaries. The argument that we advance is that absence of research concerning communication within female-headed households not only fails to address the challenge of helping us to appreciate the “differences and particularities” that characterize the communication culture of these families but also opens the door to uninformed claims and stereotypes concerning the life worlds of these families.

In studying mother-child dyads of Appalachian background, there is a tendency among researchers to consider this segment to be economically and socially at risk. The economic risk is illustrated in the greater tendency of children from female-headed households (Appalachian or non-Appalachian) to drop out of school (see, for example, McLanahan, 1985; also see Zelkowitz, 1982). The social risk is a product, in part, of the presumption that Appalachian parents’ interactions with
their children are thought to be less varied, thereby placing the children at risk developmentally (Farran & Ramey, 1980; Walters, Conner, & Zunich, 1964). Reaching back in research relevant to this issue, Dempster (1969), in an investigation of child-rearing attitudes and interests of low income mothers residing in Southeastern Ohio found that, while the mothers acknowledged the importance of their children’s opinions, children’s participation in decision-making was limited. The mothers in Dempster’s study stated that they avoided communicating with their children to discourage the children from “pestering” them. Kuipers, Southworth, and Reed (1979) found that adolescents and pre-adolescents reported that the person they spoke with most often about educational goals was their mother. At the same time, however, Kuipers et al. found a “high level of anomia” indicated by the mothers, and concluded that “the high extent of anomia” was an important influence on mothers’ and children’s decreased aspirations and expectations” (p. 4).

More recent work moves away from a limited view of communication to at least hint at a wider variety of interactions as present within the Appalachian family. Lovdal (1989) described Appalachian mothers’ communication with their children as being characterized by giving orders, disciplining through the use of punishment and rewards, and engaging in consoling, understanding, and offering encouragement when the children had concerns. Roszmann-Millican (1995) studied the interaction styles of 25 low-income urban Appalachian mothers and their children finding a range of interaction behaviors as characterizing the dyads studied.

Moving from studies that are specific to the Appalachian culture/region to research that has more broadly examined communication within single-parent families, Petronio and Endres (1986) found that the mothers in female-headed households involved in their research generally faced difficulties disciplining their children and often sought the help of male dates in reinforcing discipline. Focusing their attention on adolescents in female-headed households, Dornbusch, Carlsmith, Bushwall, Ritter, Leiderman, Hastorf, and Gross (1985) found that the adolescents in
their research reported being more inclined to make decisions without parental input and were more likely to exhibit deviant behavior. In addition, McLanahan (1985) notes that children in female-headed households tend to drop out of school due to economic difficulties while Zelkowitz (1982) posits that children from this family-type are considered “at risk” because they are usually economically disadvantaged. Further, Longfellow (1979) and McLanahan (1985) note that the absence of a male-role model in female-headed households invariably presents this family-type as a social deviant.

This study attempts to give voice to low-income mothers in female-headed households as history reveals that, in general, women's perspectives and voices have been muted for a long time (Anderson and Jack, 1991), resulting in gendered communication among women (Minister, 1991). In addition, this study gives voice to mothers in female-headed households to counteract dominant thinking that women's ways of knowing are considered subordinate to men's ways of knowing (Gilligan, 1982).

The mutedness of women's voices and perspectives is underscored by The Muted Group Theory which, was first proposed by Edwin Ardener and expanded by Shirley Ardener (1978). The theory posits that modes of expression in a given society are generated by the dominant groups that head the social hierarchy of that society. Ardener (1978) posits that in the case of gender polarity, it is women who are the muted group because their perspective is excluded from the dominant modes of expression.

As low-income mothers in female-headed households are the focus of this study, their perspective, which is muted in several aspects, that is, from the dominant, male, two-parent, middle-class perspectives is given voice through this study.
Research Questions

Two research questions guide this study:

RQ1: What is the role of communication (talk) in female-headed households?

RQ2: What is the perceived difference in family communication (i.e. how mothers and their adolescent children relate to one another) since father exit?

Methodology

This study uses phenomenology as a methodology. Phenomenology is the study of “whatness” (Van Manen, 1990) because it asks what an experience is like. Merleau-Ponty (1962) posits that all phenomenological studies amount to “finding definition of essence” (p.vii). Because phenomenology scrutinizes the lifeworld as it is experienced pre-reflectively, responses in a phenomenological study are descriptions of a certain experience, and are not based on conceptualizations, abstractions, or hypothetical constructs of what might be happening to a person(s) in that experience. In fact, Morgan and Smircich (1980) emphasize that phenomenological insight is at the extreme opposite of positivist knowledge, which operates from an objective reality. However, Polkinghorne (1983) posits that lived experience is not a “buzzing flux but a constituted, meaningful and ordered understanding…[T]he spectrum of experience is organized into units and recognizable wholes…” (p.204). The structures of consciousness which comprises spatiality, temporality, corporeality, relationality – are formed both by experience of the body and the history of one’s lived experience (Merleau-Ponty, 1968).

At the heart of phenomenology is intersubjectivity because as noted by Schutz (1967), a mundane world exist and others share our understanding of this mundane world. Lindlof and Taylor (2002) reiterate this notion of intersubjectivity as “stocks [of knowledge which] include all the facts, beliefs, and desires, prejudices, and rules we have learned from personal experiences, as
well as the ready-made knowledge available to us in the culture into which we are born” (pp. 34-35).

As this study attempted to scrutinize low-income single mothers’ perception of communication with their adolescent children, phenomenology became an appropriate methodology for this research because this particular methodology strives to understand and describe everyday mundane occurrences (Merleau-Ponty, 1964) free from a priori labeling.

Phenomenology also became an excellent methodology for the present study as it serves as an excellent inquiry for the study of women’s communication. In phenomenological research, the body plays a central role, as it is “the body that elicits precise descriptions” (Nelson, 1989, p. 225). According to Nelson, when a woman speaks, her bodily experiences are made sensible as phenomenology facilitates this process. Hence, in phenomenological research, women have the potential to speak for themselves as “speaking subjects” rather than spoken for.

Steps in A Phenomenological Methodology

Phenomenology involves three steps: description, reduction and interpretation (Lanigan, 1979; Nelson, 1989). Each step, be it phenomenological description, phenomenological reduction, or phenomenological interpretation, is a part in a whole, and yet, the whole is larger than the sum of its parts (Lanigan, 1979).

Method for Gathering Phenomenological Descriptions

In-depth Interviews

For the purpose of this study, phenomenological descriptions were obtained from in-depth interviews. In-depth interviews allow for the collection of vast descriptions and as practiced in phenomenology, are conversational or dialogic (Van Manen, 1990); encouraging spontaneous exchanges and fostering freedom of description. An interview protocol was employed comprising both topical and hypothetical questions. Topical questions served as a general guide to elicit
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descriptions regarding the phenomenon investigated while hypothetical questions served as a back up for participants who required some specificity or needed some help in responding to questions.

Interview Protocol

Topical Protocol:

Communication with children as mothers of female-headed households
>>daily communication topics
>>important, difficult, fun topics
>>setting (what places and at what times communication occurred)
>>closeness

Communication with children while father’s children was present in the households (directed to single parent mothers)
>>topics discussed
>>children’s father’s communication with family
>>communication during father presence and at present
>>closeness

Children’s views about communication in the family
>> then and at present from the perspective of the mother

Examples of Topical Questions:
- Tell me about your child (children). What is his/her age and what is he/she like?
- Describe how you and your child (children) relate to each other.
- In what circumstances/times/and places do talk take place in your family?
- What are some regular topics of communication that you and your child (children) talk about?
- Describe a particular instance of talk with your child (children) that was significant for you.
- If there is one word that would best describe your relationship with your (child) children, what would that word be?
- Describe what the relationship (talk) was like between you and your child (children) while you were married or living with the child’s (children’s) father.
- What are your child (children’s) feelings about the kind of relationship that exists in your family at present as compared to when you were married or when their father lived in your household?
- Based on your experience, how would you sum up the mother-child relationship? What is it like?

Examples of Hypothetical Questions:
- What if your child (children) were no longer with you? What do you think life might be like for you?
- What if you were no longer around for your (child) children? What do you think life might be like for him/her (them)?
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- If your husband or partner were around, what would the relationship (or talk) be like between you and your child (children)?
- What if your child (children) disclosed something really personal to you? How would you respond?

All phenomenological descriptions were audio-taped and transcribed verbatim. The transcripts were then “read, reviewed, bracketed, re-read and re-bracketed” until a chain of initial themes emerged (Orbe, 1994, p. 290). As emphasized by Idhe (1977), all descriptions obtained during interviews were given equal emphasis or “horizontalized”, free from a hierarchical order. Relevant statements from participants were highlighted and clustered according to themes.

Phenomenological Reduction

The goal of phenomenological reduction was to determine which descriptions were relevant and which were not in order to identity the invariant features of the phenomenon (Nelson, 1989). Imaginative free variation was used to accomplish this purpose. Imaginative free variation consist of reflecting on the phenomenological descriptions which are conscious, affective, and cognitive; and systematically imagining each aspect as present or absent within the lived experience (Lanigan, 1988). In other words, “imaginative free variation” helps in determining if “a theme belongs to a phenomenon essentially (rather than accidentally)” (Van Manen, 1990, p. 107). When a theme did not belong to a phenomenon, it was discarded. Further, themes that reveal redundancy and overlap were clustered together until the number of themes was reduced. The clustering and eventual reduction of themes is called thematization.

Phenomenological Interpretation

The phase of phenomenological interpretation begins simultaneously while the researcher is in the reduction phase. Orbe (1994) posits that “an interpretation of themes involves a constant reflection of essential themes and how they relate to one another; it also entails discovering meta-meanings which are not immediately apparent in earlier steps” (p. 295). Merleau-Ponty (1968)
calls this effort radical reflection or hyper-reflection, which is actually reflecting upon reflection. The objective of hyper reflection is to identify one central idea or revelatory note from which interpretations of the major themes can be made. According to Nelson (1989), in hyper-reflection, the researcher must not only return to the speech of the respondents but also go beyond the “speaking significations…The goal of interpretation is to discover meanings which are not immediately apparent in the description and the reduction” (p. 237).

Participants

The participants for this study were mothers in female-headed households with adolescent children, with adolescence defined as involving children 12 to 19 years of age. Participants came primarily from the Ohio Appalachian counties of Athens, Glouster and Coolville. The initial pool of respondents was contacts of the researchers, or was located through the assistance of a local medical facility, or through the support of the Rural Action Program in Trimble. In addition, a letter was published in a local newspaper requesting for the participation of mothers with adolescent children from low-income female-headed households.

The 1996 Federal Poverty Index Guidelines were used to determine if a participant’s income fell below the poverty line. If a potential participant’s income fell below the poverty line, she was asked if she would be willing to serve as a participant. As each interview ended, participants were asked to identify other mothers who might wish to be included in this study. This method of obtaining participants through a people’s network is known as the network sampling technique or snowballing (Granovetter, 1976).

The profile of mothers participating in this study was as follows: nine regarded themselves as Appalachians while three considered themselves as non-Appalachians. Nine mothers were single parents (that is, those mothers whose children had experienced father presence in the household at some point in time and whose children had a relationship with their biological father at
some point in time) while three were sole parents (that is, those mothers whose children had neither experienced father presence within the household nor had a relationship with their biological father). While all mothers regarded themselves as belonging to the lower-income category, 10 of these households existed below the poverty level as indicated by the 1996 Federal Poverty Index Guidelines (see Appendix A). Two of the households (headed by participants 1 and 9) involved incomes of approximately $5,000 above the poverty level. Six of these mothers were receiving some form of aid such as Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF, formerly known as Aid to Families with Dependent Children or AFDC) while six others held minimum wage jobs and/or held two or more jobs to provide for their families.

Findings

The process of phenomenological reduction brought to the fore 25 potential themes. The themes are 1) The presence of the absent father, 2) disagreements about each other’s choices and behaviors, 3) the centrality of children in the mother’s existence, 4) learning from the children, 5) equipping the children for life, 6) talking about anything the children want to talk about and treating these topics as important, 7) always being there for the children, 8) mother in the know, 9) being the parent, 10) enforcing the rules, 11) admiration and appreciation for one another, 12) closeness between mother and child, 13) a love-hate relationship, 14) guarding against negative influence, 15) dealing with sibling squabbles, 16) teaching children about financial realities, 17) support network, 18) breaking the cycle of poor communication, 19) sharing aspirations, dreams, and future plans, 20) looking out for one another, 21) having fun with each other, 22) being both the parent and the friend, 23) talk is best when one on one, 24) happier in a female-headed household, and 25) in need of a male role-model.

Additional thematization became necessary to reveal the interconnectedness and interrelatedness between themes. This process of further clustering the themes involved a
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The technique known as “imaginative free variation”, which is an attempt to reduce the description of themes to those that are essential to the participants' lived experience. As a result, six essential themes emerged which were organized into meaningful units of discourse. They are: 1) the centrality of children in the mother’s existence, 2) being the parent, 3) still in need of a father, 4) equipping the children for life, 5) encouraging open communication, and 6) having a close relationship.

Centrality of Children in the Mothers’ Existence

The centrality of children in the mothers’ existence meant that mothers would always be there for their children because of the intertwined existence between mother and child. Comments such as “My world totally revolves around my kid” (1), “[My children are] all I ever had…it's something like a partnership (7), and "my main concern ...is making sure that they have their needs [met]” (10) exemplified this intertwined existence between mother and child. The notion of being there implies two things: i) constant togetherness between these mothers and their children in terms of the time spent together, and ii) a figurative notion of mothers serving as a constant and dependable source that the children can rely on at any time. Noted Debbie, a single parent of two children, “Do [my children] know that their Mom is like a rock in their lives who will always, always, always, be there regardless anything they do. Regardless of how awful it could be, I will always love them? Will I always support them? Yes, I will” (8).

Invariably, constant togetherness between mothers and children caused some mothers to feel distressed and depressed when they were separated from their children albeit for short periods of time. Hence, it appears that there were overtones of dependency in some mothers’ relationship with their children.

Constant togetherness also placed mothers in situations where they learned from their children. Unlike the mothers who intentionally educated their children, it was not always the
children's intention to educate their mothers. Nonetheless, such interactions helped these mothers to become better parents, and at times, assisted them to make important changes in their lives. As an example, Debbie's decision to leave her alcoholic husband came after a conversation with her six year old son:

I had [my son] in the bathroom and he said, "Mommy, if something ever happened to you, who would take care of us?" And I said, "Well your Dad would." And he started crying and he said, "Mommy, he can't. He couldn't take care of us, Mommy, don't you see that...?" And...it was a month later that I left his Dad. Then I thought, whom am I kidding here when my child who is six years old can see what the situation is. (8)

Other lessons comprised corrections of mothers' behaviors by their children indicating that parental behavioral changes were in order.

**Being the Parent**

Being the parent meant that the participants i) set household rules and enforced them, ii) provided guidance and direction in matters such as choice of boyfriend/girlfriend, children's dressing, their habits and other behaviors, iii) dealt with sibling squabbles, and iv) were watchful of negative societal elements that could potentially influence their children.

Remarks such as, "you're not allowed to criticize each other" (5), and "My son is basically grounded most of the time because he has to definitely tell me where he's going" (11) reflect rules set to guide children. Children were disciplined when household rules were violated. A big part of being the parent involved dealing with sibling squabbles. During these occasions, the mothers served as mediators and educators with the hope of setting guidelines for proper conduct between their children. At other times, parental authority was asserted and mothers disciplined their children during the squabbles.

The mothers in this study also felt the need to become the eyes and ears that scanned the environment of their children to keep negative influences at bay. According to Lorie, "[T]here's a
couple of [my daughter's friends] that I don't particularly care for... [My daughter] doesn't do drugs...she doesn't get drunk, doesn't sleep around...a lot of people treat her like, “Gee...you're so boring” (5). The urgency of being the eyes and the ears that scanned their children's environment was probably all the more felt in these female-headed households as there was only one parent present to safeguard the children.

The task of setting rules and enforcing them as well as providing guidance and direction to their children often resulted in a love-hate relationship with children. There were times when the children appreciated their mothers for caring enough to correct them and at other times, children disliked their mothers for their direction. With frustration, these mothers noted that their guidance or direction was often challenged by their children. Without a doubt, the task of being the parent often served as a site for conflict between the mothers and their children.

Still in Need of a Father

The mothers in this study recognized the futility in trying to fill the void in their children's life resulting from father exit. This was especially true for those households that had experienced father-presence at some point in time. It pained some mothers to see their children missing their fathers. With vividness, Carolyn described one such situation involving her 12-year old son.

The other day, a song came on...It's about a man who watches his kids grow up in pictures. He has nothing to do with them. Well, [my children's] father has been in and out of prisons and he hasn't had really anything to do with them. Well...I noticed [my son] in here and he was listening to the song and he was walking around and moping. And I was reading a book and he comes in there and flops down in the chair, slams himself down just looking at me all hateful and stuff. He said, “You ever heard that song, Mom?” And I said, “Yes. Sad isn't it?” He just gave me this hateful look. So I tried to act like I wasn't really looking at the look and I was reading a book and asking questions, “Does that make you think of your Dad?” [He replied] “No”. He said, “I hate it here, I want to leave, I don't like this place” and things like these, which he wasn't allowed to say...but he was venting and I was letting him cause it's been going on for months. And then he finally cried and opened up to me about what was going on.
He just kept saying, "Mom, that song makes me feel sad." [I said], "That makes me think of your dad and you kids." (7)

The mothers acknowledged that children desired to have a closer relationship with their fathers despite obvious flaws in these fathers such as being drunk on the weekend of the children's visit.

The mothers also struggled with educating their male adolescent children about questions on sex as they felt they could not present to their sons, the male perspective regarding sex. Nonetheless, since fathers were not available to guide their male children on such topics, the mothers inevitably had to fill this role.

**Equipping Children For Life**

Perhaps the most important form of communication occurring in the homes of the participants was the need to equip their adolescent children for life. From the mothers' description, it appeared that much time was spent preparing children for what lies ahead as mothers were aware that their children's survival was greatly dependent upon their guidance. Efforts to equip children for life included i) teaching children values such as self-respect, being respectful of others, earning respect, doing the right thing even when it is most difficult to do etc. ii) lessons in personal safety iii) being prepared for sexual relations, iv) understanding choices and the consequences that come with making a certain choice, v) providing strategies, solutions and coping skills for everyday problems including relationship problems, and vi) teaching living skills such as cooking, doing the laundry, and understanding finances particularly about income and expenditure.

The mothers felt an urgent need to educate their adolescent daughters about personal safety. Sally emphasized to her 16-year old daughter that her body is her own, "... no one touches you. Not even me. And if I touch you in a wrong way, you tell someone" (12). However, despite all the advice, some mothers felt that they could never do enough to caution their children about possible dangers in the world as in the case of Sally's daughter who was sexually molested.
In teaching children about choices, the mothers were of the opinion that when children are given choices and the consequences of their actions clearly spelled out, children often make an informed decision which would likely meet with parental approval. For some mothers, giving children choices served as a strategy in discouraging children from going through with decisions that parents disapprove.

The effort to educate children about finances, presented a dialectical tension in some mothers' lived experience. Some mothers were of the opinion that they should not burden their children with financial concerns as they had heard that such talk produces stress in children. For these mothers, being a child meant children should not have to understand how much money a household needs to make in order to survive in a month. Yet, the same mothers were frustrated that their children did not understand how many hours of work it would take for them to be able to buy the children the items they requested. Penny who was receiving food stamps noted the ingenuity that mothers on welfare exhibit when they have to survive on a tight budget due to limited income. Yet, with frustration, Penny noted that her children were oblivious to her efforts to provide for her family:

My children don't realize...that it's going to be a lot of energy for me to have to go to the store and go grocery shopping. But when you get food stamps and when you get that once a month, you have to have a plan. And... that takes a lot of hard work to plan meals and go shopping and budget the money and...you can't just go to one store...like people that are making a lot money can go to one store and buy whatever they want...I have to go from store to store to budget my money to get the cheapest prices. (5)

Encouraging Open Communication

1 While it is generally accepted that open communication between two parties is not necessarily indicative of a close relationship (Stafford & Canary, 1991), the mothers in this study viewed their open communication as indicative of a good relationship primarily because such communication was in stark contrast to the limited communication that existed between these mothers and their own parents. However, this theme of open communication is not subsumed under the sixth essential theme of "having a close relationship" because the former specifically focuses on the openness between mothers and their children and the ease with which both parties discuss topics that are generally
The mothers in this study were willing to “talk about anything from food to sex” (7) with their children. These mothers seemed to have a hidden agenda in desiring open communication with their children. According to Debbie, “There’s just a lot of things out [in the world] that we have to counteract that it’s so important to have children feel secure that they can discuss the things they see” (8). In other words, open communication between these mothers and their children helped the mothers know exactly what might be occurring in their children’s lives at any given time.

Carolyn aptly summed up the need for open communication with her children this way:

I remember when I was growing up, I would say, “Mom, so and so was thinking about smoking dope, pot or something.” And my parents would go, “Well, I don’t want to hear you doing that…” And I kept thinking, well, if my kids approached me like that, then I would say, ‘Well, now I know what’s on their mind.’” (7)

The mothers valued open communication with their children for two main reasons: i) as children, some mothers desired open communication with their parents but were unable to have that type of relationship and ii) as children, other mothers had experienced open communication with their parents and were motivated to have the same kind of communication with their own children. Whatever their motivation for engaging in open communication, these mothers acknowledged that such communication “happened out of a lot of hard work” (9).

In addition, some mothers noted that disclosure of intimate and important matters usually occurred in these households when children were assured of their mothers’ exclusive attention. This often meant that the children knew they had their mothers all to themselves and there were no

regarded as taboo and difficult in nature. Further, this theme focuses on the settings in which open communication takes place and the importance that mothers’ place on their children’s communication because they view all communication from their offspring as an opportunity for knowing what might be occurring in their lives. In contrast, the latter theme (having a close relationship) focuses on non-taboo/ non-difficult topics, and other behaviors and nuances that are indicative of a close relationship between the mothers and their children.
other siblings in sight. When such conditions existed, communication tended to be very open. Said one mother, “Some of the things my children have told me have floored me!” (1)

However, the mothers also disclosed that there were times when children opted to withhold information from them. However, these mothers claim to be well informed about the hidden agenda in their children’s lives because of the “smoke signals they give of” (7). As Molly noted, “I did exactly what he did and worse [when I was his age]. I am one step ahead of him” (11). At other times, the mothers were well informed about their children’s misbehavior and secret activities because they had “spies” who would report these matters to the mothers on a regular basis. With confidence, Carolyn disclosed, “It’s not worth hiding [things] from me…I’ve got] birdies all over the place” (7).

Having a Close Relationship

In this study, closeness between mother and child were exemplified in the following ways: i) enactment of loving acts between each other, ii) an instinctive knowing about what might be occurring in the life of the other, iii) mutual admiration and appreciation for one another, iv) sharing aspirations, dreams and future plans with one another, (v) a friendship relationship between mothers and children, vi) teasing and having fun with one another, and vii) a sense of protectiveness towards each other.

Among other things, loving acts included the mothers singing to their children and spontaneous hugs from children for no apparent reason. One mother said, “[I]f I see one of them depressed, I stick a little note under the pillow saying, ‘I’m not the tooth fairy, but I love you anyway’” (7). The instinctive knowing described by the mothers alludes of the bond between mothers and children where without even communicating, one knows that the other is hurting or troubled by something. Based on the mothers’ description, admiration and appreciation between the mothers and their children were mutual. Often, as might be expected, it was the mothers who
When I had Her

exemplified greater admiration and appreciation for their children. However, it was Ruth’s admiration and appreciation for her daughter that was the most poignant. Ruth’s daughter had become addicted to sniffing glue. Recalling the incident, Ruth said, “[My daughter came] to me and said, ‘Mom, I have a problem. Will you sign me in [to a chemical dependency rehabilitation center]?’….Ain’t that something!” (4).

For the children in these households, the sharing of aspirations, dreams and future plans often involved their plans for higher education and possible means of funding. For the mothers, it was about owning their own home and to be able to work one job instead of two or three.

With regard to a friendship relationship, the mothers noted that such a relationship tended to exists between them and their adolescent daughters. The mothers commented: “[My 15 year old daughter] is one of my best friends (11), and “me and my 16 year old [daughter], we’re not close in age but she’s enough of an adult now that she’s kind of my best friend” (12). Bette observed, “[My daughter] and I do behave like girlfriends at this point in our lives…we’ve done all the mother-daughter stuff and she’s aged… [W]e’re kind of more friends and partners” (9). But on the rare occasion, it does seem like some mothers get too close to their children discarding what might be regarded by some experts as generational boundaries. Lorie confessed that, at times, it was difficult to distinguish who the child and who the parent were in her household. However, from the descriptions, it became apparent to the researchers that many mothers were quite aware that they were the parent in the household and that their closeness with their children did not compromise that role. When the parent-child relationship is redefined as a friendship, it allows for a closeness in which mothers are able to share their feelings instead of being the ones who constantly listen to their children’s feelings, hence, meeting an important need in the mothers.

Closeness between mothers and children was also marked by a sense of protectiveness between the mothers and their children. Tanya disclosed, “My son…keeps things from me to try
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and keep from hurting me” (1). Melissa is of the opinion that her son disapproves of her romantic relationships because he doesn't want her to get hurt. Lillie recalled, “[If anyone hurts Mom], [my son] is about to kill them…[Y]ou don’t talk about Mommy or I’ll knock your face out…” (3). The mothers had the same protective sense towards their children.

Interpretation of Experiences Through Hyper-Reflection

The goal of hyper-reflection is to advance toward an essential definition of the experiences of the phenomenon of communication between mothers and children in female-headed households from the perspective of the mothers. The process of hyper-reflection in this study continued until one revelatory note emerged that united the six afore-mentioned essential themes of: 1) centrality of children in the mothers’ existence, 2) being the parent, 3) still in need of a father, 4) equipping the children for life, 5) encouraging open communication, and 6) having a close relationship.

The Revelatory Note: “When I Had Her, My Life Turned to Hers”

Merleau-Ponty (1964) noted that everyday mundane occurrences or “true little incidences are not life’s debris but signs, emblems and appeals” (p.313). The biggest sign, appeal or emblem of the mothers’ lived experience was presented to the researchers during an interview with Sandy, the sole parent of her 17-year old daughter. Sandy was asked to describe what life would be like for her, if for some reason, her child were no longer with her. Sandy’s response was profound and illuminating. She said,

I would probably go nuts...I just can't see life without [my daughter]...I don't even want to think about it....[I]t would be too hard...cause when I had her, my life turned to hers....When I had her...she'd come first is how I should say it....

Upon hyper-reflection, the statement, “when I had her, my life turned to hers” became the revelatory note for the phenomenon being investigated. Three essential meanings are conveyed through this revelatory note:
i) The first meaning is, the mothers were living a particular sort of existence but made a change to the mode of existence when they became mothers. The symbol *turn* constitutes within it not just a sense of change but a permanent alteration. In addition, the experiences of a mother will be quite different from a woman who is not a mother. The mother now has a dependent -- her child. And this change in the mother’s existence is a permanent one because the lives of the mother and her child are forever intertwined.

ii) The second meaning conveyed is the image of the mother *turning* towards her child and now, being in full view of her child, observes his or her behaviors while scanning the environment. Thus, the revelatory note conveys the image of the ever-watchful eyes of the mother upon her child observing his/her behaviors and scanning the environment. Such watchfulness is imperative in order to identify any inappropriate behaviors in her child and to ward off any unwanted influence upon her child.

iii) The third meaning is the sense of distance conveyed between the mother and her child. The turning of the mother’s life towards her child is indicative of the image of a child who is positioned “ahead” of the mother. The notion of the placement of the child ahead of the mother makes sense in view of the statements made by these mothers that their children always came first in the lives. In placing their children ahead of themselves, these mothers acknowledged that they were placing their children’s wants and needs ahead of their own.

It is clear that constituted within the revelatory note are the notions of the ever-watchful eyes of the mother upon the child and the mother putting the child’s wants and needs ahead of her own because of the intertwined existence between mother and child. The notions of the ever-
watchful eyes of the mother and the mother placing the needs of her child ahead of her own are
exemplified in all six themes.

Discovering Meanings Not Immediately Apparent

The revelatory note, “When I had her, my life turned to hers” was further illuminated when
two hidden meanings emerged: i) The first hidden meaning is, when Sandy, a sole parent (i.e., a
mother whose child had neither experienced father presence in the household nor had a
relationship with the biological father) said, “when I had [my child], my life turned to hers”, she
described an immediate act of turning her life towards her child. In the context of this study, turning
is interpreted as attending to the needs of others. Because Sandy had never experienced partner
presence (that is the presence of her child’s father), such turning by this sole parent towards her
child was quick, swift, and complete. However, for mothers with partners in the household, such
turning might not be as quick, swift, or complete. The turning of the mother to her child is delayed
because she is turned towards her partner (the child’s father), first and foremost. Before this
mother had her child, she had turned towards her partner and hence, complete turning towards her
child is not possible. Such turning to one’s partner is probably a factor of socialization for married
mothers or women who have their partners (the child’s father) present in the household. In such a
situation, the woman might feel it her duty to turn towards her husband/partner first and foremost
and/or her husband/partner might have an expectation that the woman turn towards him first and
foremost before attending to the needs of the child.

Admittedly, there were mothers in the study who relayed that there was no difference in
their relationship with their children while they were married or when their partners lived with them.
This absence of difference appeared to be the product of mothers having always accorded their
children the primary position in their lives.
ii) A second hidden meaning that emerged was that, just as a mother *turns* towards her child, so does her child *re-turn* towards his/her mother. When one (mother) is *turned* towards the other (the child), and is poised and committed to *turning* towards the other, it becomes difficult for the other not to reciprocate. One cannot, not *re-turn*, the *turning* that the other is committed to doing. Because there will always be a response be it desirable or undesirable to every *turning*, it is assumed that there would be a *re-turn* to every *turn*. Hence, when the ever-watchful eyes of the mother are upon the child, the child *re-turns* the mother's gaze acknowledging the mother's watchfulness. When the mothers strive to put their children's needs before their own, however these needs might be defined, the children are bound to observe such commitment and *re-turn* by providing some feedback indicating gratitude, or other kinds of actions and reactions.

The mothers provided numerous descriptions of children *re-turning* to them. Just as mothers taught their children, they learned from the children. Just as the mothers appreciated and admired their children so did the children show their appreciation and admiration to their mothers. However, the mothers claimed that such *re-turns* by children were usually lacking in frequency and intensity. Just as the mothers worked at being friends with their children, so did the children *re-turn* the friendship by providing the mothers with the sort of companionship that is lacking in female-headed households.

**Returning to the Field: Focus Group Discussion**

Upon completion of the interpretation of the mother's lived experiences, the researchers returned to the field to present the interpretation to the participants and to ascertain if they had been able to accurately capture the mothers' lived experience and to incorporate any changes or suggestions that the mothers might wish to add to the interpretation. The interpretation was presented to three mothers, all of whom were selected because they were available to participate in a focus group discussion.
Focus groups enable participants to reflect on their lived experiences even as others share their lived experiences. Apart from being known as “hermeneutic conversations” (Van Manen, 1990, p. 101), Orbe (1993) states that, unlike individual interviews, focus group interviews “create a context that encourages synergistic insights unattainable during individual interviews” (p. 77). Bate (1988) notes that focus group discussions are an ideal way for women to search for identification and oneness with other women and demonstrate the connectedness between them.

The focus group discussion in this study served as member validation or member checks (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of the findings obtained in the field. Also known as member tests of validity and host verification, the construct implies “taking findings back to the field and determining whether the participants recognize them as true or accurate” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 242). According to Lindlof & Taylor, the process of member validation involves “the researcher sitting down with one of more participants to ask what they think of a description, an interpretation” (p.243) that has been put together by the researcher based on descriptions gathered from the members. According to Borland (1991), returning to the field to engage participants in post fieldwork interpretation is ethical and must be done more regularly by researchers especially when these researchers claim to speak concerning others’ lived experience.

In the main, the interpretation presented to the mothers in this study was fully accepted by them with some interesting insights provided. The mothers agreed that the revelatory note conveyed the meaning of a forever-intertwined existence between the mothers and their children; and when they turned towards their children with their gaze upon their children, it was with the hope of watching over the children’s behaviors, to scan the children’s environment, as well as to equip their children for life’ needs and challenges. They also agreed with the interpretation of the revelatory note that their children’s wants and needs were always placed ahead of their own. In addition, the mothers provided three insightful contributions. First, the mothers posited that, in
general, children were “ahead” of mothers not only because mothers were committed to placing their children's needs ahead of their own but also because “life was going a lot faster” for their children and they were being exposed to all kinds of challenges and “maturing a lot faster than when we were in school” and thus, were “ahead” of their parents in this sense. In view of these challenges, the mothers emphasized the need to engage in proactive or counteracting communication.

Second, the mothers agreed that sole parent mothers were probably able to turn quickly, swiftly and completely to their children upon childbirth unlike mothers with husband/partners in the household. Two mothers in the focus group discussion, now divorced, noted that if their ex husbands had sought to meet their needs and those of their children and stopped competing with their offspring for attention, the mothers would not be faced with the conflict of which party to turn to (i.e. choosing between their partner and their children). According to the mothers, it is the norm for women to do more than is necessary in providing for their partner's and children's needs because men are not bearing their share of the responsibility for their families. As if underscoring the emancipation that is needed for women in general and mothers in particular, Penny offered that it was usually the women, not the men, who were left holding the children after the divorce. All three mothers agreed that women are socialized to meet others' needs ahead of their own needs more than is necessary.

Third, the mothers agreed that when they turn to their children, their children re-turned to them. However, Penny asserted that re-turns do not always have to be obvious or direct. She then recalled a story that was shared by Sandy minutes earlier in which Sandy's daughter had chided one of her friends for wanting to take drugs. Penny affirmed that any time their children engaged in good deeds and exemplified lessons taught by the mothers to help others, they had re-
turned to their mothers. Penny anticipates that the older children get, the better the re-turns for mothers in female-headed household.

Answering The Research Questions

Research Question 1: The role of communication in female-headed households

This study sought to answer two questions. The first is, what is the role of communication in female-headed households from the perspective of the participants in this study? It appears that communication played several roles in the female-headed households involved in this study:

1) Communication with their children helped the mothers to look out for their children and to scan the environment with the purpose of counteracting the influence of negative societal elements in a timely manner.

2) Communication with their children enabled the mothers to identify the various needs experienced by their children and to equip them for life as they enter the world of adulthood. The mothers in this study taught, trained, and prepared their children for life’s realities.

3) Communication between mothers and their children was intended for the reinforcement of positive behaviors and experiences and the isolation of negative and undesired behaviors in their children.

4) Communication with their children assisted the mothers to learn and grow and become better parents even as they obtained feedback from their children.

5) Communication served to keep the relationship between the mothers and their children fluid and dynamic bringing both mothers and their children closer.

The first two roles are thematic and are constituted within the revelatory note. The mothers understood that they must watch their children and scan their environment in order to protect them. They also realized the importance of knowing their children’s needs and meeting them to the best
of their abilities. The mothers in this study declared that they have open communication with their children where they talk about anything and everything and suggest that communication within their family is democratic in nature. Although open communication is not necessarily indicative of a close relationship (Stafford & Canary, 1991), in the present study, mothers noted that open communication between themselves and their children have led to closer relationships in these households.

**Research Question 2: Perceived difference in family communication since father exit**

Specifically, the second research objective attempted to determine if there were perceived differences in family communication since father exit. Of the nine mothers who had experienced the presence of the children's father before becoming female-headed households, some expressed no perceived difference in their relationship with their children since father exit. According to these mothers, this is partly because when the fathers were present in the households, the children totally relied upon the mothers to meet their every need. The mothers acknowledged that their children always came first. Hence, the mothers asserted that they were not torn between choosing to attend to their partner’s needs and those of their children and said they did not allow the problems presented by the children’s father to affect their relationship with their children.

However, for other mothers, their relationship with the children was difficult during father presence. Mothers described situations where: their partners made demands on the mothers that kept them away from their children; mothers had to protect their children from their partner's abusive nature; constant conflict occurred with fathers with regard to child discipline; fathers were jealous of the mothers' relationship with their children; and mothers’ had no control over how they spent their time with their children because that decision was made by the children’s father.
According to these mothers, they were relieved to see the children's father leave their household and perceived that their children were happier since father exit, noting at the same time that their children loved their fathers.

**Discussion**

With regard to the companionate/best friend relationship existent between mothers and their children in this study, several studies by Steinberg, Southern & Atchinson (1983); Weiss (1979); and Youniss & Smollar (1985) support the observation regarding such a relationship in female-headed households. Arditti (1999) found that adolescent daughters in her study described their mothers as their best friend as these relationships were generally close and often involved a high level of disclosure. In providing a reason for the closeness, Arditti posits that the role shifts experienced by divorced mothers provides greater independence to mothers and facilitates democratized relations with their children. The adolescent children’s growing need for autonomy, and the mother’s need for emotional support coupled with democratized relations within the household all contribute to provide a sense of equality within adolescents leading to a friendship relationship with mothers. In fact, notes Arditti, the growing maturity among adolescents often gave way to greater understanding, empathy and appreciation for their mothers. Arditti posits that the best friend relationship tended most often to occur between divorced mothers and their adolescent daughters. The phenomenon of the “best friend” relationship is exemplified in the present study between mothers and their older female adolescent children.

While a best friend relationship between mothers and their adolescent daughters in female-headed households is not unexpected, the present study indicates that closeness existed between mothers and their male adolescent children as well. Weiss (1979) relegates this occurrence to the disappearance of the authority structure within female-headed households. With the disappearance of the authority structure defined by Arditti (1999) “as the implicit coalition of two
adults who are in a hierarchically more powerful position than the children", children in female-headed households tend to be “promoted” to a new position (p.116). Arditti posits that the promotion occurs when mothers relinquish their control and relate to children as if they were “junior partners”. Scholar such as Wolff (1950) in citing George Simmel underscores the hypothesis that the decomposition of the authority structure and group size increases communication and disclosure.

According to Arditti, divorce presents a context for change within the family structure that invariably leads to a closer relationship between mothers and children. The mothers in the present study noted that closeness with their children allowed them to share their feelings and emotions with their children, an outlet that is sorely lacking in many female-headed households. According to Arditti (1999), “the mothers’ need for emotional support and the sharing of confidences with children gave children a sense of equality” (p.115), and unlike popular thinking, was not burdensome to children but rather, served to bring both parties closer. Further, Arditti notes that there is no evidence in her study that “mothers’ reliance on children for emotional support or advice precludes mothers from engaging in more traditional parenting behavior such as providing guidance” (p.118). The mothers in the present study made the same claim. In fact, Arditti (1999) posits, that the “closeness and intimacy described by young adults in relation to their mothers is an important example of the viability of single-mother households” (p.116).

Mothers in present study cited closeness between them and their children, which included a sense of protectiveness for each other in addition to mutual appreciation for one another. At least two other studies have confirmed this observation (Arditti, 1999, Wallerstein and Blakeslee, 1989). In fact, Wallerstein and Blakeslee posit that children’s relations with custodial mothers’ exemplified closeness, appreciation for the mother’s efforts and concern for the mother’s well being.
With regard to open communication within the households, mothers in the present study posited that their children discussed “anything” and “everything” with them, all of which the mothers regarded as important. Arditti’s (1999) study supports this observation as the adolescents in her study claimed to have discussed “anything” and “everything” with their mothers. Some experts are of the opinion that the sharing of confidences and open disclosures between mothers and children are indicative of the violation of generational/intimacy boundaries common in female-headed households. Such violations, the experts argue, place adolescents in a vulnerable position with regard to emotional well-being and behavioral adjustment (Bowen, 1978; Minuchin, 1974, Weltner, 1982). However, Arditti’s (1999) study indicates that adolescents viewed the offering of emotional support to mothers and the sharing of intimate disclosures positively.

With reference to the first research question on the role of communication in female-headed households, it appears that the first three roles of communication as identified in this study, which is: i) looking out for the children and their behaviors and scanning the environment with the purpose of counteracting the influence of negative elements; ii) identifying the various needs experienced by their children and equipping them for life as they enter the world of adulthood; and iii) reinforcing positive behaviors and experiences and isolating negative behaviors and experiences, are supported by Ruddick’s (1982) thesis. According to Ruddick, motherhood is characterized by three needs: preservation, growth, and acceptability of a child. Ruddick posits that a mother sees herself and is seen by others as the one primarily responsible for the preservation of her child’s life. This act of preservation is underscored by the first role of communication in this study. Next, Ruddick argues that a mother is concerned with the emotional, physical, and intellectual growth of her child and works towards meeting these needs. This assertion is underscored by the second role of communication as determined in this study. Then, Ruddick notes that a mother is guided by a third motivation, that is, her child grows to be accepted
by her and her community. Ruddick notes that for a woman, the acceptability of her child by the community validates her existence as a mother and marks her as a success. This assertion is effectively underscored in the third role of communication in the study. Hence, it appears that the behaviors of the mothers in the present study are characteristic of the practices in motherhood.

Pertaining to the second research question of perceived difference in family communication since father exit, some mothers in this study said they were relieved to see their children's father leave the household because they knew their relationship with the children would improve from that point. The mothers also claimed that their children felt the same way even though they loved their fathers very much. The observation that the mothers' relationship with their children would improve with father exit is supported by Weiss (1979) who notes that divorce and father exit often tend to decrease the social distance between mothers and their children leading to boundaries between mothers and children that are characterized by a level of openness uncommon in two-parent families. Further, Arditti's (1999) posits that the hidden strength of divorced households is the maintenance of close ties between mothers and children. Hence, it seems that father exit does impact family communication in a positive way in some families.

Future Directions for Research

The present study provided some insight into communication in low-income female-headed households from the perspective of the mothers. Because of the encouraging findings in this study that have been supported by existing research, it would be interesting to find out about communication two-parent families between mothers and their adolescent children from the perspective of the mothers. Such a study would provide insight on how the authority structure within the two-parent families affects closeness and disclosures between mothers and their adolescent children. A second area of study, a follow up to the present one, could be about how mothers in female-headed households use strategies and behaviors to bring about successful
When I had Her

communication with their children in light of the roles of communication in female-headed households, which the present study has identified. A third area of study could scrutinize the perception of communication in female-headed households from the perspective of adolescents. Several studies have indicated that mothers and adolescents perceive the occurrence of communication between one another very differently (Hanson, 1986; Koerner, Jacobs & Raymond, 2000; Vogl-Bauer, Kalbfleisch, Beatty; 1999). More crucially, a study that seeks children’s perceptions of communication between themselves and their mothers might be able to determine what these children define as the roles of communication in their households.

Although this study is about low-income female-headed households, the notion of “low income” as a defining concept was not obvious in the mothers’ descriptions. The extent of the mothers’ descriptions regarding their disadvantaged economic state was limited to the theme of educating children about financial realities. The mothers felt that their economic state had been such a part of the identity that unless asked, there was no need to delve into it. It is also true that the notion of “Appalachia” as a defining concept was not obvious in this study even though nine out of the 12 mothers who participated in this study identified themselves as Appalachia. Hence, the researchers felt that the study did not warrant a discussion regarding differences in communication in the Appalachian and non-Appalachian female-headed households participating in this study. This stance is further underscored by the findings of this study, which did not indicate cultural differences with or obvious departures from existing research regarding female-headed households in mainstream America but rather, supported it.

The significance of the study is that its findings were particularly positive and were in line with existing research (Arditti, 1999, Hanson, 1986; Weiss, 1979, 1980; Youniss & Smollar, 1985) regarding female-headed households. One reason for the overwhelmingly positive findings in this
study is that the mothers who participated in the study were pleased with the communication occurring in their households and were eager to share their experiences.

A limitation of this research is that it reveals the perception of 12 mothers in female-headed households. Hence, it cannot claim to speak for the lived experiences of all mothers in female-headed households. However, as the present study has clearly indicated, its benefits are clearly obvious when interpretive conclusions are added to already existing empirical research findings.

This study, like other existing research, indicates that hidden strengths exist within female-headed households and ought to be given due recognition especially in view that these households often suffer from “at risk” concerns and a prior labeling. The closeness found within this family-type is a strength not often mentioned in research regarding two-parent households. And yet, two-parent households are the norm in most societies. A household must never be left with the choice of experiencing closeness due to father exit or lack of it due to the authority structure existent in two-parent families. Closeness ought to be the desired goal of all family-types. The structures that impede closeness in two-parent households must be examined and necessary changes introduced in order to inculcate closeness for the sake of all family members especially children. Therein lies the value of specifying difference regarding communication in female-headed households as compared to communication in two-parent households, which, as posited by Mohanty (2002), “allow[s] us theorize universal concerns more fully” (505).

Further, this study calls for scholars seeking to study female-headed households to examine their expectations and be willing to experience a paradigm shift in order to understand the dynamism present in this family-type.
Appendix A

1996 Federal Poverty Index Guidelines

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*Note.* Figures were taken from Federal Register (March 4, 1996, p. 8288)
References


Title: Appalachian Studies: Do They Still Have a Role in Preparing Health Science Students for Practice in Rural Appalachian Kentucky?

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ABSTRACT

Title: Appalachian Studies: Do They Still Have a Role in Preparing Health Science Students for Practice in Rural Appalachian Kentucky?

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This paper will examine the history of Appalachian Studies as they apply to the education of health science students in a large medical center. Chronic health problems, such as diabetes and cardiovascular disease, have led to increased focus on community-based efforts to address these and other health-related issues. Although the emphasis on Appalachian Studies has been variable during the history of the University of Kentucky Medical Center, the question addressed in this paper is whether Appalachian Studies is needed if health problems are to be adequately addressed within the Appalachian region of the state. The paper describes the Training for Appalachian Practice Project (TAPP) carried out in the Physician Assistant Studies Program which might serve as a focus for considering the potential benefits and costs of implementing Appalachian Studies for health science students today.
Persons with co-occurring mental illness, substance use and chronic medical disorders (P-COD) present complex and challenging treatment needs and the interactions of these disorders are rarely addressed in treatment practices or research. La Frontera Center, Inc. conducted a survey to assess the prevalence of physical health problems across a stratified sample of consumers. The results indicated that 74% reported at least one health problem, 79% reported pain, 66% smoke, 66% have BMI 25 or higher, and 62% are inactive. Importantly, 47% indicated interest in increasing exercise, 44% in learning stress management skills, 36% in improving their diet, and 49% wanted to quit smoking.

Following these results, we conducted a pilot study of a cognitive behavioral (CB) skills intervention applied to health behavior change in P-COD. Groups were held weekly for 10 weeks and CB skills practice centered on healthful behavior changes including increasing exercise, improving diet, and relaxation skills. Ten P-COD enrolled. Complete pre, post, and follow-up data were available for six participants. Overall, the intervention was well received by those who participated and, in general, the pre to post-intervention results appear encouraging. There was significant improvement in overall BASIS-32 scores (t = 3.1, p< .04), SF-12 physical functioning (t = 3.3, p< .03) and social functioning (t = 4.0, p< .02), less emotion-focused coping (t = 3.5, p< .03), and improved working alliance (t = 2.7, p< .05).
UNIVERSITY PARTNERSHIPS

TO HOUSE THE NEEDY

By

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Introduction

Universities can play a vital role in helping to address our housing crisis. This crisis impacts seniors, disabled, and working poor. Yet only a handful out of the 3,650 higher education institutions are putting resources of faculty, staff and students to meet this urgent task. This is the story of one University who made a major effort to rebuild, revitalize and restore one of the nation’s most historic black neighborhoods that fell into neglect and despair. West Louisville was once proud middle class neighborhood that was the childhood home of Muhammad Ali.

Since 1994, University of Louisville SUN (Sustainable Urban Neighborhoods) program has worked to great acclaim helping to facilitate the necessary resources that support the aspirations of resident families in West Louisville. The predominant focus of the SUN activities there included the historic, predominantly African-American neighborhood of Russell which had 10,000 residents. Russell is one of the most economically disadvantaged areas in the City of Louisville and is characterized by excessive poverty, unemployment, crime, and homelessness, along with relatively low levels of education and training.

Louisville’s ‘West End’ (the Russell neighborhood, in particular) was a familiar portrait of inner-city American poverty, unemployment, crime and despair. Surveys of Louisville citizens have shown that housing affordability as among the most important issues confronting the city (Gilderbloom and Mullins, 2005). In several Louisville neighborhoods, one out of every four housing units is substandard, compared to the national average of one out of every 20 (Gilderbloom and Mullins, 2005) A majority of low-income renters in West Louisville paid more than 50 percent of their income for
housing (Gilderbloom and Mullins, 2005). This was a neighborhood of gangs, drugs and prostitution. These vices paved the way for the heavy concentration of funeral homes, liquor stores, and pawnshops. Engineers turned the neighborhood into four lane one way freeway so downtown office workers could race back and forth to their suburban homes. One-way streets helped kill the neighborhood spirit—reducing housing appreciation, creating greater opportunities for criminal activity, and turning streets into no play zones for kids.

Digital Photos: Examples of what Russell looked like in 1992

Pictures1-15: Figure 5

Beforeshotgun

4.jpg

While these were considered neighborhood liabilities, I also discovered neighborhood assets. I discovered a high concentration of churches, an eight story historic YMCA, a public tech college, the first library open to blacks, a large collection of historic buildings dating back over a hundred years (federal style, shotgun, Queen Annie, arts and crafts) several parks and cemeteries that give the neighborhood residents green spaces to use, and within walking distance of good paying downtown jobs. In many ways, this neighborhood had the potential to be developed as a new urbanist neighborhood. Lot sizes were significantly smaller (about one third size) compared to suburban counterparts allowing homes to be built cheaper. Small lot sizes also caused new houses occupy a large portion of the lot with front porches extending out to touch the sidewalks. I saw Russell in West Louisville as having the potential to become the first moderate income or for that matter nearly all black new urbanist development.
I do not believe that all poor neighborhoods can be revitalized (especially suburban ones built in the sixties) but Russell seemed like a good candidate especially with the leadership of the non-profits and city officials. I was also inspired by what had happened in my own hometown of San Francisco along with Chicago, Seaside in Florida, Washington D.C. and New York.

Numerous meetings were held with organizations and individuals to examine how SUN could help make more affordable housing. Many recognized leaders and organizations were consulted in the development of SUN. As a result of this process, our collective proposal was circulated to over 50 individuals and organizations. The reaction was positive. The SUN proposal received letters of support from the Mayor, non-profits, four institutions of higher education, various government agencies, numerous businesses, realtors, banks, builders, and charities. The participation of these organizations molded SUN into an innovative and pragmatic partnership. SUN was developed as a realistic approach to create self-sufficiency among the economically challenged. This program can change hopelessness into hope for a poor neighborhood and help weave together the fabric of the community.

All plans to “do good” stir opposition. Despite the efforts to do grass roots planning, the program also had some major opposition. This is not surprising but what was disappointing was where this opposition came from. It was not from black leaders, city hall, and real estate interests but from top white housing leaders that claimed it was
wasteful, untested, and a failure from the start. A letter signed by the major players who provided affordable housing called for the proposal to be withdrawn. The nay Sayers demanded a free market economist from the University of Louisville who calls for less government (zoning, historic preservation, environmental regulations) to draw up a downtown enterprise plan and abandoned black West Louisville. The letter was delivered to my boss a top University official who quietly said no to their demands.

But this was not the end. Once the grant was awarded, they demanded that “one of their own” help manage the project. Two “old time” neighborhood leaders were hired to appease and make a compromise. But these “old time” neighborhood leaders were unable to relate to the idealism, spirit and energy of the students, faculty and black community leaders. I learned to regret hiring the Nay sayers. The nay Sayers continued their campaign after the grant was awarded by feeding the newspaper false information and demanding an investigation into the program. They demanded that I be fired. They were correct in noting that previous liberal efforts to help revitalized black neighborhoods had been a failure. But we had learned from these mistakes. The real reason for their opposition was fear of competition over scarce housing dollars and their self appointed role as housing gatekeepers being put into jeopardy (Gilderbloom and Appelbaum, 1988, Pahl, 1976).

The local newspaper came out with a highly negative front-page story claiming we were way short of our goals with too much money wasted on administration. What the newspaper failed to note was that the goals were for the life of the grant which turned out to be ten years not just 16 months they were reporting on. It takes years not months to successfully renovate or build affordable housing. Moreover, many of the claims
made by the newspaper were false and the grants evaluator, Reg Bruce, found that most of the goals of the grant were accomplished (Gilderbloom and Mullins, 2005). Mid course corrections did eliminate some goals because of cost, lack of staff or opportunities to invest resources elsewhere.

**SUSTAINABLE URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS**

Learning from lessons of the past, a fresh, innovative, bold and pragmatic partnership of business, government, a local university, junior college, and community-based groups was organized. The Russell partnership represented a multifaceted effort committed helping a low-income African-American neighborhood lift itself from dependency to self-sufficiency.

This partnership was built on the belief that the problems of low-income neighborhoods can only be remedied by a combination of programs involving: job development, planning, home repair, homeownership programs, community planning, entrepreneur training, and loan programs. Federal money from the U.S. Department of Education and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development helped stimulated the development of this partnership. These funds are partially matched by local churches, non-profit organizations, industries, businesses, local foundations, and community groups. SUN’s goal is to make operational the concept of public-private partnerships in order to succeed in urban renovation and rehabilitation where many others have failed. As Marilyn Melkonian, President of Telesis Corp., has observed, its vision goes “beyond just the physical improvements of the bricks and mortar.” SUN carries out its vision through outreach-orientated partnerships with community development organizations, business firms, government agencies, community groups and universities.
SUN promotes human and economic development in the impoverished neighborhoods of West Louisville, with a resulting impact on the entire city.

**The SUN Directive**

The mission of SUN is to explore all strategies that foster a sense of community while empowering individuals in the community and promoting neighborhood revitalization, individual self-sufficiency, and self-reliance. These goals are achieved through community partnerships. Former University of Louisville President John Shumaker remarked in 1996 that “SUN, through its sheer tenacity helped turn an eyesore of blocks and blocks of boarded-up buildings into a development that the entire city can be proud of.” To help end this decline and create the dynamics for revitalization, the partnership’s goals and strategies focus on four functional categories: housing, economic development, community organizing and neighborhood revitalization.

As part of its comprehensive approach, SUN provided oversight, monitoring, technical assistance, and advocacy for low-income West Louisville residents. SUN works closely with local officials on budgetary and policy issues affecting the neighborhood community. Revitalization of old urban neighborhoods is crucial to preserving Louisville’s cultural heritage. Strengthening existing neighborhoods helps reduce sprawl, safeguard green spaces, and create healthier environments. SUN also works to identify, evaluate, preserve, and protect significant historic sites, structures, cultural landscapes, cultural artifacts and tangible community traditions of West Louisville.

SUN offers assistance to housing developers and small business owners in locally designated revitalization areas, stimulates community revitalization activities that protect and enhance historic resources, and improve existing residential and commercial
structures. SUN and its partners support initiatives to revitalize neighborhoods through programs such as redevelopment assistance, business training for individuals, education, and community crime prevention.

COMMUNITY OUTREACH PARTNERSHIP CENTER

The University of Louisville’s SUN goal is to develop partnerships that succeed in urban renovation and rehabilitation. SUN’s successful programs illustrate the impact that university and community, public and private partnerships can have on target areas. Documented results have been produced. The processes that have developed and that are being utilized are tools to successful urban rehabilitation. Sun celebrates its successes and learns from its mistakes.

The Community Design and Planning Program focuses on cooperation with neighborhood leaders and generating a shared community and neighborhood vision through ‘bottom-up’ participation by residents. A master plan and detailed site development plans for housing, commercial, recreational, and light industrial uses are guide for development efforts. The quality of the plan rests in the feasibility of its implementation.

SUN provides direct assistance to the neighborhoods and institutions through community design work such as architectural services, and helping developers adhere to the Urban Renewal Commission’s rules and regulations. SUN also provides technical assistance ranging from resurveying lots, redesigning houses, creating design plans and providing site visits to oversee construction to non-profit developers, with the objective of improving the availability, affordability and quality of housing in the Russell
Neighborhood and surrounding enterprise communities. The actual number of units that have been completed within the target neighborhood illustrates results.

**H. Temple Spears Elderly Housing**

In partnership with the Neighborhood Development Corporation (NDC), SUN identifies two housing priorities: 1) increased home-ownership opportunities for low-income households, and 2) the preservation of the current housing stock through renovation of older housing. This involves the acquiring of vacant decayed buildings, rehabilitating them, and reselling them. In-fill housing can be created, resulting in new housing units on vacant, city-owned land.

One of the best examples of this partnership is H. Temple Spears elderly housing, which was started as a project of SUN in 1994. A graduate student came up with a 300-page plan to create 65 units of affordable senior housing in West Louisville. The need for senior housing was great since West Louisville had very little senior housing for blacks. The initial effort was to build a brand new housing development in the neighborhood but this was abandoned when NDC saw the economics and sentimentality of rehabing an historic 100-year-old school. This architectural landmark, which was located on one city block with plenty of surrounding green space, won the hearts and minds of residents and city officials.

**Photos of H. Temple Spears Senior Housing about here**

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P1010196.jpg

The student who came up with the proposal was Bill Friedlander an active APA member who left SUN with a Ph.D. to resurrect a defunct Neighborhood Development
Corporation and revived it. H. Temple Spears has become one of their most important successes. Ten years later Neighborhood Development Corporation believes it has helped revive, build and save over 150 housing units and manages roughly 300 units in West Louisville. Many of these housing units are historic and present the fabric of the neighborhood.

**Louisville Central Community Center**

SUN worked hand in hand with the non-profit Louisville Central Community Center (LCCC) to help provide drawings, designs, planning and helping with getting approvals. Ten years later LCCC has helped develop 76 apartment units of which 46 houses and 17 apartment buildings have been built in Russell. Nearly all of the apartment units are 3 bedrooms and two bathrooms ranging from about 1,120 to 1,800 square feet. All the units sold for between $49,500 and $115,000. For the earliest units, a monthly mortgage estimated around $395 a month was $100 less than nearby apartments. These housing units look attractive and fit within the historic character of the neighborhood of 100-year-old shotgun homes. Many of the shotguns were renovated to maintain the historical character of the city.

**Photos of Before and After Shots of Louisville Homes Build by LCDC**

Word file pictures1-15 Figure 11

**File:**

30.jpg

23.jpg—new housing complimenting older renovated housing

p1010202.jpg
A team of student architects, planners, lawyers and engineers (most notably Rob Mullins, Mark Wright, Michael Brazley and Scot Ramsey) helped to created architectural renderings, house plans, interacted with city leaders to understand the approval process of various private and public agencies and the economics of preservation and new housing construction. The students were edgy, energetic and inventive. I gave them a long leash to “make it happen.” Of special note was that much of the houses were prebuilt before they even got to the lot—roofs, walls, kitchens and bathrooms. The parts were fitted together similar to modular housing on site. The lots were provided to LCDC for $1 (that is not a typo!) with sewers, electrical and paved roads and some sidewalks. The leader of LCDC (the largest black social service agency in Russell) was Sam Watkins Junior who opened the gate for us to come into the neighborhood. He was critical to our success; he was honest, charismatic and smart. While embracing our grit and idealism, Mr. Watkins had the political clout to keep the Nay sayers at bay.

Digital Photos

File: Word, Figure 14 before and after shots of crack building turned into family housing

Telesis Corporation

SUN worked with Telesis development corporation and neighborhood leaders such as Deborah Todd and Sam Watkins to help save Village West from demolition. The demolition of Village West would have resulted in the loss of 653 family housing units and exacerbated the housing crisis for African Americans. Many of these housing units were abandoned and board up. SUN helped introduce the idea of crime prevention through environmental design (see Newman, 1980, Jacobs, 1961). This resulted in new
504 units remaining out of the 653 original units so that every unit had good views—eyes on the streets. The brick units had a total make over with front doors going out to the streets, public/private space demarcation, attractive and varied roof lines. Village West was gone and renamed city View Park acceleration of the downtown. The flat root barrack like project was gone. These units are a mix of market rate and section 8 units. Despite the history of these units as a place of rampant crime and vice, rents are nearly as high as white middle class neighborhoods--$707 for a four bedroom; $594 for a three bedroom; $496 for a two bedroom and $373 for a one bedroom. In 2009, plans are in the making to sell the units off as affordable condos in a range of around $30,000 per unit, which would make these units, have a monthly principal and interest at around $250.

Photos of Before and After Shots of Louisville Homes Renovated by Telesis

Digital Photos: Pictures1-15 Figure 15
SUN was retained as a consultative and mediator partner in the proposed development of a H.U.D. Section 232 backed project to construct a 156-unit retirement residential center for the underserved, which will be replicated in other parts of Louisville. A for-profit Limited Liability Company made up of three cooperative partners anchors the project: the landowner, the builder, and a local labor organization, which is providing pre-development financing. The project will demonstrate how unions can realize superior investment returns by investing in housing. The project is expected to yield units which rent profitably at approximately 30 (thirty) percent below current market rents for similar housing as a result of LLC partnership and H.U.D. financing. Financing, land and construction cost savings are pooled to create a long-term investment opportunity for the company and needed housing for the elderly. Unfortunately this development has been stalled because of infighting among partners over how much of big a slice of pie each
park was going to get. Hopefully, this model will be replicated by other labor organizations, non-profits, and faith based organizations in the future. A similar project was developed for the University that was estimated to cost around $7 million dollars with the land being leased from the University for $1.00 a year. The three-story development would have 65 rooms with a peak capacity of 130 nursing home patients. After 15 years, the nursing home would be given back to the University for $1.00 and the University would have a dorm facility for 130 students at an appreciated value of $12 to $15 million dollars. The University said no to this proposal.

CONCLUSION

As a result of the SUN project, Sustainable Urban Neighborhoods was recognized by Harvard University. The John F. Kennedy School of Government chose SUN as a semi-finalist in its “2001 Innovations in American Government Awards Programs.” The University of Louisville’s outreach community partnership initiative through the Sustainable Urban Neighborhoods program and Dr. John I. Gilderbloom, its principal investigator, received the Sierra Club National Best Practices Award. SUN has been selected by Industrial Economics, an EPA funded group, as one of the most outstanding examples of Smart Growth Practices in the United States. Our program were given positive coverage in Planning Magazine, New York Times, Atlanta Journal and Constitution. Even the local newspaper that had run a highly critical story in the beginning ran several more positive stories on the accomplishments of SUN.

SUN’s successful programs illustrate the positive impact that a university can have on a distressed neighborhood. SUN’s program involves local housing, economic development, community organizing, and neighborhood revitalization.
The SUN project was designed to serve as a change agent in promoting revitalization in the federally designated West Louisville Enterprise Community. The overall mission of SUN is to improve the quality of life for residents of the Enterprise Community; SUN’s East Russell, an inner city Louisville neighborhood, has seized the nation’s attention by creating a renaissance in the central city, bringing new life and vitality.

SUN’s approach is holistic rather than piecemeal. SUN enhances problem-solving capacities by linking residents with systems that provide resources designed to increase productive self-sufficiency. Community education coordinated through partnerships with educational institutions, nonprofit organizations, and faith-based groups increase the depth and breadth of information available to the residents. These partnerships promote a positive outlook to overcome initial skeptical neighborhood attitudes. New business and investment in the neighborhood, vital to its redevelopment and growth, came about through the coordination of enterprises outside the neighborhood and those struggling within the neighborhoods.

Today the gangs, prostitutes and drugs are invisible to the eye. Crime has fallen on a per person basis. The place looks like a safe and comfortable neighborhood. Western Louisville has always been a distinct black neighborhood that was several blocks from the center city business district. It was a Western bookend to the center of the city. With the revitalization of Russell has also come a sudden revitalization of the Center of the City with new loft housing and entertainment district recently opening up. Universities do not need to be in the ivory tower but can be an active agent of positive
change. Imagine what a difference Universities could make if similar programs like SUN were embraced by the other 3,650 higher education institutions?

References:


Gilderbloom, John, 2004, Invisible City: Power, Place and Poverty, unpublished manuscript, University of Louisville


Dear Suzanne:

I want to make a presentations at your upcoming conferences in Charleston (Spring of 2005). Here is my revised abstract for the Charleston Conference for Summer of 2005:

How Universities Can Make Cities More Livable

by John I. Gilderbloom, Professor School of Urban and Public Affairs, University of Louisville

The SUN program has won various honors and awards from Harvard University, Sierra Club, and United States Congress. The key is creating a sustainable partnership that can grow with the neighborhood. Urban universities with planning and architecture programs can bring tremendous creative and technical resources to community leaders and should take activist roles in helping their communities by supplying the knowledge and assistance. As part of this presentation of DVD on successful university-community partnerships will be presented.
Title: Activating 'money talk' among classroom learners of EFL: A textbook study.

Name of author: Andrew Gladman.

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Abstract of paper:
The author takes a critical pedagogy approach in making a exploratory content analysis of an EFL textbook written for Japanese college students. The targeted textbook is tested to determine if its rubric activates learner talk on money-related issues using WH-questions at a notably higher level than comparable textbooks, with positive results. The author suggests that this is misaligned with the needs of the target users and argues that such textbooks are counter-productive to teachers seeking to encourage their students to develop counter-discourses to the dominant economic paradigm through English.
TITLE PAGE

TITLE: A cross-sectional study of Japanese student motivation for foreign language learning

TOPIC AREA: Psychology

PRESENTATION FORMAT: Poster session

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ABSTRACT

This is an initial cross-sectional study to determine if students motivation for language learning shifts during the course of their college career.

By undertaking a study of students at Japanese universities, it should be possible to develop a model of how motivation affects L2 learning with Japanese students. As the Japanese government focuses more of its attention on the communicative competence of its young people in English, it is important to discover what motivates students to learn the language and how that changes over time. Motivation has been found to have important consequences for both willingness to communicate and communicative competence in a second language in other parts of the world (e.g. Noels, 2001).

We hypothesize that students’ motivation for learning English will change from a more intrinsic and integrative motivation to a more extrinsic and instrumental motivation as their college career progresses due to the pressure to perform well on the TOEIC in order to get a job. At the same time, their willingness to communicate will decrease and their L2 anxiety will increase, leading to an overall decrease in L2 competence even as their test scores increase.
The Effect of Multiple Categorization on Explicit Stereotyping

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The Effect of Multiple Categorization on Explicit Stereotyping

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Ethnicity and gender were studied to assess their effects on explicit stereotyping and evaluation. Measured dependant variables assessed explicit stereotypes and evaluations held of multiple categorizeable target groups (target groups composed of individuals that represented an ethnic and gender target group). Participants’ ethnic identities were assessed as moderators. Participants were 199 African American undergraduate students. Results indicated target ethnicity main effects for male and female participants. Results, also, indicated a target gender main effect for female participants. Participants’ ethnic identities moderated the relationship between multiple categorization and stereotyping and evaluation. All significant evaluative findings were consistent with Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Keywords: multiple categorization, stereotypes, ethnic identity

Stereotyping is one of the most complex, intriguing, and oldest phenomena in social psychology. Stereotypes are simply stated as, “category-based images” (Gilbert, Fiske, & Lindzey, 1998). Stereotyping occurs when individuals place other individuals or groups into categories based on their memberships in certain groups and associate certain traits and characteristics with the individual or group. Two of the most salient categories by which individuals are stereotyped and evaluated are ethnicity and gender. The union of single categories ethnicity and gender creates multiple categorizeable target groups (e.g. African American women). This research investigated general evaluations of target groups. The potential moderating role of participants’ ethnic identities was investigated, as well.

MULTIPLE CATEGORIZEABLE TARGET GROUPS AND EXPLICIT STEREOTYPING

Target groups composed of individuals that represented an ethnic and gender target group were multiple categorizeable target groups. Multiple categorizeable target groups were created by the union of single categories ethnicity and gender. In this research, African and White Americans composed the ethnic target group portion of multiple categorizeable target groups, while men and women created the gender target group portion of multiple categorizeable target groups. Ethnicity and gender were terms regarded as appropriate by psychological research guidelines (APA Publication Manual-IV, 1998). Definitions of ethnic target groups used in this research were set forth by the United States Governmental Guidelines. An African American (Black) was stated as, “a person having origins in any of the black racial groups of Africa,” while a White American (White) was stated as, “a person having origins in any of the original peoples
of Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East’ (Randall, 1999). Definitions of gender target groups used in this research were set forth by the APA Publication Manual (IV, 1998). Gender was defined as a cultural term that referred to men and women as social groups (APA Publication Manual-IV, 1998).

Both ethnic and gender categories have been shown to influence explicit stereotyping (Kashima, 2000; Madon, Jussim, Keiper, Eccles, Smith, & Palumbo, 1998). Multiple categorization has been investigated in explicit stereotype research to understand which category takes precedence in particular contexts (Smith & Zarate, 1992; van Rijswijk & Ellemers, 2002). The review by Smith and Zarate (1992) stated that an individual’s self-schema, individual differences, past experiences, and other factors influenced the attention that an individual directed toward one category of a multiple categorizable target person. van Rijswijk and Ellemers (2002) investigated stereotyping of students who belonged to different universities with differing majors. The salience of a category (i.e. university affiliation) was manipulated. It was shown when a target person was multiple categorizable, salience of context or category influenced into which category the target person was stereotyped. However, investigation of effects of multiple categorization on explicit stereotyping and evaluation had not been researched to understand specific stereotypes and evaluations of certain multiple categorizable target groups and how they differ from one another.

Investigating the effects of multiple categorization on explicit stereotypes and evaluations was the primary goal of this research. It was crucial to investigate stereotypes and evaluations of multiple categorizable target groups since every individual represents an ethnic and gender target group simultaneously. Individuals simply do not represent only the single categorization of ethnicity or gender, which has been the focus of most explicit stereotype research. African Americans at a predominately African American university served as participants in this research. Investigation of explicit stereotyping and evaluation within a sample of African Americans was fairly novel and rare since most explicit stereotype research has used White American samples.

PREVIOUS LITERATURE

**Ethnic Stereotypes**

The investigation of the effect that ethnicity has on explicit stereotyping has often been a focus of stereotype research. Stereotype research began with Katz’s and Braly’s (1933) seminal work on ethnic stereotypes. The top five traits for the American ethnic group were industrious, intelligent, materialistic, ambitious, and progressive. The top five traits for the Black ethnic group were superstitious, lazy, happy-go-lucky, ignorant, and musical. Results suggested the American target group was stereotyped with positive traits while the Black target group was stereotyped with negative traits. Hence, American and Black target groups were stereotyped differently.

Replications of Katz and Braly (1933; Gilbert, 1951; Karlins, Coffman, and Walters, 1969) were conducted. Results suggested the stereotype of the American target group remained positive and the stereotype of the Black target group remained negative. American and Black target groups were stereotyped differently.
Judd, Park, Ryan, Brauer, and Kraus (1995) investigated the stereotypes that Blacks held of Whites. This research was descriptive and paralleled the research conducted by Katz and Braly (1933). Overall, results suggested Black participants view their ingroup as heterogeneous and their outgroup as homogenous. These results indicated Black participants perceive their ingroup and outgroup similar to how White participants perceive their ingroup and outgroup.

Krueger (1996) continued to investigate the stereotypes that Black participants possessed. Many Black participants shared the same personal beliefs and cultural stereotypes and underestimated how favorably their ethnic group was rated. Results suggested Black participants perceive that their outgroup perceives them unfavorably.

Previous literature indicated different stereotypes existed for African and White Americans within African and White American samples. Predominantly positive stereotypes of the American target group existed while predominantly negative stereotypes of the Black target group existed. These stereotypes have persisted from the beginning of stereotype research until present stereotype research.

**Gender Stereotypes**

Kunda and Sherman-Williams (1993) investigated the use of stereotyping when individuating information was available and how stereotypes influenced the construal of information. In Experiment 1, participants were given ambiguous or unambiguous individuating information associated with aggressive behavior in regards to a construction worker or housewife. In the ambiguous condition, the construction worker was seen as being more aggressive than the housewife. When presented with ambiguous behavior, participants used gender stereotypes to construe the information. Summarily, results suggested a different stereotype existed for males (aggressive) and females (non-aggressive).

Swan and Wyer (1997) investigated the effects of being a gender minority in a group. The Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) perspective was used to make predictions and explain results. Participants participated in groups that positioned them as the majority, the minority, or were equally distributed. Results suggested being a minority in a group led male participants to behave stereotypically (masculine) and led female participants to behave counterstereotypically (masculine). Also, results suggested female participants, when in the minority in a group, aimed to distinguish themselves from other ingroup members (females) by behaving counterstereotypically.

Dade and Sloan (2000) investigated sex role stereotypes utilizing a Black sample. Black female participants equally distributed the typical African American man and woman across the four sex role stereotypes. Black female participants mostly distributed themselves to the feminine sex role stereotype. Black male participants equally distributed the typical African American women across the four sex role stereotypes and mostly sex role stereotyped the typical African American man as androgynous. Black male participants distributed themselves equally across the four sex role stereotypes. Results suggested that Black male and female participants stereotype themselves and each other differently. Gender of African American participants may influence stereotyping of themselves and each other.
Previous literature indicated different stereotypes existed for men and women, as stereotyped by men and women. These different stereotypes have persisted from earlier stereotype research until more recent stereotype research. Gender stereotypes were more likely to be used in the absence of individuating information in regards to a target person. Also, individual differences have been shown to influence the likelihood of stereotyping gender target groups.

HYPOTHESES

Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1999) states, generally, that individuals more favorably stereotype and evaluate individuals who are part of their ingroups in comparison to individuals who are part of their outgroups. Group differentiation and social comparison are key factors in ingroup/outgroup relations. Based on these key factors, Social Identity Theory suggests when group membership influences favorable or less favorable group stereotypes and evaluations. An individual seeks to positively stereotype and evaluate ingroup members by accepting, valuing, and assigning positive attributes to ingroup members because an individual’s personal identity is linked to social identity. Secondly, an individual values less and assigns less positive attributes to outgroup members. As a result of the review of previous literature pertaining to Social Identity Theory and ethnic and gender stereotypes, the following hypotheses were proposed.

Hypothesis One

Social Identity Theory (SIT) suggests that members of an ingroup seek to evaluate their ingroup and its members favorably because ingroup identification is related to personal identity. Hence, a participant should evaluate target groups more favorably that share traits and characteristics that she or he possesses in order to think of his- or herself in a favorable manner. It is predicted that the more traits and characteristics that a participant and target group share, the participant should more favorably evaluate the target group. More specifically, it is predicted that participants should evaluate their “double ingroup” most favorably (shared ethnicity and gender), evaluate their “partial ingroups” (either shared ethnicity or gender, but not both) more favorably, and evaluate their outgroup (neither ethnicity nor gender shared) least favorably. This hypothesis is tested with Single Item Ratings of target groups.

Hypothesis Two

Participants’ ethnic identities are individual differences that are predicted to moderate evaluations of multiple categorizeable target groups. If ethnic identities are positively important to a participant, then the participant should more favorably evaluate his or her ethnic and gender target groups. This hypothesis is tested with Single Item Ratings of target groups.
METHOD

Participants

One hundred and ninety-nine African American undergraduate students enrolled in an introductory psychology course (143 women and 56 men, mean age=19 years) volunteered to participate in this research for course credit.

Measures

Single Item Ratings

In an effort to assess positivity or negativity of each target group, Single Item Ratings were developed. Participants rated the favorability of four groups: African American men and women and White American men and women. The favorability or unfavorability of each target group was assessed using a 9-point Likert-type scale with endpoints 1 (very unfavorably) and 9 (very favorably). Favorability ratings served as the Single Item Ratings of each target group that provided an overall assessment for each target group.

Participant Ethnic Identity

Ethnic ingroup identification was measured by a modified version of the Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) Scale (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). The ingroup identification portion assessed a participant’s belongingness to and importance related to his or her ethnic and gender groups. Items were assessed on a 10-point scale with endpoints 1 (strongly disagree) and 10 (strongly agree). “Strongly disagree” indicated a strong gender/ethnic identity while “strongly agree” indicated a weak gender/ethnic identity.

Design and Procedure

A 2 (target ethnicity: African and White American) X 2 (target gender: men and women) X 2 (participant gender: men and women) design was employed for the dependant variables.

RESULTS

Hypothesis One

Hypothesis one predicted that the more traits and characteristics that a participant and target group shared, the more favorably the participant would evaluate the target group. Participants were predicted to evaluate their double ingroups most favorably (shared ethnicity and gender), evaluate their partial ingroups more favorably (either shared ethnicity or gender, but not both), and evaluate their outgroups least favorably (neither shared ethnicity nor gender). Hypothesis one was tested with Single Item Ratings
of target groups. Dependant variables were analyzed using a 2 (participant gender) X 2 (target ethnicity) X 2 (target gender) ANOVA.

Results for Single Item Ratings did not indicate significant two-way (target ethnicity X target gender) interactions or significant three-way (target ethnicity X target gender X participant gender) interactions. Single Item Ratings indicated target ethnicity main effects for all participants and a target gender main effect for female participants. These main effects will be discussed throughout the Results section.

Target Ethnicity Main Effects

Results for Single Item Ratings indicated all participants evaluated African American target groups (7.46) more favorably than they did White American target groups (5.14; F(1/197) = 224.02, p<.001). Results for Single Item Ratings indicated male participants evaluated African American target groups more favorably than they did White American target groups, as did female participants. Hypothesis one was supported among male and female participants.

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<th>African American</th>
<th>White American</th>
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<tr>
<td>All Participants</td>
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<td>5.14</td>
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<td></td>
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Target Gender Main Effect

Results for Single Item Ratings indicated a target gender main effect in that all participants evaluated female target groups (6.49) more favorably than they did men target groups (6.12; F (1/197) = 20.77, p<.001). When male and female participants were analyzed separately, only female participants indicated a significant target gender main effect. Hypothesis one was supported among female participants and not supported among male participants.
### Target Gender Main Effects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Single Item Ratings</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>All Participants</td>
<td>6.49</td>
<td>6.12</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F (1/197) =20.77, p&lt;.001</td>
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<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>6.50</td>
<td>6.06</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F (1/142) =34.05, p&lt;.001</td>
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<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>6.45</td>
<td>6.26</td>
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### Hypothesis Three

Hypothesis three predicted that participants’ ethnic identities would moderate evaluations of multiple categorizeable target groups. Hypothesis three was tested with Single Item Ratings of target groups. Single Item Ratings were analyzed using a 2 (participant gender) X 2 (target ethnicity) X 2 (target gender) ANCOVA with participants’ ethnic identity as covariates.

**Main Effects Moderated by Ethnic Identity**

Results for all participants, before covariance of ethnic identity, indicated main effects for target ethnicity. When ethnic identity was covaried, target ethnicity main effects were reduced for all participants.

Results for female participants, before covariance of ethnic identity, indicated a target gender main effect. The gender main effect was reduced when participants’ ethnic identities were covaried.

### Target Ethnicity Main Effects: Moderating Effects of Ethnic Identity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Participants</th>
<th>Females</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Without Covariance</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F (1/197) =224.016, p&lt;.001</td>
<td>F (1/142) =192.12, p&lt;.001</td>
<td>F (1/55) = 86.56, p&lt;.001</td>
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<td></td>
<td>With Covariance</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F (1/191) = 103.45, p&lt;.001</td>
<td>F (1/136) =99.11, p&lt;.001</td>
<td>F (1/51) =25.36, p&lt;.001</td>
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</table>
DISCUSSION

Social Identity Theory effects are consistent with all significant evaluative findings, especially for female participants. This research has shown that participants favor their ethnic ingroup more in comparison to their ethnic outgroup and female participants favor their gender ingroup more in comparison to their gender outgroup. These findings contribute to a more complete view of Social Identity Theory effects and evaluation of target groups.

This research suggests that ethnic and gender categories may interact. A pattern throughout the results of this research suggests ethnic and gender categories influence one another.

Not surprisingly, this research suggests participants’ ethnic identities moderate the target ethnicity and target gender main effects. This research contributes to a more complete view of the operation of individual differences within the relationship between categorization and evaluation.

A major theme that surfaces throughout this research is that female participants’ results indicate a pattern different than male participants. This finding may suggest a different social psychological mechanism is operating within male participants. Perhaps the progressive images of women or single family homes influence male participants’ responses. However, a limitation of this research is the small number of male participants. Future research should employ more balanced numbers of male participants.

REFERENCES


Title: Representations of God Uncovered in a Spirituality Group of Borderline Inpatients

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Abstract

Nine psychiatric inpatients diagnosed with borderline personality disorder participated in a psychoanalytically-oriented, exploratory spirituality group led by a clinical psychologist and a hospital chaplain. Through the use of drawings and group process the participants 1) uncovered their representations of God and 2) worked through distortions in these representations. Two distinct patterns of God representations were identified among participants: 1) representations of a punitive, judgmental, rigid God and 2) representations of a depersonified, inanimate, nebulous God. The second set of patterns was found to be associated with the presence of comorbid narcissistic features. Participants who initially presented punitive God representations were able to begin the process of re-creating these representations during the course of the group and in so doing begin the process of re-creating their self-representations, while participants who initially presented depersonified God representations did not seem able to begin the process of re-creating any mental representations during the course of the group. Contrary to expectations, none of the participants' parental representations appeared to change. It is recommended that a spirituality group be considered as a vehicle for facilitating the re-creation of representations of both God and self among spiritually curious borderline patients.
INTRODUCTION

The world is facing a freshwater crisis. Over 1.5 billion people lack access to drinking water and if current projections continue, at least 3.5 billion people will live in water stressed basins in just 20 years. Furthermore, 3.3 billion people have access to water, but much of it is contaminated and 2.5 billion people have no water sanitation services. In developing countries, an estimated 90% of waste is discharged without treatment into rivers and streams. Consequently, there are about 250 million cases of water related diseases which result in 5-10 million deaths each year (World Wildlife Fund, 2003).

The problem is not just a developing nation phenomenon. Freshwater conflict has been documented in Europe and North America. In the United States, 400 million cubic meters of groundwater is removed annually from aquifers annually in Arizona double the amount of recharge. In Spain nearly half of the 100 aquifers are over exploited (Mayell, 2003).

Population increase, industrial pollution, and drought all contribute to freshwater scarcity, which is further exacerbated by myopic and often inefficient governmental responses. While there is no exact formula for solving water scarcity, one plausible way to mitigate the problem can be through the continued development of interstate water accords. Of the 152 water conflicts documented in the twentieth century, only seven have resulted in skirmishes (Wolf, 1998). This suggests that states can work together collectively to solve future water

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1 One cubic meter equals 1000 liters.
conflict and possibly adhere to a recent UN goal of providing 95% of human beings with safe drinking water and sanitation by 2025 (Asian Development Bank, 2004).

While empirical data from interstate water accords offers hope, comprehensive research has not been conducted on the underlying motivations for creating interstate water accords nor has there been a thorough assessment in understanding the level of cooperation within water accords. Therefore, two central questions are addressed in this study: How are nation states able to overcome collective action problems and achieve measurable accords? What factors make accords so resilient?

Freshwater scarcity is viewed in terms of conflict and cooperation. Levy (1990), Homer-Dixon (1993), Postel (1993), Gleick (1993, 1998, and 2000) view it in terms of conflict. Further, Nakayama (1997), Homer-Dixon and Percival (1995), Ward (2002), and Bennet (1995) provide detailed cases studies depicting freshwater scarcity and its impact on various societies. However, aggregate analysis of 1,831 international water related events over the last 50 years reveals that two thirds of these encounters were cooperative. Nations agreed to implement joint scientific or technological work and signed 157 water treaties (Postel and Wolf, 2000).

Wolf (2000, 02) provides initial insight towards understanding and evaluating interstate how water accords reduce freshwater scarcity. His central finding is that nation states have been able to negotiate successfully over water quantity, quality, and non-water linkages such as pollution reduction. While these
are important findings, it is uncertain why this occurs or how it applies collectively to interstate water accords. The reality is that few authors have conducted systematic analysis on international water treaties as a whole (Wolf, 1997). However, there is a growing need for global environmental scholars and international security experts to evaluate the early signs and likely locations of water related disputes, as well as understand what governments and international agents can do to prevent the eruption of violence and political instability (Wolf, 2000).

While water disputes generally end amicably, it is not the rule. One fourth of water-related interactions during the last half of the twentieth century were hostile. While much of the hostility was simply verbal antagonism, there were 37 occasions where rival countries either fired shots, engaged in dam destruction or undertook some other form of military action (Postel and Wolf, 2000).

While acute instances of water conflict may be dismissed as outliers, the reality is the much of the world is experiencing freshwater shortages. The amount available water today is the same as it was during the times of ancient Mesopotamia (approximately 4000 years ago). Since 1950, the renewable supply per person has fallen 58 percent as world population swelled from 2.5 billion to 6 billion (Postel, 2000). But unlike oil and other strategic resources, freshwater has no substitute. Clearly, forward thinking policies must be developed to manage this global crisis.

This chapter provides an in-depth overview of the current global freshwater crisis and a theoretical and empirical assessment of interstate water
accords. A brief summary of the entire study is presented at the end of the chapter.

RECOGNIZING A GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEM

Freshwater scarcity is a complex geo-political phenomenon with multiple dimensions. Therefore, it needs to be addressed in an incremental manner. This entails issue overview, causal factor evaluation, alternative policy solutions, and interstate water accord evaluation.

Background

Water is endemic to any society; “From water we have created every living thing (The Koran) to American literature “if you touch water, you touch everything” (Cassuto quoting Gunther, 2002). Water has significant symbolic value because it is viewed as a cleansing and healing agent and in many cultures is associated with rebirth (Driscoll, 1998). It also is the only limited natural resource that absolutely is essential to human life. Unlike energy, where technological advancements offer solar panels, wind turbines, and fuel cells to replace coal, oil, and gasoline, there is no alternative to water (Graffy, 1998).

Population increase, pollution, drought, and myopic governmental solutions have increased freshwater competition. While a Malthusian

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2 Water scarcity is understood as a lack of secure, uninterrupted, and long-term availability of adequate amounts of freshwater, of required quality, on a regular basis, and for multiple needs (Elhance, 1999)

3 Even though the world is 97% water, only 3 percent is freshwater and of that only 1 percent is available. Freshwater is inaccessible because it is trapped in glaciers and water distribution is not allocated evenly. Some places, like Canada, Austria, and Ireland, have more water than they can possibly use; others, like Australia, northern China, and the Middle East have too little. In many parts of the world, such as India and Bangladesh, rainfall is highly seasonal: almost all the year’s supply may arrive within a few months. (UNDP 2000)

4 A 1% deficiency of water in the human body makes one thirsty, a 5% decrease causes a slight fever, and a 10% decrease creates immobility. At a 12% loss of water causes death (Swanson, 2001)

5 Thomas Robert Malthus in his Essay on the Principle of Population in 1798 asserted that population growth naturally outstrips the growth in food production, so that a decrease in the per capita availability of food is inevitable, until eventually a point is reached at
perspective has never been proven, water management needs to improve greatly in order to meet current and future population needs. If current practices remain unchecked, Benjamin Franklin’s statement, “when the well’s dry, we know the price of water” (Postal, 1993) may soon be felt in massive proportions.

A starting point to evaluate freshwater scarcity is the seminal study, Water Scarcity in the Twenty-First Century (International Water Management Institute, 1999). It projects water supply and demand for 118 countries from 1990-2025 based on water consumption patterns in agriculture, industry, households, and the environment. The study indicates that the Middle East, Southern Africa, and portions of China and India will face absolute water scarcity issues by 2025. This means that these countries will not be able to meet their basic water consumption demands by 2025. Population growth is the central factor for explaining water scarcity in each of the four previously mentioned categories.

Countries that are labeled category one and two are of immediate concern. Countries in the first category face absolute water scarcity where daily water requirements are threatened. One billion people (projected to reach 1.8 billion by 2025) predominantly located in the Middle East, South Africa, and portions of China and India are affected. More ominously, these people will not have enough water to maintain 1990 per capita levels by 2025 (IWMI, 1999).

The second category are countries that have sufficient water resources to meet projected 2025 requirements, but will require greater efforts to extract water. Currently, 350 million people live under these conditions but 900 million

which starvation, or some other disaster, drastically reduces the human population to a level which can be sustained by the available food supply (Caroline Thomas in Baylis and Smith, 2000)
people could be affected by 2025 (IWMI, 1999). The problem is further pronounced because many of these countries lack financial resources to offset impending water shortages (i.e., dam construction and irrigation development).

Freshwater scarcity will remain a serious issue even if better irrigation methods are implemented. According to the IWMI, improved irrigation will require 60% more water in order to meet basic food supplies by 2025. This means 2.7 billion people will still remain without adequate freshwater supplies.

It is perplexing that while major diseases have been eradicated, humankind has not effectively managed natural resources. Nature’s conflict with neoliberal ideology is part of the problem. Natural resources have been viewed simply as a means for creating greater economic growth without concern for current or future generations.

This is a serious problem for developing countries who are under pressure to meet the basic needs of the people; food and clothing, shelter, and economic growth. But in some cases, developing countries believed that environmental destruction was an inherent by-product of the development process and thus environmental measures meant less economic growth. For example, Indian Prime Minister Indira Ghandi asked at the 1972 Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment, “How can we speak to those who live in the villages and in the slums about keeping the oceans, the rivers, and the air clean, when their own lives are contaminated? Are not poverty and need the greatest polluters?” (Andreen, 2000).

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6 Though some may argue that the highest form of neo-liberal thought encompasses post-industrial values, where protecting the environment is of highest priority.
Whether it is from socioeconomic or other factors, nation states are reluctant to recognize water scarcity’s full impact. Water should be valued as a natural resource independent of socio-economic considerations. However, vague international law and pressing economic demands have enabled it to remain ill-governed and severely under-priced. (Economist, 2003) Consequently, there has been limited domestic and international support in solving freshwater scarcity issues.

This in turn has led to substantial, unnecessary, and preventable human suffering. An estimated 14 to 30 thousand people, mostly young children and the elderly, die every day from water-related diseases. At any given moment, approximately one-half of the people in the developing world suffer from diseases caused by drinking contaminated water or eating contaminated food (United Nations 1997).

Other studies corroborate IWMI findings. According to a recent UN World Water Development Report, freshwater demand has tripled in the past 50 years. More than 2.3 billion people (17% of global population) lack access to safe drinking water. Two million die each year from water related diseases and half the developing world population suffers from water related maladies (Wertheim, 2004). The United Nations and the National Intelligence Council project at least 40 per cent of the world’s population, or about three billion people, will live in water scarce countries by 2015 (Jehl, 2002). Additionally, as many as 7 billion people in 60 countries will face water scarcity within the next half century (UNDR, 2003).
By 2015, nearly three billion people – 40 percent of the projected world population are expected to live in countries that find it difficult or impossible to mobilize enough water to satisfy the food, industrial, and domestic needs of its citizens. This scarcity will translate into heightened competition for water between neighboring states and provinces.

Two continents exhibiting serious acute water shortages are Africa and the Middle East. By 2010, freshwater scarcity will affect 450 million people, approximately 37% of the Africa’s projected population (Farley, 2001). The Middle East is another desperate region. Nine of the 14 Middle East countries face water scarce conditions. Several country populations are expected to double over the next 25 years, exacerbating pressure on already scarce water supplies (Postel, 1992). The Middle East is also where war has been waged directly over water.7

Other problem areas include China, Mexico, India, and United States’ southwestern region. The Chinese government is redirecting rivers (1000 miles to the north) from the Yangtze basin to water parched cities of Beijing and Tianjin. This could have serious environmental implications because much of the water is untreated and nearly 300,000 people will be uprooted. (Eckhol, 2002). In the western part of the United States water scarcity has impacted negatively local U.S. and Mexican border economies and strained interstate relations over access to the Colorado River. Water riots have occurred in New Delhi, India.

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(2002) and Monterey, Mexico (1995). While water conflict varies in size and location, it is evident in both hemispheres, including central Asia\(^8\), Europe, and South America.

**Causal Factors**

Freshwater scarcity is caused by population growth, industrial pollution, drought, and ineffective governing policies. In 1830 one billion people inhabited the earth. Despite wars, famine, and disease, human population increased 500% over the last 150 years. Today, six billion people inhabit the earth today with a population equivalent of New York City added each month (ninety million people a year). Even if terrorism or war claims a million lives, those numbers are replaced within four days (Ward, 2002).

Unprecedented population growth has increased water use six-fold (Jehl, 2002). Half the world’s available freshwater is depleted each year. This figure could reach as high as 74% by 2025. Water tables have fallen on every continent and the situation is expected to worsen. Greater food production is required to meet expanding population needs. However, this entails increased agricultural output. Over-pumping, and agricultural run-off have reduced water quantity and quality in many regions. Groundwater mismanagement is now wide-spread in parts of China, India, Mexico, Thailand, the western United States, North Africa, and the Middle East. (Postel, 1993).

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\(^8\) Environmental problems of the Aral Sea basin are amongst the worst in the world. Water diversions, agricultural practices, and industrial wastes have resulted in disappearing sea, salination, and organic and inorganic pollution (Beach et. al, Transboundary Freshwater Dispute Resolution, UN Press: New York, 2000, p. 121.)
The largest and most combustible imbalance between population and available water supplies is Asia, where crop production depends heavily in irrigation. Asia today has roughly 60 percent of the world’s people but only 36 percent of the world’s renewable freshwater (Postel and Wolf, 2000). China, India, Iran, and Pakistan are among the countries where a significant share of the irrigated land is now jeopardized by groundwater depletion, scarce river water, a fertility-sapping build up of salts in the soil, or some combination of these factors. Groundwater depletion alone places 10 to 20 percent of grain production in both China and India at risk. Water tables are falling steadily in the North China Plain, as well as in India’s northwest Punjab region.

Water scarcity has forced many farmers to move to overcrowded cities. This is the case in Pakistan, where falling agricultural output has prompted a massive rural migration to large urban centers, contributing to renewed outbreaks of ethnic violence.

Internal water stresses also shifts international political alliances, which in turn adds to the humanitarian crises. Many countries commonly adapt to water stress by importing their food (provided they have the foreign exchange to do so). It takes about 1,000 cubic meters of water to grow one ton of grain. By importing wheat and other staples, water stressed countries can allocate more of their scarce freshwater to cities and industries, which generate far more economic value per liter than agriculture does. Currently water stressed countries in Asia, Africa and the Middle East account for 26 percent of global grain imports (Postel and Wolf, 2000). This trend is projected to increase over the next 15 years,
which includes China, India, and Pakistan. These countries are grain self-sufficient, but are unlikely to remain so considering that 80% of the available freshwater in Asia is used for irrigation, and 90% of irrigation water is used for rice.  

**POLLUTION**

Man’s callous treatment of natural resources has led to global warming as well as river and stream pollution. Water ways are contaminated with human, industrial, and agricultural wastes. Fertilizers, pesticides, and overgrazing have reduced water quantity and quality. Now, more than half the world’s major rivers are either polluted or have reduced water levels. Additionally, half the planet’s wetlands have been lost in the twentieth century, and freshwater systems all over the world are losing their ability to support human, animal, and plant life (Ward, 2002). The problem is compounded further because natural freshwater is distributed unevenly, with too much water in some areas and far too little in others (Jehl, 2000).

In many developing countries water-quality indicators have deteriorated or are not even measured. For example, ambient water quality for Chinese rivers shows substantial degradation since 1990 (Gleick, 2003). Even in developed countries, water quality improvements have been modest (Gleick 2000).  

Since 1980, water per capita use in the United States declined substantially due to

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9 Rice is a heavy consumer of water. It takes an average of 650 gallons (2,500 liters) of water to produce one pound of rice. Over the last hundred years, Asia has been facing a dramatically increasing demand to feed a rapidly growing population. Future rice production must focus on far more efficient irrigation systems and reduced water consumption by the rice plant. (Swanson, 2001)

10 Gleick found that organic pollutants and global emissions increased in study conducted from 1980-1998. The United States recorded modest water quality improvements by reducing pollutant emissions from 2.74 million to 2.58 million per day (Gleick, 2000)
greater efficiency by farmers and industrial users. However, these gains could be lost by increasing water demand of American cities and suburbs, especially in the arid west.

There are many serious socio-political issues that permeate the world. Civil war, famine, AIDS, and malaria are prominent social issues that impact life quality and longevity. Still, these issues pale in comparison to global freshwater scarcity problems. No society can survive without adequate freshwater supplies. Modern society must refocus and sustain existing water supplies.\footnote{Water sustainability means the ability of human society to endure and flourish into the indefinite future without undermining the integrity of the hydrological cycle or the ecological systems that depend on it (Gleick, 2000).} However, achieving sustainability is a difficult process. Goodland and Daly (1996) believe sustainability must incorporate both human and ecological needs. They divide the legacy left to future generations into natural, manufactured, and human or social capital. Natural capital is defined as our natural environment. Manufactured capital is the human created infrastructure. Finally human or social capital reflects the people, its institutions, information, knowledge, and culture. These categories are not interchangeable and sustainability must be applied to each category (Cousins, 2003). This means that people need to develop a comprehensive (economic, political, social, and scientific) understanding of water sources. Only then will society be able to adapt effective water management policies to resolve future disputes. Even then policies must be pragmatic for effective implementation to occur (Cosens, 2003). This strategy could entail a combination of philosophical approaches. According to western thought, God made an imperfect world for man to make perfect. For the eastern mind, God...
made a perfect world for man to learn how to live in harmony with it. In their own ways, both philosophies are correct in addressing regional water scarcity and in developing effective measures for mitigating the crisis.

**International Recognition**

Freshwater scarcity has been recognized as a major problem at the international level. The Dublin Principles (1992) declared that freshwater is an input to which every human has the right to “sustain life and meet basic sanitation needs” and elucidated that each person is entitled to 50 liters of water per day.\(^\text{12}\) (Asian Development Bank, 2003). The 1992 Rio Earth Summit reaffirmed this point by expanding human rights to include environmental water needs. In 1997, the United Nations declared that water planning must address both human needs and ecosystem preservation. (Asian Development Bank, 2003). The Johannesburg Earth Summit (2002) agreed to reduce the number of people without safe access to clean water and basic sanitation by half by 2015. The United Nations declared 2003 to be the year of freshwater (Economist 2003).

However, there is a significant discrepancy between declaring goals and achieving them. First, the Dublin Principles delineate that each person is entitled access to safe drinking water, but more than a decade later, nearly 20% of the global population remains at risk. Second, the United Nations’ 2015 goal to reduce freshwater scarcity by 50% is formidable. This means the United Nations

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\(^{12}\) There are four Dublin Principles 1) Freshwater is a finite and vulnerable resource, essential to sustain life, development, and the environment 2) Water development and management should be based on a participatory approach, involving users, planners, and policy-makers at all levels. 3) Women play a central part in the provision, management, and safeguarding of water 4) Water has an economic value in all its competing uses and should be recognized as an economic good
or other institutions will have to provide viable freshwater resources for 630 million people in ten years. The sanitation challenge is even more daunting: Over the next decade, 1.4 billion people will require this service. The year 2025 is the target date for 100% global access to equitable water supplies. (Wertheim, 2004).

CHALLENGES FOR MITIGATING WATER SCARCITY

Freshwater scarcity is complex because it affects societies in various ways. Its impact is felt locally, nationally, and internationally. Regional water shortages have raised the specter of armed conflict, forced relatively affluent societies to finance huge water projects and left some of the world’s most impoverished nations in deepening crisis (Jehl, 2002). While each case requires different methods to alleviate freshwater scarcity, it is illusory to believe that freshwater scarcity can be reduced without a global commitment. Actions must take into account a wide range of social, ecological, and economic factors and needs. Governments need to enhance ongoing dialogues, in order to achieve a global consensus (Dowedswell, 1998).

However, current water policies are developed in a fragmented fashion. Distrust between competing institutions prevents effective collective action. Interagency cooperation fails because each power is too decentralized. In some countries, irrigation is considered by ministries of irrigation, water supply by municipalities, hydroelectric power by ministries of energy, navigation by ministries of transport, environment by ministries of environment, and health by ministries of health. Lack of coordination exhibited by intense rivalries has
resulted in suboptimal water policies.\textsuperscript{13} Without institutional rationalization and strengthening, water management simply will not become effective. (Dowedswell 1998). Equitable water management is also complicated because each river basin has its own peculiar ecosystem. Attention must be given to each river basin’s hydrology in the terms of inflows and outflows.

Regardless of perspective, governments, international aid agencies, water agencies, non-governmental organizations, and local communities must work together to provide all humans with a basic water requirement and to guarantee water as a human right (Gleick 2000).

**Alternative Policy Solutions**

Privatization has been suggested as a method to reduce freshwater scarcity. This perspective is based on the Washington Consensus, which is an economic model that links effective resource allocation to liberal market economics. However, this is a deceptive practice. First, it means that a few transnational corporations, backed by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (institutions that are supposed to provide economic well-being) have taken over public water services. The results are uneven because many third world societies do not have sufficient resources to pay for water price increases. (Barlow and Clark, 2002). In turn, this weakens local economies, further destabilizing water scarce regions.

\textsuperscript{13} Two emerging cases are with China and Argentina. The Chinese are developing the world’s biggest dam to divert water from the Yangtze River in the south to water scarce cities in the north. Soil erosion and water contamination could create serious environmental and health problems. In Argentina, private companies sought to overhaul and manage some of its water systems, only to encounter cost and technical problems. (Jehl, 2002)
Recent events in Cochabamba, Bolivia underscore these risks. Following the privatization of Cochabamba’s water system, water rates skyrocketed. This resulted in water bills that equaled to a more than a quarter resident’s income. While Cochabamba is extreme, it is not an isolated case. Activists in Colombia and South Africa likewise have opposed the privatization of water and other municipal services. Meanwhile, IMF loan agreements with at least half a dozen countries last year called for some degree of water system privatization. The number of urban dwellers is projected to double to 5 billion by 2025. Unless governments and lenders strengthen municipal water agencies towards equity as well as efficiency more violence like that in Cuchabamba may be forthcoming.\footnote{In April 2000, the La Paz government sent soldiers into Cochabamba, where approximately 30,000 protesters amassed in the central plaza. Several days of violence ensued, leaving one person dead and more than a hundred injured. The conflict abated only when the water system returned to public control.}

One cannot predict how water scarcity will impact future societies, but the IWMI and UN agency reports must be taken seriously. Water is a vital resource for sustaining human life, growing crops, and serving industrial needs. However, freshwater demand is rising faster than the supply and clearly delineated conservation practices are needed to reduce the current one billion people who daily lack sufficient water supplies.

One area where this has occurred is within the framework of interstate water accords. The international environmental agreements (IEA’s) have proven remarkably successful in the twentieth century. Of the 152 water disputes documented in the twentieth century, 145 or 95.3\% were resolved (Wolf, 2002). However, it is perplexing that even with such success, freshwater scarcity remains a growing global concern.
Therefore, this study provides a comprehensive assessment of interstate water accords as a means to mitigate regional freshwater scarcity. This study contributes to the development of a new intergenerational water ethic\(^\text{15}\) where the needs of the present are met “without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs” (Graffy, 1998). Specifically, this means a fair share of water for both developing and developed riparian nations. It also includes a fair share of water for the poor most notably women and children. They spend long hours collecting water and suffer the most from water quality and water related diseases. Finally, there must be a fair share of water among competing users which includes aquatic species, habitats, and ecosystems.

Heraclitus, the ancient Greek philosopher stated one never steps in the same river twice. Heraclitus’ observation indicates the ever changing flow of water and life. The world’s freshwater systems are in a constant state of natural flux. Undoubtedly, these changes have influenced the direction of civilization. However, human activities and population growth have accelerated and altered natural hydrological processes. Today, freshwater quantity and quality are serious global issues. Arid and semi-arid regions face increasing stress from water scarcity and much of the world faces growing pollution problems resulting from environmental change and inefficient management.

The potential for freshwater conflict is enormous, given its importance for basic survival, industry, energy production, and other fundamental societal components. Many freshwater basins (approximately 300) lie on or across

\(^{15}\) Intergenerational equity is the view that members of the present generation hold the earth in trust for future generations. Intergenerational rights were recognized in both the Stockholm and Rio Declarations and are integral to the concept of sustainable development (Graffy, 1998)
international borders. Several conflicts linked to freshwater scarcity are apparent already at both the local and international levels. In many cases, little preventive action has been taken and even less definitive planning has been implemented systematically to analyze and propose integrated management solutions (Green Cross, 1997). Therefore, it is imperative to evaluate measures that have been successful and analyze them in greater detail. This starts with evaluating interstate freshwater accords.

**WATER BASINS**

River basins\(^\text{16}\) have existed throughout humanity. They have influenced human settlement and interaction long before the establishment of interstate accords. River location and flow determined how societies developed. They provided transportation and communication which contributed to the formation of political units (Driscol, 1998). River basins should not be viewed as a mere function of society. In some instances, the physical unity of the basin has often proved stronger than the various political divisions. (Driscol, 1998). Yet the river basin has unified communities and stimulated trade by creating large political and economic units. Agriculture, navigation, and human settlement location are all directly influenced by river basins.

Commercial unity and non-navigational has enabled the water basin to evolve into a complex and multi-purposed entity. By the 20\(^\text{th}\) century, water appropriators emphasized a systems wide integration approach of river water.

\(^{16}\) A river basin is an area which contributes hydrologically (including both surface and groundwater) to a first order stream, which in turn, is defined by its outlet to the ocean or to a terminal (closed) lake or inland sea. River basin is synonymous with watershed (U.S.) and catchment (UK). A basin is international if any perennial tributary crosses the political boundaries of two or more nations (Wolf and Natharius et al, 1999)
Nations, in turn, valued water basins even more which created greater dependency on them in terms of social organization and administration (Driscol, 1998).

**Interstate Water Accords**

Currently, there are 263 rivers that either cross or demarcate international political boundaries. Geographically, Europe has the largest number of international basins (69), followed by Africa (59), Asia (57), North America (40), and South America (38) (Wolf, Giordano, 2004). The absolute number of international basins, as well as the nations through which they traverse, change over time due to political changes. For example, in the 1990’s, the break up of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia led to the internationalization of several basins as well as to changes in the political composition of existing international basins (i.e., Danube and Aral Sea Basins). In contrast, the unification of Germany and Yemen in 1990 resulted in the “nationalization” of the Weser and Tiban water basins (Wolf, Giordano, 2003).

The geographical structure of the world’s international waterways is also significant. The world’s 263 international river basins accounts for nearly one-half of the earth’s land surface, generate 60% of global freshwater flow, and are home to approximately 40% of the world’s population. It is the political composition of these shared water systems that highlights their vulnerabilities. A total of 145 countries contribute territory to international basins. Thirty-Three nations, including sizable countries such as Bolivia, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Niger, and Zambia have more than 95% of their territory
within the hydrologic boundaries of one or more of the international basins. Even more significant is the number of countries that share individual basins. The Danube has seventeen riparian states. The Congo, Niger, Nile, Rhine, and Zambezi are shared by more than nine countries while the Amazon, Aral Sea, Gagnes-Brahmaputra-Meghna, Jordan, Kura-Araks, La Plata, Lake Chad, Mekong, Neman, Tarim, Tigris-Euphrates, Shatt al Arab, Vistula, and Volga basin each contain territory of at least five sovereign nations (Wolf et al., 1999).

The complex physical, political, and human interactions within international river basins makes the management of these shared water systems especially difficult. Issues of increasing water scarcity, quantity, rapid population growth, unilateral water development, and uneven levels of economic development are potentially disruptive factors in co-riparian water relations (Wolf, 2004).

Yet, despite these formidable obstacles, co-riparians have demonstrated a remarkable ability to cooperate over their shared water supplies. In the largest quantitative study of water conflict and cooperation, Oregon State University researchers found that cooperative interactions between riparian states over the past fifty years have outnumbered conflictive interactions by more than two to one. Since 1948, the historical record documents only 37 incidents of acute conflict (i.e. those involving violence) over water (30 of these events were between Israel and of its neighbors, the last of which occurred in 1970. At the same time, approximately 295 water agreements were negotiated and signed. (Wolf, 2004).
At the sub-acute level, which defines most water interactions, cooperative relations dominate the history of international water relations. This does not imply that water cannot act as a source of discord. Water was the last and most contentious issue resolved in negotiations over the 1994 Treaty of Peace between Israel and Jordan and in the Israeli-Palestinian context discussions concerning the resource were relegated to the “final status” negotiations along with other controversial issues such as the status of Jerusalem, and the right of return for Palestinian refugees (Wolf, Giordano, 2003).

However, water cooperation is far more prevalent especially where strong institutions are present. The establishment of the Indus Water Commission in 1960 between India and Pakistan fostered remarkably resilient bilateral cooperation over water, notwithstanding two wars and continued political turmoil between the two states. The Mekong River Committee, established in 1957 among the four lower riparian states of Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos also weathered extreme political conditions and viable water cooperation even during the Vietnam War (Wolf, 2004).

Thus, the creation and maintenance of effective international water institutions offer hope that current freshwater scarcity problems can be managed. In fact, the presence or absence of institutions has proven to be one of the most important factors influencing co-riparian water relations, exceeding traditional variables such as climate, water availability, population density, political orientation, and levels of economic development (Wolf, 2004). Further, the historical record indicates an increased likelihood of basin conflict where
institutions are unable to accommodate to changing political and hydrologic needs. Yet where international water institutions exist, relations among riparian states are generally more cooperative than in basins without treaties or other cooperative management mechanisms (Wolf, Yoffe, and Giordano, 2003).

**Regional Accords**

Regional organizational initiatives have served further to encourage co-riparian cooperation. Through the creation of region-specific guidelines, multinational bodies such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the European Union, and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) have formulated agreements and protocols supporting collaborative water resource initiatives. In the 1970s', the OECD Council recommended the management and protection of transboundary resources relevant to international rivers. European governments have addressed regional water issues through such agreements as the Convention on Environmental Impact Assessment in a Transboundary Context (1991) and the Convention on the Protection and Use of Transboundary Water Courses and International Lakes (1992). In 2000, the SADC member states established the Protocol on Shared Watercourses in the Southern African Development Community (Wolf, Giordano, 2003)

**BASIN TREATIES**

The highest levels of cooperative water management are located within water basins with corresponding treaties extending back to 2500 B.C. The Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations has documented more than
3600 international water treaties from AD 805 to 1984. Although a vast majority of these agreements concern navigational issues, a growing number address water scarcity.

There are three distinguishing characteristics in developing interstate water accords. They are shared values, creativity, and adaptability. First, co-riparians share several hydrologic linkages. Agriculture, industry, recreation, hydropower, flood control, environmental integrity and human health are connected. While individual sectors and countries have exploited their riparian position or dominance, basin states have demonstrated a remarkable ability to cooperate upon their shared interests. For example, the 1986 Lesotho Highlands Water Project Agreement, South Africa supports the financing of hydroelectric/water diversion facility and in turn, receives the rights to drinking water for its industrial use in Guateng province.

Second, basin states have illustrated a great deal of creativity in formulating treaty provisions that meet the unique hydrological, political, and cultural settings of their individual basins. As part of the 1994 Treaty of Peace, Jordan stores water in an Israeli lake while Israel leases Jordanian land and wells. India, under a 1966 agreement with Nepal, plants trees upstream in Nepal to protect its own downstream water supplies (Wolf, 1999).

Third, effective accords require adaptability. Precedents exist for incorporating provisions into basin accords to accommodate changing needs and values. The 1987 Agreements on the Action Plan for the Environmentally Sound Management of the Common Zambezi River System allows for additional riparian
states to sign the treaty. Other flexible treaties include the 1996 Treaty between India and Bangladesh on Sharing of the Ganga/Ganges Waters at Farakka, the 1986 Lesotho Highlands Water Project Agreement, and the 1992 Komati River Basin Treaty between South Africa and Swaziland (Wolf, Giordano 2003).

The Freshwater Data Base offers the most comprehensive source for interpreting interstate freshwater accords.17 One hundred forty-five water related treaties were signed in the twentieth century. Of these, 124 (86%) are bilateral and conversely 21 are multilateral. It is unclear why an overwhelming number of treaties are bilateral. One possibility is that only two states share a majority of international watersheds. Yet, according to negotiation theory, the number of disputing parties reduces the chance for conflict resolution. This is problematic because in basins with more than two riparians, preference for bilateral agreements can preclude the comprehensive regional management long advocated by water resource managers (Wolf, 2000).

Most treaties focus on hydropower and water supplies. 57 (39%) discuss hydroelectric generation and fifty three (37%) distribute water for consumption. Nine (6%) mention industrial uses, six (4%) navigations, and six (4%) discuss pollution. Thirteen of the 145 (9%) focus on flood control.

However, few treaties allocate water. Clearly defined allocations account for 54 (37%) of the agreements. Of that number, fifteen (28%) specify equal proportions, and thirty nine (72%) provide a specific means of allocation. All but three multilateral agreements lack definite allotments, although a few establish advisory and governing bodies among states (Wolf, 2000). Fifty seven of the

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17 Created and maintained by Aaron Wolf and Meredith Giordano at Oregon State University
treaties (39%) focus on hydropower. Power generating facilities bring development, and hydropower provides a cheap source of electricity to spur developing economies.

Groundwater is only addressed in three interstate accords. The most recent is the 1995 Israeli-Palestinian agreements. However, there are serious limitations, because this accord does not provide a quantitative measure for water sharing. The 1989 Bellagio Draft treaty between the United States and Mexico provides legal framework for groundwater negotiations. The Draft requires joint management of shared aquifers and describes principles based on mutual respect, good neighborliness and reciprocity. While this framework is useful for future groundwater diplomacy, data collection is expensive and hence, difficult to obtain (Wolf, 2000).

Water and non-water linkages are often negotiated together. For example, if pollution causes trouble in a downstream country, an upstream riparian may compensate a downstream neighbor by paying for a treatment plant in lieu of reduced inputs or reduced withdrawals. Here, water quality is of greater importance than water quantity. If successful, this method has the capacity to increase water quantity benefiting all nations at risk. Increasing the scope of negotiations is reflected clearly in interstate water accords. Financial compensation is most evident in interstate accords. 44 cases (30%) addressed capital exchange, territorial or political consideration were much smaller (6 land transfer cases (4%) and two cases of political concession (1%). There are an additional 10 cases (7%) that address non-water linkages. While many prominent
accords exhibit creativity and adaptability, the reality is that over half of the existing accords are quite limited. 83 cases (57%) of total interstate water accords do not have any non-water linkages. This means that a simple treaty is more vulnerable to collective action breakdown because a nation could default on its commitment without concern of reprisal.

Treaties encompass support from technical and basin commissions as well as from government officials. Fifty two (36%) of the treaties provide for an advisory council or conflict addressing body within the parties governments. 14 treaties (10%) refer disputes to a third party or the United Nations. Thirty two treaties (22%) make no provisions for dispute resolution, and 47 treaties (32%) of the texts are either incomplete or uncertain as to dispute resolution mechanisms (Wolf, 2000).

Lack of unified guidelines (as indicated by the available data) suggests that interstate water accords (which govern the world’s international watersheds and predominantly are based on international law) are in their respective infancies. More than half of these treaties do not include monitoring provisions, two thirds do not delineate specific water allocation mechanisms, and four fifths have no enforcement mechanism (Wolf, 2000). Therefore, interstate water accords offer cautious hope. Empirical evidence states that nations can overcome strident political and social obstacles and cooperate over water resources. Yet, it is uncertain how effective these accords will be in addressing current and future freshwater scarcity problems.
Looking forward, there are four key components which can be used for developing future interstate water accords. First, adaptable management structures incorporate a certain level of flexibility, allowing for public input, changing basin priorities, and providing for new information and monitoring technologies. The adaptability of management structures must also extend to non-signatory riparian nations by incorporating provisions addressing their needs, rights, and potential accession.

Second, there should be clear and flexible criteria for allocations and quality. Allocations, which are at the heart of most water disputes, are a function of water quantity and quality. Therefore, effective institutions must identify clear allocation schedules and water quality standards that simultaneously provide for extreme hydrological events, new understanding of basin dynamics, and changing societal values. Additionally, riparian states should consider prioritizing uses throughout the basin.

Third, there needs to be an equitable distribution of benefits. This subtle concept differs from equitable use or allocation. It involves the distribution of benefits from water use from hydro-power, agriculture, economic development, or preservation of aquatic ecosystems rather than simply the benefit of water itself. These benefits allow for greater positive sum-agreements, whereas dividing the water itself allows only for winners and losers.

Fourth, many basins must continue to experience disputes even after a treaty is ratified or signed. Therefore, incorporating clear mechanisms for
resolving conflicts is an inelastic prerequisite for long term effective management. Negotiation theory contains suggestions how this might accomplished.

Freshwater scarcity is a serious geo-political phenomenon which affects all societies and cultures. While natural ecological factors contribute to scarcity conditions, current data reveal it is more human induced. Freshwater scarcity cannot be shared evenly by all disputing nations because many water poor countries do not have the institutional capacity to effect such positive change. Therefore, comprehensive international cooperation is essential for mitigating freshwater scarcity problems (Danilav-Danilan, 2003).

There is much hope for the future success of interstate water accords. They are resilient even as other strident socio-political considerations remain. This axiom will be tested with increasing levels of fresh water scarcity. Freshwater scarcity impacts water quantity, quality, and pollution levels. If unmitigated, water reduction will affect the internal stability several nations as well as serve as a catalyst to increase tensions among various social and ethnic groups. If the current projected models are accurate, water will be the major political issue for many nations as the twenty first century progresses. Interstate water accords offer a measure of hope to mitigate this crisis, but greater study is required especially in understanding how riparian states engage in early coordination strategies to reduce water conflict.
PSYCHOANALYSIS AND CONFLICT BETWEEN THE MUTUAL NURTURANCE
DRIVE AND SOCIAL SURVIVAL

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Abstract

Psychoanalysis focuses mainly on relieving "neurotic" suffering generated by old unconscious conflict which, once ameliorated, often leaves patients with psychological suffering from other sources. For Freud, this is the ordinary misery of living, not susceptible to psychoanalysis. If he were writing today, I suspect he would agree that more recent data indicate the origin of much of this residual suffering is what I call societal psychotoxin, generated by current unconscious conflict between the universal human drive toward mutual nurturance and the imperatives for survival and "success" in modern society. This increment of psychological suffering, via changed therapeutic emphasis, can be brought within range of psychoanalysis.

Societal psychotoxin imposes pervasive underlying tension and distress separate from that derived from neuroses. Its two causative conflicts are preconscious and so, with gradual social evolution, are emerging spontaneously into general consciousness. In contrast, the existence and effects of the psychosocial toxin they produce remain less accessible to awareness. By directing analysis away from the neurosis and onto societal psychotoxin, psychological suffering can further be reduced. This work ordinarily occurs during the termination phase. In some patients, however, the process is best begun earlier, as it may be prerequisite for analysis of the neurosis. (Clinical illustrations in full paper.)
Today I want to discuss with you a source of psychological pain of which I believe many of us have intimations, but which hitherto has not been confronted because of unconscious dread of threatening our security in society. The cause of this suffering is conceived as a continuous conflict in our daily lives between a universal human drive toward mutual nurturance and the imperatives for social survival that tend to stifle it. This conflict generates what I call a "societal psychotoxin" that keeps us all in psychological pain. Because the scope of my topic is so broad, I will have to speak more categorically than usual. And because my awareness of all this is so intimately connected with my own development as a person, a scientist, a psychiatrist/psychoanalyst, to illuminate it I will have to speak more personally than ever before.

When I was six in 1930, I was heartbroken about unwanted cats shivering in the freezing streets of Manhattan, some with kittens whose ribs you could count. My friend Allan also worried about them. We got permission from our folks to go to the candy store. But we spent our allowance instead on hamburger to leave on icy curbs for starving kittens. And, oddly, we did this secretly, intuiting somehow that our parents would disapprove.

Then I noticed the skinny people on breadlines. I understood that the cats and the people were starved. And, as Mom or Dad tucked me in at night, I realized that little balls of hamburger or loaves of stale bread wouldn’t change much.
I asked my parents about the hungry cats and people. They told me that those cats had no homes or people to take care of them. And that the people stood in line to get free bread because they had no money to buy food. I asked why the cats had no homes and the people had no money. I was puzzled, but somehow not surprised, by the uneasy glances they exchanged.

Nevertheless, the next day I risked another why, "Dad, why do the people on line for bread have no money?"

My father tugged at his collar and mumbled, "Because the people don't have jobs. Let's take your tricycle out on the sidewalk."

I swallowed the next question, "Why don't they have jobs?" and put on my coat and mittens.

Allan and I fantasized about affection we'd get from these cats in return for care. But we both knew better than to ask to adopt them, his parents responses being similar to those of mine. We were distressed by our inability to relieve the deprivation of these fellow beings, but were even more upset by our inability to get the customary support of our parents to help us understand such deprivation. The usual unconscious conflicts of childhood must have heightened our concern, but my sense is that the actual source of our pain was different and separate from that of "neurosis." I believe it was the conflict identified above that our parents and we were experiencing between our drive toward mutual nurturance and the dollars-and-cents imperatives of survival in our modern society that compel us to repress awareness of it. The questions that Allan and I posed were basic ethical ones about how we treat animals and each other that could "rock the boat" on social arrangements everyone experienced as not only crucial, but inescapable and immutable. This conflict, and the "societal psychotoxin" it generates, causes anxiety, guilt, and an abiding sense that "something is wrong" with our lives.
My hope is to demonstrate that this is not just a cute "kid anecdote," but an instance of a
universal human conflict worthy of analytic scrutiny.

Psychoanalysis, even with the many modifications and additions of recent
decades, has tended to focus on relieving the kind of psychological and emotional pain
that is rooted in old unconscious conflicts. Once these sources of distress have been
ameliorated, patients are often left with residual suffering from which they and we wish,
often vainly, we could also provide relief.

For Freud, and some of us still, this residue is entirely the ordinary misery of living, and
therefore not susceptible to psychoanalysis. If he were writing today, however, I suspect Freud
would agree that newer understanding of evolution (both biological and cultural) substantiates
that much of this residual misery is not ordinary in that it is not universal in all societies, and in
fact has been prominent during only the last five to six thousand years. I surmise further that he
would include now in his panoply of drives the hitherto unrecognized universal human drive
toward mutual nurturance. I suspect that he would trace much of seemingly irreducible residual
suffering to the conflict I've described. And that he would concur that, with changed therapeutic
emphasis, this increment of psychological suffering, can be brought within range of
psychoanalysis.

At age six, Allan and I sensed that our concerns were not fit to mention in even
generally humane adult company. Many years later, in analysis, it became clear to me
that unemployment, poverty, and war -- and their sad causes and consequences -- had
been more taboo for our progressive parents to discuss with their children than all the
details of where babies came from. Despite current much greater general conversance
with economics, the stock market, the balance of trade and so on, this seems to me even
more true today.
This avoidance was specially odd in my family because soon afterward I was invited to listen as my Dad and Yip Harburg composed their song "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" which wonders deeply about the same thing. It begins:

“They used to tell me I was building a dream, and so I followed the mob. When there was earth to plow or guns to bear, I was always there, Right there on the job.

They used to tell me I was building a dream, with peace and glory ahead.

Why should I be standing in line, just waiting for bread?”

That song taught me, among many other things, that adults can sing things to children they can’t say. As I also learned later through analysis, such avoidances reflect anxiety that confronting questions like Allan’s and mine might rouse impulses to challenge fundamental mechanisms of social survival. By 1965, having worked through Freud’s instinctual theories and the contributions of many others, I encountered then-current literature touting what anthropologist Ashley Montagu called "the new litany of the innate depravity of man." These included writings by Raymond Dart, Konrad Lorenz, Robert Ardrey, Desmond Morris, Anthony Storr, and the early socio-biologists, all of whom, variously and erroneously -- and troublingly to me -- explained that we are compelled to pursue cruel and hateful ways by biological instincts inherited from apelike ancestors. By lucky chance, I met Ashley Montagu socially, sought his wisdom, and wound up as his mentee until his death in 1999. Much of what I have to tell you about human characteristics is based on what he taught me.

There are three main roots of evidence substantiating the universal drive toward mutual nurturance, its associated conflict, and societal psychotoxin: Ordinary experience, the development of babies, and the development of society.
Ordinary experience trumpets the predominance of mutual nurturance in our everyday exchanges, such as stopping at red lights so the cross traffic will shortly do the same for us. Then there are unusual but ubiquitous emergency rescues of one another, in which the return to the giver may be literally nothing but self-satisfaction.

A 28 year-old philosophy grad student walking in Los Angeles suddenly saw an elderly lady about to leap from a third-floor window from which flames broiled. He held out his arms and caught her, saving her life -- at the cost of a fractured collarbone, pelvis, and femur. When asked why he did it, he said "I dunno -- Yesterday my Dad told me I’m a spoiled brat who never thinks of anyone but himself." Now, let's ask ourselves what this grad student likely would have been told had he discussed his rescue action with others in advance: "Don't be a sucker, Take care of number one, Don't be a bleeding heart, What'd they ever do for you? You the Red Cross?" thereby diminishing likelihood of his nurturant behavior. Thus do our conventional mores besmirch the mutual nurturance drive and fortify repression of both it and of societal psychotoxin.

The developing baby: After nine months of gestation, the baby is still so immature that it cannot possibly get along outside the womb without a cascade of baby care. Then comes the sudden violent earthquake of labor, which continues for many hours. Every contraction propels the baby into and through a painfully narrow passage that constricts and bruises it, until finally the new person is born -- into what? Montagu says that what the baby desperately needs and expects is "a womb with a view." But what does the baby get? Too often, terrifying bright light, noise, cold, suspension by the ankles, slaps on the fanny. All this is coupled with sudden necessity to learn to breathe, regulate body temperature, convert her/his mouth into a suction pump in order to imbibe nourishment -- and maybe isolation from mother in a truly "sterile" bassinet. In contrast, baby and mother need the kind of gentle, quiet, dimly lit conditions provided in many "primitive" societies, such as those which deliver the baby into a pool of warm
water, and then keep mother and the baby together, to continue their life-sustaining closeness in mutual nurturance.

Why is the nurturance "mutual?" The newborn baby's urgent need for lifesaving care, and the mother's ability to provide it, are instantly evident. But is the obverse also true?

Yes. One illustration is the little-understood fact that both mother and child are equipped to confer the most critically needed life-saving nurturance upon each other. If baby is simply placed face down on the mother's upper abdomen as she joyously studies her darling's new face, its owner will crawl to one of her nipples, root about to grasp it with her/his mouth, and quickly learn to suckle colostrum that contains vital nutrients. But by this same act, the baby will also simultaneously provide exactly the nurturance most urgently needed by mother. The suckling stimulates reflexes and hormones in the mother that eject the placenta and contract her uterus to stop bleeding. If this beautiful exchange of lifesaving mutual nurturance, which initiates bonding immediately, becomes the predominant model for most child-parent interactions, the character of the emerging person is, in any society, more likely to be loving, sociable, peaceable and, by identification mutually nurturing, than if it does not. Every grown person is alive only because someone has provided a tour de force of nurturant baby care. Because in infancy our life rests in that person's hands, we have no choice but to win her/his love and to identify with the life-preserving behavior, which we then hunger to repeat throughout life both as receiver and as giver -- in relation to people, animals, even pet rocks. It was those life-assuring experiences we enjoyed in infancy that compelled Allan and me six years later to be so emotionally stirred by the predicament of starving cats and people. And that have compelled me to search all these years to understand the drive toward mutual nurturance, its social saboteurs, and how to treat the psychological pain of its vicissitudes.
The development of societies. For three million years our ancestors survived in small nomadic bands of 25-30 gatherer-hunters, most of whose interactions were consonant with the drive toward mutual nurturance. They lived in relative material scarcity, often sharing scanty resources with neighbors because they were their only social security. Sharing also helped maintain material equality and resultant harmony within the small group. This behavioral trait was intensified by natural selection across 50,000 generations.

Then, merely 12,000 years ago, clever people invented the first technology of civilization: agriculture/herding, which for the first time created surpluses and, in turn, fostered settlement in fixed villages of 400-500. Now people could generate, preserve, and store supplies for later use, becoming thereby better provisioned than ever they could be through the meager help of a friend. Without full recognition of what was happening, more and more people began to negate the mutual nurturance drive and let hungry neighbors starve. That way, you could not only keep leftovers for yourself, but convert that former friend into the most valuable commodity of all: cheap labor. You could grow rich and powerful, while she/he became poor and weak, initiating concentration of wealth, emergence of classes, nations, and states -- and worse: war.

In some places, the mutual nurturance drive continued to govern some human relations, for example in the communal harvestings and barn raisings of our colonial forebears. Nevertheless, the counter-nurturant trend has escalated. And despite the mutual nurturance drive, and constant religious injunctions and secular philanthropy in support of it, the changed strategies of civilized life have created our present "dog-eat-dog" world, in which we increasingly survive not on good will but on goods, not by taking care of each other but by taking advantage of each other, not by ameliorating poverty but by exploiting it. This "nurturance conflict," is the first of two social conflicts that breed societal psychotoxin.

The other is the "low social synergy conflict" described by anthropologist Ruth Benedict in small yam growing societies. She distinguished "secure" nonaggressive and
friendly societies from "insecure" aggressive and hostile societies on the basis of their high and low "social synergy." In a secure society persons are relaxed because (like the mother-baby duo described above) they can satisfy individual needs and those of the community simultaneously by the same act. By contrast, in an insecure society persons are driven into conflict because social arrangements demand opposed actions.

For example, in a "secure" yam-growing society yams are used only for food, so that both the community and the person who grows many yams benefit simultaneously by the same act. In an "insecure" yam-growing society, yams are used also as currency to exchange with a neighboring tribe for axeheads. Therefore, persons who raise many yams are conflicted, because food-producing acts that benefit the individual and community also inflate the currency, raise the price of axeheads, and ultimately harm everyone. Moreover, people become, unequal in wealth, rivalrous, and motivated not only to outdo, but to undo, neighbors. The result is increased anxiety, animosity, and murder/suicide, findings with obvious relevance to inquiries concerning our social pathology and its remedy. My own studies show that Dr. Benedict's distinction between secure and insecure societies applies as strongly to the full range of societies over the last 3,000 years.

Clinical Vignettes

Despite mounting confidence in the validity of these concepts generally, I was hesitant to present their clinical application -- until another special experience. April was the smart seven-year-old daughter of a patient who told her mother “I want to see the mind doctor too -- alone.” With great distress, she asked me “What’s wrong with the world, and how can we fix it?” Alice’s question (and her explanation, which there isn’t time to detail) revealed that a half-century after I had queried my parents about starving cats and people the same kind of psychological pain was tormenting a child still. Her therapist confirmed the pivotal role of societal psychotoxin..
A 47 year-old male executive whose anxiety and compulsive character traits waned under analysis, reported new anxiety and compulsivity each day before leaving for work, where it was his distressing responsibility to issue downsizing pink slips. Two months of analytic work was successful in bringing into full awareness the sources and consequences for him of the mutual nurturance conflicts. He found another job where there was no need for mass layoffs.

A 34 year-old woman who worked for a non-profit recovered during analysis from most of her depressive and phobic symptoms, but was still much troubled by her distant emotional relationship with her twelve year-old son. She focused for the first time on the boy’s greatest interest, becoming a multi-millionaire through the stock market in whatever way would work the fastest. As she developed understanding of the mutual nurturance conflicts, her anxiety was relieved and replaced by a conscious dislike of her son’s emerging values, which by termination of treatment she and the boy at least were discussing.

A male virtuoso musician reluctantly came to terms with retirement because in his eighties he could no longer control pitch on his string instrument. With the help of 6 months of Prozac and a year of psychoanalysis, the depression lifted. He then looked for substitute activities, beginning with a first paid job conducting an orchestra. To his dismay, he lacked the talent for this new role. The depression recurred and he began to ruminate about suicide. One day he reported that his housekeeper, after a year of employment, had requested a raise from $9.00 to $10.00 per hour. At first he was outraged. Then he read in the paper that housekeepers in the big hotels in his area earned $12.00 per hour. He calculated what this would come to on an annual basis and decided that even that figure wasn’t enough for a woman alone to sustain herself and raise two children. After much working through of pertinent memories and a nightmare, he raised her pay to $13.00 per hour. The depression lifted without Prozac. At
termination, he was in good spirits and had decided to resume teaching music, this time to seriously underprivileged children, and gratis.

Discussion:

Patients come to us wanting relief of all their psychological suffering. Much of that relief derives from analysis of neurotic conflict. Some of the remainder can be relieved, I have found, by gently redirecting analysis onto conflicts between the mutual nurturance drive and societal psychotoxin (using other terms, of course). This work ordinarily occurs during the termination phase. In some patients, however, the process is best begun earlier, as it may be prerequisite for analysis of the neurosis.

In exploring both clinical and societal applications of these concepts, we must remember that the societal psychotoxin and its associated conflicts are pathogenic products of only the most recent 0.4 percent of human evolution, and that therefore they are much less deeply ingrained than the mutual nurturance drive itself. Because conflicts between them are clashes between an intra-psychic drive and the psychic representations of external social arrangements, they are much closer to consciousness than the more fully intra-psychic conflicts characteristic of the neuroses. Accordingly, with gradual social evolution, the conflicts over the mutual nurturance drive are slowly emerging spontaneously into general consciousness, with some resultant spontaneous amelioration of anxiety. Nevertheless, for the most part they remain far out of awareness because confronting them and having to take action contrary to them arouses such intense self-preservation anxiety. The lesson to be drawn is to proceed with psychoanalytic caution in both clinical and social venues -- but to proceed.
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Title of Submission: Guillain-Barré Syndrome and the Central Nervous System: Implications for Nursing and Rehabilitation

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Guillain-Barré Syndrome (GBS) is an acute inflammatory disorder of the peripheral nervous system (PNS). Only one or two cases per 100,000 per annum are detected even though GBS is the most common cause of paralysis from a peripheral nerve disorder in the Western world (Steinberg, 2000). It is indiscriminate with respect to gender, race, and age, though more males than females are affected and incidence increases with age. In its mildest form, GBS causes muscle weakness and abnormal sensations, such as pricking, tingling, and numbness. It usually begins in the lower extremities, moving next to the upper extremities, and then works its way up the body. If the attack is mild, hospitalisation may not be required, but with a severe attack hospitalisation is absolutely essential. Severe paralysis of almost the entire body may occur in a frighteningly short space of time. Effects on the autonomic nervous system can bring about serious drops in heart rate and blood pressure and the patient may be in great pain. Death occurs in 2 to 10% of patients, such an outcome being more likely in the elderly and infirm. GBS is predominantly a motor neuropathy affecting either the myelin sheathing that wraps around most nerves or the nerves themselves. The cause of the disorder is unknown though in the majority of cases it follows on from some traumatic event, such as a bacterial infection, surgery, or even a simple bee sting (Steinberg, 2000).

GBS is usually treated as if its effects are strictly limited to the PNS (nerves external to the brain and spinal cord). However, there is mounting evidence for central nervous system (CNS: brain and spinal cord) involvement (Parry, 1993). For example, Capello et al. (2000) report the case of a patient who suffered from both GBS and multiple sclerosis (MS). The major feature of MS is damage to the myelin sheathing in the CNS. Interestingly, cases of MS have been reported where PNS damage has also occurred (e.g., Thomas et al., 1987). Other examples of CNS involvement in GBS include cases with papilledema (swollen optic nerve; Weiss, Banjwa, & Mehler, 1991), optic neuritis (Nadkarni & Lisak, 1993), raised intracranial pressure (Kharbanda, Prabhaker, Lal, & Das, 2002), encephalomyelitis (inflammation of CNS myelin; Amit, Shapira, Blank, & Aker, 1986), and inflammation of the meninges (strong connective tissue membranes surrounding the brain and
spinal cord; Parry, 1993). Maier, Schmidbauer, Pfausler, Schmutzhard, & Budka (1997) found 3 of 13 GBS patients to have degenerated spinal nerves and brainstem abnormalities. While all of the above authors suggest that GBS may sometimes involve the CNS, not all agree. For instance, Kalita, Misra, & Bansal (2001) found CNS nerve conduction times to be slowed in 30 GBS patients. This slowing is usually taken as an indication of nerve and/or myelin damage, but Kalita et al. argue that this is an expected side effect of the PNS nerve damage.

Whether or not CNS damage can be part and parcel of GBS or whether it is merely due to side effects is an interesting scientific question. However, the correct answer is of little consequence to the patient suffering from CNS symptoms or to the nurse who must watch for such symptoms.

Implications for nursing and rehabilitation

The nurse who is confronted with a GBS patient for the first time is unlikely to know much about this relatively invisible, frequently misdiagnosed disorder. The caregiver may initially be unaware of the severity of the paralysis and the pain in a patient who cannot speak or cry out. Most GBS patients suffer pain which needs careful management with frequent repositioning of the body using gentle handling techniques (Gregory M., Gregory R., & Podd, in press). In the most severe cases, improvement in the patient can be extremely slow; empathetic nursing and constant attention is required to help patients who may feel that they are going to die.

Nursing staff need to bring themselves up to date quickly if they lack specific knowledge about GBS. There are many sources of medical information but fewer sources that deal with the devastating psychological impact of the disorder. Strongly recommended are accounts of the disease written by people who have recovered (e.g., Heller & Vogel, 1986; Safranski, 2004; Wilcox, 2000). The patient’s perspective on an illness allows the caregiver to view the disorder in a very different light. Gregory, R. (1998) describes the important role nurses can play in simply teaching patients and their families
what the major medical terms mean so demystifying the experience. Another very useful tactic is to have a recovered GBS person visit and talk with the patient. GBS sufferers we have spoken with rate this as a most valuable experience.

GBS often comes like a bolt from the blue. A person can be fit and healthy one week and severely paralysed the next. Many patients are pessimistic about their chances of recovery. Thus, there are not only the nasty physical symptoms to deal with but also the psychological stress with all the attendant worries and fears. CNS problems such as those we have already described will be apparent, but there will surely also be CNS problems that manifest as emotional volatility, confusion, fear, memory loss, and other psychological effects. (We hesitate to call them “side effects”.) Family members can also be confused and perplexed. Often, there is a lack of understanding as to how serious the illness is. After all, there is no blood or physical damage to be seen; the patient “looks okay”. They may ask what all the fuss is about. The caregiver needs to nip such thinking in the bud, otherwise it may develop and continue into the often very long recovery phase – just when the patient is in the greatest need of family support and understanding. Weird sensations, numbness, and especially muscle weakness and fatigue may continue for months, if not years. Bourke (2001) found fatigue (93% of recovered people) and muscle weakness (84%) to be the two most common residual symptoms.

Throughout the illness and recovery period, caregivers must be constantly alert to increasing stresses and strains the disorder can put on patients and their families. Although the direct involvement of the CNS is GBS may not be that common, CNS abnormalities created by the psychological impact of the disorder are almost always very prominent characteristics. These can easily destabilise the family unit adding to the already existing difficulties associated with recovering from this debilitating disorder.

In conclusion, there can be little doubt that GBS is primarily a neuropathy of the PNS. However, a large number of studies attest to the fact that the CNS can be damaged too. From the patient’s and nurse’s perspectives, it matters
not whether these CNS abnormalities are viewed as part of the syndrome or as side effects. The fact of the matter is that they may exist and need to be dealt with. Additionally, the CNS is very much involved in GBS through the devastating psychological and social impact the disorder almost invariably has in its severe form. Both the patient and family members need to be provided with realistic information about GBS, the generally very slow rate of recovery, and the need to show empathy and understanding. Where this is not forthcoming, the strains that can develop may be sufficient to cause disintegration of the family unit.

References


Perceptions of post graduate contact sessions: Facilitation of deep learning or spoon feeding?

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INTRODUCTION

Since 1994 when South Africa went through a process of huge political changes regarding the wrong of the past apartheid dispensation, the former Rand Afrikaans University (now merged with other institutions to form the new University of Johannesburg) started their program of distant education to help to redress some of the educational inequalities of the past (Grobler & Henning, 2001). Many historically disadvantaged groups who did not have an adequate higher education qualification were given the opportunity to further their studies. These students completed bridging courses such as an Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE) to finally allow them to enroll as Baccalaureus Educationis Honoribus (BEd Hons) students at this university. Therefore, many of these students did not have a university degree when they enrolled for this honors course in education.

In addition to this special arrangement, the university started distant centers such as Kimberley (Eastern Cape), Polokwane (Limpopo), Nelspruit (Mpumalanga) and Durban (Kwa Zulu Natal) to accommodate students from these provinces. Six times per year many lecturers/facilitators travelled to these centers to present various subject modules during the contact sessions.

PROBLEM STATEMENT AND OBJECTIVES

I became involved in these contact sessions in 2002. What was a cause for concern was that it seemed as if the majority of the students who attended these scheduled contact sessions did not prepare the specified work from their study guides and reading material. Therefore, these sessions became lecturer/facilitator dominated and the students completely relied on them for navigation of their personal learning experiences. The implication of this was that the lecturer and the students could not engage sufficiently with the course content to cultivate a disposition of inquiry and
critique, the espoused goal of a university education (Grobler & Henning, 2001).

The objectives of this research were threefold. The researcher wanted to investigate the reason/s why these students attended the scheduled contact sessions; what their expectations were for these sessions and if their expectations were met.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK
McInerney and Van Etten (2003) claimed that the conception of learning underlying all teacher education programs assume that students are curious and enterprising and wish to learn and try new things. In addition to this these authors claimed that students should be given independent responsibility for their own learning. At the same time, however, it is emphasized that learning is not only a matter of independence but also a matter of team work and a sense of community, stressing the importance of learning in interaction with others.

In addition to this, a socio-cultural view of learning supports a characterization of engagement as meaningful participation in a context where the to-be-learned knowledge is valued and used (McInerney & Van Etten, 2004). Furthermore, Gravett (2001) stressed the fact that adult educators need to approach their teaching task as a process of facilitation, guiding and mediation of learning.

THE INVESTIGATION
A total of 32 students attending the scheduled second and third contact sessions in two provinces took part in this investigation. They were all enrolled for the course BEd (Hons) and the module I presented was Educational Perspectives which included Philosophical -, Psychological - and Sociological perspectives on Education. The group was homogeneous as they were all part of the ‘disadvantaged’ groups. All the students received the appropriate Study Guide, Reading Package and the Information Guide.

Data gathering collection and analysis
For the purpose of this report the students completed a compact questionnaire which encompassed biographical data (gender and age) and three open questions dealing with the research objectives. These open questions were:
1. Why do you attend these scheduled contact sessions?
2. What do you expect from the course facilitators at these contact sessions?
3. To what extent do you believe that you got what you had expected from the course facilitators? (Please indicate your opinion by encircling the appropriate number on the scale provided.)

The scale provided for the last question was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A lesser extent</th>
<th>A larger extent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The paragraphs written by the students to answer the first two questions were analyzed to extract main themes regarding the most emphasized reasons why they attended the contact sessions and the most emphasized expectations of the students. The outcomes of the last question were calculated.

**Description of the respondents**

A total of 32 students completed the questionnaire but 1 questionnaire had to be ignored as it was not completed in full. Therefore, the data from 31 of the questionnaires could be used. Eighteen of the students are female and 13 are male (see Figure 1). Four of the students indicated that they were between 25 and 30 years of age; ten were between 31 and 35; eight were between 36 and 40; five were between 41 and 45; and four were between 46 and 50 (see Figure 2).

![Figure 1: Gender of students](image-url)
Findings from the open questions

*Question 1: Why do you attend these scheduled contact sessions?*

- **Seventeen** students indicated that they attended the scheduled contact sessions to get the exam scope and/or guidance for the examinations. Some of the answers were:
  
  "... to get more information from the lecturers in order to pass ...”
  "... delimitation of the work due to constraints.”
  "... to enable me to write the exams.”
  "... to gain understanding of what the lecturer has to ask in the exams.”

- **Ten** students indicated that they attended the scheduled contact sessions to get clarity on their questions. Some of their answers were:
  
  "... to get clarifications on things that I fail to understand well while alone studying at home.”
  "... to get clarity (more) on assignment questions and preparation for the exams.”
  "... want lecturers to explain the information that might be difficult for us to understand from our reading materials.”
• **Nine** students indicated that they attended the scheduled contact sessions to **get information on how to answer assignments.** Some of the answers were:
  "... to get some guidance as to how to answer the assignments."
  "... to get guidelines on assignments."

• **Four** students indicated that they attended the scheduled contact sessions to **share ideas with other students.** Some of the answers were:
  "... to get other students' view."
  "... to speak to others students."

• **Three** students indicated that they attended the scheduled contact sessions to **meet the lecturers.** Some of the answers were:
  "... to come in personal contact with the lecturers of the material ..."
  "... to know lecturers expectations person to person ..."

• **Two** students indicated that they attended the scheduled contact sessions to **understand the reading material.** The answers were:
  "... to have a clearer understanding of the reading material."
  "... to get advise and information of how to go through our study material."

• **Two** students indicated that they attended the scheduled contact sessions to **get feedback from the lecturers on the assignments.**

• **One** student indicated that he/she attended the scheduled contact sessions so that **the lecturer can outline all the course material and explain all the notes.**

A diagrammatic representation of the above findings is given in Figure 3 below.
Question 2: What do you expect from the course facilitators at these contact sessions?

- **Eleven** students indicated that they expect the course facilitator to give printed hand-outs or at least use transparencies which they can copy in class. Some of the answers were:
  
  “Give the hand-outs so that I can revise what the lecturer was teaching.”
  “Use transparencies to guide the students.”
  “Lecture – with a few transparencies to copy.”
  “I would like the lecturer to give us hand-out notes rather than wasting time in writing them.”

- **Eight** students indicated that they expect the course facilitator to have group discussions / active involvement of the students in the class. The following paragraph covers the spectrum of ideas:

  “I would like there to be interaction between the lecturers and students. Sometimes it gets boring to just listen to a lecturer, sometimes you don’t understand what he/she is trying to say. There is not much learning taking place from just copying notes from the transparency. I would rather prefer active involvement in learning to take place at lectures.”
• **Five** students indicated that they expect the course facilitator to **focus only on the main points of the reading material**. Some of the answers were:

  “The lecturer should focus on the main points of the reading material rather than giving the students two Reading Packages to learn from.”

  “I wanted to know which aspects in the book I have to study before the exam.”

• **Four** students indicated that they expect the course facilitator to **concentrate only on exam issues**. Some of the answers were:

  “We only need information for exam purpose and not personal opinions.”

  “I want to know which aspects in the book I have to study before the exam.”

• **Four** students indicated that they expect the course facilitator to **spend more time discussing students’ problems**. Some of the answers were:

  “I would like the lecturer to give us more opportunities to present our problems.”

  “Lecturers should spend more time talking and discussing problems that we encounter, maybe set time aside to listen to difficulties of the students.”

• **Three** students indicated that they expect the course facilitator to **give an actual lecture to save time**. As one student stated it:

  “Lecture method is good because it saves time and a lot of information is received in a short span of time.”

• **Two** students indicated that they expect the course facilitator to **explain the guide**. This was stated as follows:

  “Explain systematically the study guides. Give to us what you believe are the important aspects of the study guides.”

• **One** student indicated that he/she expected the course facilitator to have **given the students exercises to complete in the class** (revisions).

  A diagrammatic representation of the above findings is given in Figure 4 below.
**Figure 4: Students’ expectations of course facilitators at contact sessions**

- **Hand-outs and copy transparancies**
- **Active student involvement**
- **Focus only on main points of reading material**
- **Concentrate on exam issues**
- **Discuss students’ problems**
- **Give lectures to save time**
- **Explain study guide**
- **Give exercises to complete in class**

**Question 3: To what extent do you believe that you got what you had expected from the course facilitators?**

**Nineteen** students encircled the “4” or the “5” to indicate that they believed to a large extent that they got what they had expected from the course facilitator and **eleven** students encircled the “3” to indicate that they were not sure whether they got what they had expected from the course facilitator. Only **one** student encircled the “1” to indicate that he/she did not get what he/she had expected from the course facilitator.

A diagrammatic representation of the above findings is given in Figure 5 below.
Implications of the most important findings

The majority of the students were female. This was expected as school teaching is still seen as a superb career for woman as they tend to be the most basic nurturers of children. By giving disadvantaged woman the opportunity to get a higher academic qualification will not only enrich their own life but also the life of a lot of disadvantaged children. We would also like to see more men in our education courses because true to the African traditional culture, the men are the ultimate authoritative gender. This might be a helpful factor to increase low level of discipline in many schools.

58% of the students who attended the contact sessions were in their 30’s. This may be a cause for concern as this is the age group which is highly affected by HIV/AIDS. One would like to see more of the younger age group which was between 25-30 years. These would be the students who might be more willing and able to cope with the challenges of Outcomes Based Education (OBE) which is a relatively new way of teaching in South Africa.

The majority of the students came to the contact sessions to get a ‘scope for the exam’ (see Figure 3). It was as if they expect from the course facilitator to give the
exam questions and only focus on that specifically. Independent responsibility for own learning (McInerney & Van Etten, 2003) was almost none existent. The impact of this was that the facilitators had to fall back on the outline of the course material, explaining to them how to use the Study Guide and Reading Package and give guidance on how to do the assignment. This is not what should be done at honors level because the facilitator as the adult educator is not a dispenser of knowledge (Gravett, 2001). To try and rectify this problem, we now have an enrolment stipulation of an average of 60% in the previous qualification.

It is clear from Figure 4 that the majority of the students indicated that they expect hand-outs or to copy transparencies in the contact sessions. This may be seen as if they are dependent on the facilitators’ ‘spoon feeding’ and not being responsible for their own learning. The students should realize the importance of learning in interaction with others (McInerney & Van Etten). Without preparation for these sessions these ultimate ideas regarding learning, especially the notion of a ‘deep understanding of learning’ (Gravett, 2001) cannot be fulfilled.

Finally, according to Figure 5, 62% of the students indicated that they believed that they got what they had expected from the course facilitators. On the one hand, we should be happy to receive this recognition for our hard work but at the same time this is a cause for concern. Do we fall back on being the dispenser of knowledge and the navigators of the students’ personal learning experiences? Should we not be there to engage with the students to cultivate a disposition of inquiry and critique?

**Conclusion**

From my point of view, the ideal would be to create an environment where small numbers of students are able to learn through collaboration and inquiry which would be guided and mediated by the facilitator. To be able to do this, it is imperative that the BEd Hons students prepare the content of the prescribed study material for the scheduled contact sessions. If this is not the case, then the facilitator has to transfer the content knowledge which can be seen as ‘spoon feeding’ and is most definitely not the best way for learning to take place on this level of academic endeavor.
REFERENCES


People are faced daily with stereotypical images of many different occupations. A profession of which many people hold stereotypical views is that of the librarian. The film, Party Girl, provides an excellent backdrop for presenting these views and examining how adornment can reinforce or challenge stereotypical beliefs.

**Film and Character Background**

In the 1995 Columbia/Tristar Studios release Party Girl, Parker Posey plays Mary, an irresponsible, haughty, and capricious young woman who makes her living throwing illegal parties in New York City loft apartments. When the police arrest her for hosting one of her “promotions,” Mary asks her stern librarian Godmother for financial assistance. Her Godmother agrees to help, but under the condition that Mary takes a position as a library clerk at the public library branch where the Godmother works. Mary indignantly accepts her Godmother’s offer and during the course of the movie, learns that
she truly enjoys working in the library and appreciates the order that is added to her life.

By the end of the film, Mary even decides to pursue a master’s degree in Library Science so that she may become a “librarian,” and not just a “library clerk.”

Aimed toward the Generation X audience, *Party Girl* tells the story of Mary’s immersion into the world of libraries and the Dewey Decimal Classification system and the subsequent organizational effects on her life (i.e. she organizes her funky, unconventional wardrobe by color, designer, and era as well as surprises her deejay roommate with an organizational overhaul of his record collection, complete with a card catalog that cross references the albums by title, artist, and genre). Additionally, aspects of her wardrobe during different scenes illustrate the extant stereotype of the occupational role of librarian. Mary undergoes twenty-seven costume changes in *Party Girl*. Table 1 provides an in-depth description of her wardrobe in each scene.

**Librarianship Background**

Although the very first librarians were male (i.e. court scribes in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia; monks in the Middle Ages) (Marinelli & Baker, 2000), librarianship became a field dominated by females in the mid-1800’s when Melvil Dewey introduced the Dewey Decimal Classification (DDC) system and opened the doors of librarianship as a career to women (Online Computer Library Center [OCLC], 2004). Like many occupations, the librarian has endured a particular stereotype: when asked what one envisions a librarian to be like, the majority of the public will respond with characteristics such as quiet, mean or stern, conservatively dressed in drab or muted colors, wearing
eyeglasses, hair pulled back tightly in a bun, and prudish (Walker & Lawson, 1993; Kirkendall, 1986).

According to Storm (1987), stereotypes “are organized biases, which influence out behavior by giving us rigid expectations. They are examples of logical error based on generalizations, which are never truly accurate because they assume that a group of traits automatically go along with one attribute” (p. 111). Thus, some librarians may embody the stereotypical traits associated with their profession while others, even the majority, may exemplify polar opposite qualities.

Roles and Situational Influences on Mary’s Adornment

In the film Party Girl, Mary dresses differently for her role as a library clerk than for her role as a “party girl.” The film opens with Mary taking money from people coming to a party that she planned. She wears a bright red satin blouse with a plunging neckline, her breasts pushed up and out, with very short black sparkly hot pants over red patterned stockings. Her shoes are black with chunky high heels and she wears her hair down and curled. Her outfit is wild yet appropriate in a trendy party situation and accentuates the female erogenous zone of cleavage and legs. When Mary visits her Godmother at the library to ask for money, she remains in her “party girl” mode despite the bookish backdrop; at this point in the film, Mary has not yet agreed to work as a library clerk.
Table 1: Costume Changes by Scene for the Character, “Mary,” in *Party Girl*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene Number</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Adornment Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Loft Party</td>
<td>- very low cut red satin blouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- breasts pushed up and out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- short black hot pants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- multicolored sparkles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- red patterned tights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- parted on side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- curled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- black chunky high heels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- large gold heart necklace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>- white blouse w/ribbon around collar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- black vest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- leopard-print wrap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- red tights or leggings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- loosely pulled back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- high heels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- sunglasses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- red gloves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- multi-colored striped purse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- small flower earrings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Apartment</td>
<td>- black blouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- peasant-style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- (blousy and gauzy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- midriff-baring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- long black palazzo pants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- tight bun at nape of neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- heavily gelled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- split curls at sides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- 1920’s-style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- (not visible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- elbow-length blue satin gloves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- lollipop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- two long necklaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- bright red lipstick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nightclub</td>
<td>- brown print shirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- hooded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- green print suit jacket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- long skirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- vintage-looking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- matched jacket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- parted on side</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- (not visible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- black belt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>- green print suit jacket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- vintage-looking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- (not visible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- green print long skirt</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- (not visible)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- (not visible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- horn rimmed eyeglasses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- large ring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- striped handbag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Falafel Stand</td>
<td>- black t-shirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- blue sweater pulled up and over head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- worn jeans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- loose/flared at ankles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- parted on side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- barefoot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Party</td>
<td>- (see description for top)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- French twist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- pencil stuck through twist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- (not visible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- long necklace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- very little makeup; no lipstick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>- black dress with white stitching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- bell sleeves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- (not visible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- long necklace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- very little makeup; no lipstick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Apartment</td>
<td>- black t-shirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(belly dancing)</td>
<td>- blue sweater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- pulled up and over head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- worn jeans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- (not visible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- (not visible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- (not visible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- barefoot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scene Number</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>• hot pink shirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• green cuffs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• blue, green, &amp; yellow around waist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Library (after hours)</td>
<td>• hot pink shirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• yellow at waist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Falafel Stand</td>
<td>• (same as previous scene)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Nightclub</td>
<td>• black blouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>• tan print suit jacket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• white blouse underneath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Falafel Stand</td>
<td>• burgundy v-neck blouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• low cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• leopard print wrap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Falafel Stand</td>
<td>• black turtleneck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• black leather jacket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Falafel Stand</td>
<td>• mauve blouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• black tailored jacket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Falafel Stand</td>
<td>• black shirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• hooded faux fur coat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Falafel Stand</td>
<td>• blue shirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• black tailored jacket</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1: Costume Changes by Scene for the Character, “Mary,” in *Party Girl*, continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene Number</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Top</th>
<th>Bottom</th>
<th>Adornment Item</th>
<th>Shoes</th>
<th>Accessories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Apartment (record album organization)</td>
<td>off-white Chinese-style pajama top</td>
<td>off-white Chinese-style pajama bottoms</td>
<td>• down</td>
<td>• barefoot</td>
<td>• None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Apartment (before work)</td>
<td>floral-print dressing gown</td>
<td>see description for top</td>
<td>• down</td>
<td>• (not visible)</td>
<td>• None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>black chiffon blouse with ruffled collar &amp; transparent sleeve</td>
<td>short black skirt black pantyhose</td>
<td>• sides pulled back</td>
<td>• (not visible)</td>
<td>large gold heart necklace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>burgundy turtleneck green print suit jacket</td>
<td>red culottes red patterned tights</td>
<td>• down wavy parted on side</td>
<td>black high heels</td>
<td>red belt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Consignment Shop</td>
<td>heavy weight cream-colored sweater</td>
<td>tight black leather pants</td>
<td>• sides pulled back</td>
<td>• (not visible)</td>
<td>small earrings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>middle Eastern theme party</td>
<td>light blue long layered chiffon empire waist dress</td>
<td>satin pants with gold embroidery</td>
<td>• half down and wavy half piled on top of her head wig or extensions</td>
<td>black strappy high heels</td>
<td>large gold necklace with Arabic character huge dangling earrings bracelets rings very heavy eye makeup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>(same as previous scene)</td>
<td>(same as previous scene)</td>
<td>• (same as previous scene)</td>
<td>• (same as previous scene)</td>
<td>(same as previous scene)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Surprise Party</td>
<td>black turtleneck boxy gray suit jacket</td>
<td>gray skirt slightly above knee</td>
<td>• tight French twist</td>
<td>black pumps with gold decoration at toe</td>
<td>gold broach horn-rimmed eyeglasses small gold stud earrings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While some pieces of Mary’s clothing may be considered conservative, her outfits bring together elements of different styles in a very unique, unconventional manner. For example, in the first visit to the library, she wears a white blouse with a ribbon around the
collar, a black vest, a very short, tight red skirt over red patterned tights, blue high heeled shoes, and a leopard-print wrap. The white blouse may be considered conservative, but the pairing with other more unusual elements of her costume causes it to lose its conventionality.

The two wardrobe changes after Mary’s first visit to the library echo her party girl mentality: loud, carefree, and slightly obnoxious. However, the scene depicting her first time working as a library clerk (Table 1: Scene 5) shows Mary more toned down and even stereotypically librarian-like. In this scene, she wears a brown print hooded shirt with the requisite horn-rimmed eyeglasses and her hair pulled back in a loose bun. She dresses for her occupational role as a library clerk following guidelines set for a stereotypical librarian. In the next scene showing Mary working in the library (Table 1: Scene 8), her wardrobe is again simplified and more austere than the clothes she wears out of the library: a black dress with her hair in a French twist, a pencil stuck through the arrangement. Although she wears a long necklace, her makeup is very minimal and she does not wear lipstick.

The following library scene (Table 1: Scene 10), however, shows a marked difference in the clothing choice for her library clerk role. In this scene, Mary wears a hot pink shirt with a multi-colored waistband, short denim shorts, blue striped tights, and combat-like chunky black boots. Her accessories are equally wild: huge gold hoop earrings and a hair barrette adorned with multiple pieces of plastic fruit which she wears in her free-flowing hair. This costume selection is more relative of her role as a hip socialite party girl than of her role as a library clerk that was displayed in the two previous library scenes. Because of this definite difference, it is important to note that in
this scene, Mary’s Godmother severely reprimands her for making mistakes in coding books with the Dewey Decimal Classification system. Perhaps determined to prove her intelligence to her Godmother or perhaps fueled by martinis and beer, Mary sneaks into the library that night to secretly study the intricacies of the Dewey Decimal Classification system. While she is wearing the same clothing during her clandestine trip to the library, her hair is pulled back in a French twist and she no longer wears the fruit barrette; her style is slightly more subdued while she is serious about studying library-related material.

The next time we see Mary working in the library (Table 1: Scene 14), she wears a tailored tan print suit with a white blouse underneath the jacket. While the suit has an unusual, vintage look to it, Mary’s diligent studying pays off for the first time: she happily and proudly assists a library patron with difficult information. The next seven wardrobe changes show Mary either at a falafel stand on a New York City street corner or while she is in her apartment. Among the clothing she wears in these scenes are short hot pants with patterned stockings underneath, black leather pants and a matching jacket, high-heeled boots, and a short skirt: less conventional attire than what she usually wears to work at the library.

When Mary appears again in the library, she is dressed simply in black, the only accessory a gold heart necklace. The following scene also shows Mary at work, this time allowing herself to dress slightly less conventionally than usual for her library clerk role, though more modestly than when she is not at work (Table 1: Scene 23). In this scene, Mary loses her job because of her seeming nonchalance and irresponsibility, despite the fact that she is learning to love her job more each day. The costume in scene 25 (Table 1) illustrates the lengths Mary will go to in order to dress for her “party girl” role: she wears
an elaborate costume for a Middle Eastern theme party where she is a host (none of the guests dress in costume). She wears a light blue layered chiffon dress over embroidered satin pants. The top half of her hair is piled high on her head, the other half is down, loose, wavy, and much longer than usual, assisted by a wig or extensions. She wears very heavy eye makeup, a large gold necklace with an Arabic character, huge dangling earrings, and many rings and bracelets.

Mary wakes the next morning after passing out on the staircase and rushes to the library, still in the previous night’s clothes, ready to ask her Godmother for her job back and to gather as much information as possible about graduate programs in the field of Library Science. She discusses the pros and cons of different Library Science schools with librarians and arranges to meet her Godmother at her apartment that night to talk to her about her future plans.

When Mary returns home that evening expecting to meet her Godmother, she is instead met by a surprise birthday party in her honor. Her wardrobe in this scene makes it evident that she wants her Godmother to know that she is serious about a career in Library Science and thus she dresses in the style of a stereotypical librarian: a black turtleneck, a boxy dark suit jacket with a gold brooch on the lapel, a matching skirt, her hair pulled back in a tight French twist, sensible black low-heeled shoes with a gold decoration at the toe, and horn-rimmed eyeglasses: even her friends notice that she is “working a new look.” Despite her initial prudishness, Mary joins the festivities of the party when her Godmother agrees to let her return to work at the library. The viewer is left with an image of the party: Mary dances with her friends, a sliver of a “party girl” remaining within the present library clerk and the future librarian.
Wardrobe Analysis Relating to Stereotype

The film *Party Girl* is an excellent example of how dress changes with occupational roles. The clothing that Mary wears when she throws illegal parties or socializes at nightclubs is often very different than her attire when she is a library clerk, especially during the scenes when she enjoys her job and feels confident in her knowledge of the duties of a library worker. The differences in her clothing depending on her role also illustrate the librarian stereotype. As a librarian clerk, Mary’s appearance is more conservative (i.e. eyeglasses, hair in a bun or French twist) and her clothing is of a more muted palette (i.e. tan, black, gray) than her wardrobe as a “party girl.” Because of the bright colors and whimsical style of her “party girl” wardrobe, she nonverbally communicates to others that she is fun, outgoing, and carefree, while her comparatively somber appearance as a library clerk suggests to others that she fits all aspects of the librarian stereotype (i.e. quiet, mean/stern, prudish).

Mary’s wardrobe differences also demonstrate the idea of dress congruence: Mary’s apparel is generally appropriate for both her personality and for the situation (or job) in which she is involved. Although Mary’s wardrobe exemplifies and communicates many aspects of her life, her status and social class is learned through dialog in the film, rather than through her clothing. It is evident that she enjoys and even relishes designer label clothing, but whether she has enough money on a regular basis to buy it is questionable. In scene 7 (Table 1), she steals a designer dress from a closet at a party she attends. Furthermore, she must sell a large portion of her designer wardrobe to a consignment shop in order to pay rent after she loses her job as a library clerk (see Table 1: Scene 24). These details, however, are learned through Mary’s apparel.
Conclusion

Just as in any other profession, librarianship sees every facet of the human spirit. The major difference seems to be that a stereotype has been affixed to this profession and is now ingrained in the public’s eye. Despite the growing inclusion of professionals within the Library Science field who do not fit the common librarian stereotype, it is uncertain whether the stereotype will change or disappear in the near future or if the librarian stereotype has become too embedded in the public’s mind to dissolve.
References


Seeding the pathways
Enhancing the skills and knowledge of women in the Australian grains industry

Patricia Hamilton

Abstract

The focus of this paper is to highlight the changing role of women in the 21st century as they seek recognition and acknowledgment as recognised partners in the family farming business. Historically, women on family farms in Australia have not been recognised as a skilful and knowledgeable labour source. Men were the farmers. Women were the wives, daughters and mothers of farmers and did not need farming skills and agricultural knowledge to achieve this purpose. However, during the last two decades family farming, as a result of government policies, globalisation and new technologies, has become a highly complex business. This paper is divided into four sections. Firstly, I briefly examine the gendered nature of farming in Australia. Secondly, I explore counterpoints during last century, which challenged the gender relations and social practices in farming. I argue that agricultural organisations and communities accept women as sharing the farming partnership when the country appears under threat and, also, in times of economic and social hardship. In particular I point out the impact of World War 11 and the women’s movement on the social practices of farming. Thirdly, I discuss a strategy that women in the Australian grains industry have developed to challenge their secondary position in the grains industry by evaluating a capacity building program called Partners in Grain. The Australian grains industry through its Grains Research and Development Corporation acknowledges that the future of the industry depends on every member of the farming family being well-informed, embracing new technologies and having the skills to increase the profitability, productivity and sustainability of farming practices. Hence, the industry has funded a capacity building program to increase the confidence, skills and technical knowledge of women and young people to participate in the family farming business more effectively. Finally, I examine whether this commitment to involving women in core activities such as farm management is another short-term solution.
Cell Phones and Social Practices: Electronic Oral Culture

An international/intercultural analysis of the impact of Mobile Telephony

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Cell Phones and Social Practices

Perhaps no communications technology in history has experienced more rapid diffusion than the cell (mobile) telephone. What makes this particular technology so intriguing is that it seems to have infiltrated many societies around the globe, affecting individuals (albeit differently) in many countries, from the industrialized to the developing world, all within a relatively short period of time.

The very rapid diffusion of cell phone technology is, in itself, a fascinating subject that requires examination of both national fixed phone infrastructures and the rise of small, lower cost means of telecommunications that extend the ability to communicate over distances, but comparing different cultural experiences—particularly in countries where the users of cell phones leapfrog over traditional fixed phone systems also provides an interesting snapshot of the way in which some oral cultures adapt to a different, electronic orality made possible by electronic communications technologies.

This study compares the experiences of individuals in a number of countries representing different regions of the world, to better understand the role of the cell phone and what it means to individuals to be able to speak over distances anywhere, anytime. This presentation focuses on how cell phones are changing social practices in a few countries with the purpose of examining a framework for measuring social change. It is one aspect of a much longer, and more systematic study that delves further into the impact of social change caused, in part, by the presence and availability of cell phones, but for purposes of this conference, the scope of the study must be limited. The primary focus of this presentation, then, will be to examine the electronic orality and impact of cell phones in countries that are leapfrogging over traditional fixed telephone systems.

Two research questions guide this study:

1. How have mobile telephones changed communications opportunities for new social patterns and the behaviors of individuals in countries that have made mobile telephony available to their publics?

2. How do people understand and describe the experience of this type of communication? For example, how do they understand and describe the features they use, and how does the mobile phone fit into their lifestyles? Do individuals see this type of communication as a necessity or a luxury? What changes do cell phones provide to traditional cultures and communication patterns?

There is a vast body of literature on the impact of technologies on individuals, and within cultures, ranging from studies of technological diffusion to the social and economic impact of new technology, effects on literacy, and technology for development purposes. Theoretical positions incorporate historical, economic, political, cultural, religious, political-economic, and linguistic perspectives. For purposes of this paper, however, two theoretical perspectives and bodies of literature underscore the investigation of the impact of cell phones in two specific contexts; in countries representing the “most” technologically developed, like the U.S. and in northern European countries where fixed telephone systems are pervasive and available, and in the least technologically advanced regions of the world where mobile telephony has leapfrogged over systems of fixed telephony.
By comparing these two “types” of cell phone experiences, we can analyze the cell phone from the perspective of media ecology, and from the new, emerging theoretical position of network theory. These two perspectives are offered as a means of developing a comparative dimension of social change that is appropriate for a technology like cell phones. After all, while cell phones do indeed have unique characteristics, they also, in some cultural contexts, can be viewed as extensions of oral communication (McLuhan (1964), Ong (1982), Postman, (1985). Their social consequences cannot be divorced from their social use. Also, they carry the cultural baggage of earlier technological systems and available communications patterns in whatever situation in which they may be examined.

Perhaps the best known “media ecologist” was Neil Postman, whose theoretical position reflected the work of Innis (1951), Ellul (1964), and McLuhan (1964). While Postman often cited the “unique characteristics” of a medium as one of McLuhan’s greatest contributions to understanding the impact of any communications medium, he also embraced the cultural-change dimension of Innis (p.33) who drew attention to the important dimension of how knowledge was disseminated or changed over space and time, and the way the medium’s characteristics influenced social use within a cultural setting. Postman called the environment created in the face of a medium/socio-cultural setting relationship a major determinant of how different media would react to their cognitive, linguistic, cultural and social impact. The media ecologist examines the interaction between people and their communications technology and how media affect human perception, understanding, feeling and value. In the examination of cell phones and media ecology, it is possible to also draw from Meyerowitz (1985) who adds that “…the addition of a new medium to a culture alters the functions, significance, and effects of earlier media.”

But as we investigate the complexity of social interaction and telephone systems (fixed and mobile) on an intercultural/international scale, there can be a tendency to think in terms of cultural relativism. To counteract this possibility, the emerging study of network theory is used to find the resulting patterns, irrespective of intercultural/international difference.

Barabasi (2003) has written that the new field of network theory has begun to offer a paradigm shift that helps explain the organizing principles that shape the complex dynamics of converged technologies, like cell phones, or the Internet (227). The key issues involve the myriad numbers of nodes that technologies like cell phones and the Internet involve. When the number of points of contact in which there is both a human and a technological interface increase, network theory offers a way of combining seemingly incompatible systems, such as biological, ecological, cultural, economic, technological, infrastructural, etc. What productively emerges is a system of hierarchical structures that allow greater depth of analysis among what appear to be incommensurate issues and artifacts. By examining overlapping patterns of technological/social uses of a technology, the environment, as influenced by the presence of the cell phone can serve as a focus of analysis.

Network theory is counter to a scientific reductionism that emerged in the 20th Century (Barabasi, p. 6). As Barabasi writes; “Today we increasingly recognize that nothing happens in isolation. Most events and phenomena are connected, caused by, and interacting with a huge number of other pieces of a complex universal puzzle. We have
come to see that we live in a small world, where everything is linked to everything else. We are witnessing a revolution in the making as scientists from all different disciplines discover that complexity has a strict architecture. We have come to grasp the importance of networks (p. 7).

The Issues

Intercultural and international comparisons of cell phone use must be prefaced by the obvious reality that not all countries are equal, nor do they have similar experiences with fixed line telephony. The history of telephony and any wired system of communication (television, Internet, etc.) in a country provides a needed backdrop to understanding the way in which individuals can communicate over distance in every country. But while there are surveys and analyses of telecommunications penetration from every perspective (from governments, industries, NGOs, and international organizations like the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) and the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), most studies until recently, focused on the “digital divide” meaning the unequal “balance” of communications technologies in and among countries. Very few studies have actually focused on what people do with communications technology once they have it, or, more importantly, how they change behavior once a new technology is available.

There have been two primary problems with fixed telephony; the cost to the user and the cost of developing, maintaining, and upgrading the expensive infrastructure necessary to facilitate fixed line calls. With mobile telephony the scenario changes a bit. Figuring out how to develop technologies that use the same technical standards and computing the cost to the user(s) are still important, but in the cell phone industry, change is more rapid than in any other communications technologies. While we might be familiar with “Moore’s Law” which states that the ability to put microprocessors on a computer chip doubles every 18 months; the actual upgrade to the next standard of cell phone is now possible every 6 months (Ganswindt, 2005).

The Examples

Ask any college student in the United States today who spends on average, $40-80 a month on cell phone use (but protests the high cost of textbooks) about the sophistication of the average U.S. cell phone, and they will tell you that the best phones have photographic ability, text messaging, ring tones, and expanded memory for phone book functions. It is difficult for them to conceive of the myriad of functions that cell phones in other countries have, such as the ability to download songs, WiFi, gaming, streaming video, and IP capabilities, often at a significantly lower rate than that charged to users in the U.S. When it comes to cell phones, the United States is very much behind the times.

The U.S. and Other Industrialized Nations

Without a doubt, cell phones take on one set of meanings in countries that have also had a significant history with fixed phones. In the U.S. where deregulation of the telephone industry spurred a level of competition among regional companies (most especially the Baby Bells), fixed line telephony is in reach of 98% of the population. Calling prices that frontloaded costs to businesses while reducing home phone line cost, despite the local/distance disparity, made cell phones in the U.S. a luxury in the early days of cell phone use. Almost all cell phone manufacturers in the U.S. first marketed the cell phones as either business tools, or, touted the safety features of having a cell
phone for the family. Only after the switching systems became compatible, did the actual use of cell phones really flourish in the U.S. The U.S. is also unique in the world because of the features of advanced PDAs, like Blackberries, which seem to fit in a culture where Americans “live to work” while in other countries, the idea of constant contact with work is less popular (Gandswindt 2005).

In many other parts of the world the 3G cell phones have features that we do not yet embrace in the U.S. In Japan, for example, 3G phones enable full motion video on cell phones. In a culture where the people have often long commutes on public transportation, the ability to watch TV or a film on a cell phone makes more sense than it does in the U.S., where we often drive to work, and no matter how long the commute, other services are available (like subscription radio).

In other industrialized countries where fixed line telephony was present, the cell phones actually ushered in an era of communication that was at a lower cost than the fixed line service. In some countries, like Finland (the most “mobile” culture), the size of the country did not require compatible systems that could link over great distances. Once third generation phones (3G) were introduced, the calling distance became greater. But what most industrialized countries other than the U.S. have in common is that the pricing structure for phone use was radically different than in the U.S., where a cell phone user is charged time for incoming and outgoing calls. In most other industrialized countries (and indeed, throughout most of the world), callers pay only for messages they send, but not those they receive. This feature significantly contributed to rapid diffusion of cell phones in those countries.

Additionally, features like text messaging and other interactive services became critical features of the cell phone’s success. Unlike the U.S. where the Internet had infiltrated many homes and instant messaging and e-mail became much more popular than traditional mail or phone systems, other industrialized nations used these services far more than Americans did.

Cell Phones in the Third World

Without a doubt, the cell phone has contributed greater change in third world nations where fixed line infrastructures were either too expensive, outmoded, or nonexistent. With comparative costs of cell vs. fixed line, the cell phone became a popular alternative to traditional communication. In most of these countries, additional, enhanced services have ushered a new communications environment. It is in these countries, too, where some of the greatest social changes have begun to take hold. For example, social relations in Islamic countries where there has been a traditional separation of males and females may now see centuries of tradition change within a short period of time. Young men and women have traditionally been kept separate; marriages are often arranged, and parents strictly control their children’s interactions. But with cell phones in Turkey and Saudi Arabia, for example, cell phones used by young people may be breaking down that traditional separation of the sexes. Phone calls that can be kept private have allowed greater interaction among young people. Phone dating, and even phone sex are now common in some of the world’s most traditional cultures.

Some of the examples are somewhat humorous, but demonstrate the impact of social uses of cell phones. Korea is an excellent example of cells gone wild; in 1960
South Korea had only one fixed line phone for every 300 people. Today, 90% of the households have fixed line phones, and three-quarters of the population carry mobile phones. Among the features on a typical cell phone in Korea, include access to financial accounts (like bank accounts), on-line computer games, ring tones and avatars (little cartoon-like characters) that appear as “digital representatives” on mobile phone screens and in on-line games. Some new phones even have the ability to transmit high-quality video, and LG Electronics has introduced a phone with a built-in video recorder which switches to a record mode when the user has to take or make a call (The Economist, 2005, April 2-8, p. 8-9.)

Similarly, other countries and regions have spurred the growth of many new content services and industries. According to the March 12-18, 2005 issue of The Economist:

Catholics can sign up for daily inspirational text messages from the pope simply by texting “Pope On” to a special number. The Irish Jesuits offer a service called Sacred Space, accessible via smartphone which encourages users to spend ten minutes reflecting on specially chosen scripture for the day. In Taiwan, limited-edition phones made by Okwap, a local handset-maker, offer Matsu wallpaper and religious ring tones, along with a less tangible feature—each one has been specially blessed at a temple to Matsu. And Muslims around the world can use the F700 handset, launched last July [2004] by LG of South Korea, both to remind them of prayer times (the phone has an alarm system that works in 500 cities) and to find the direction of Mecca using the handset’s built-in “Mecca indicator” compass (Technology Quarterly, pp. 12 and 15).

Belief in the importance of numbers is also a personal thing. James Katz, an authority on cell phones and social practices has written that: “It’s not uncommon even for migrant workers to pay up to a month’s salary for a lucky telephone number (Katz, as quoted in The Economist (2002, p. 15).”

Belief in the voice and the spirit is also evident in some countries. In Finland, a service was shut down because it claimed to provide text messages from Jesus for the equivalent of $1.55. In the Philippines, some people would ask for absolution from their sins and receive absolution via text messaging (The Economist, p. 15).

Wireless Broadband: WiBro

In many countries around the world, the technologies that facilitate growth and low cost of cell phones and services increasingly embrace wireless broadband (WiBro) which multiplies the options for cell phones at no appreciable additional cost. Examples of new services that are available in some regions include the ability to check radio frequency tagged goods (like the date of milk or produce) for everyday use. Already it is possible to make purchases over the handset and pay for goods in some regions. Simpay in Spain is a company that will allow users to pay for goods over the handset (starting summer, 2005), but could easily transfer to the entire EU.

There are also creative approaches toward making telephony available in some of the poorest regions of the Third World:
Phones are widely shared and rented out by the call, for example by the “telephone ladies” found in Bangladeshi villages. Farmers and fishermen use mobile phones to call several markets and work out where they can get the best price for their produce. Small businesses use them to shop around for supplies. Mobile phones are used to make cashless payments in Zambia and several other African countries. Even though the number of phones per 100 people in poor countries is much lower than in the developed world, they can have a dramatic impact: reducing transaction costs, broadening trade networks and reducing the need to travel, which is of particular value for people looking for work. Little wonder that people in poor countries spend a larger proportion of their income on telecommunications than those in rich ones (“The real digital divide”).

Analysis
Traditional arguments about the inequities of the digital divide seem to be in question when it comes to the diffusion of cellular phones. Once again, part of the answer might lie in the way they allow individuals to leapfrog over traditional communications media that required literacy or significant infrastructural development. A bevy of articles in recent issues of The Economist magazine predict a great future for cell phones, opining that perhaps cell phones will be the engine of creating greater economic growth in the developing world.:

… when it comes to mobile phones, there is no need for intervention or funding from the UN: even the world’s poorest people are already rushing to embrace mobile phones because their economic benefits are so apparent. Mobile phones do not rely on a permanent electricity supply and can be used by people who cannot read or write.

The digital divide that really matters, then, is between those with access to a mobile network and those without. The good news is that the gap is closing fast. The UN has set a goal of 50% access by 2015, but a new report from the World Bank notes that 77% of the world’s population already lives within range of a mobile network (Calling across the divide).

But though the availability and use of cell phones may grow rapidly, every technological development also comes with some not-so-pleasant issues as well. Rule has articulated the position that the possibility of cell phones contributing to more of a surveillance society is worthy of consideration (Katz and Aakhus 2002).

Likewise, the dominant countries who will become leaders in the cellular technologies will also see some shifts from traditional players to new leaders, like the Chinese, who may well become the world leaders in wireless technology using 3G (Steinbock 2003).

Media Ecology and Network Theory

The real impact of cell phones in various cultures does, however, suggest using new methods to interpret the importance of social change. To consider how media ecology and network theory operate conjointly as a framework for analysis, it is possible
to remember Harold Innis’ movement toward evaluating economic and social indicators together. To do this it is possible to retrace some of Innis’ writings which underscore both theories. “…Innis postulated a six-dimensional concept of social action and then dealt with the interaction of social phenomena as seen from the point of view of each dimension. By clear implication this interaction involved two independent factors, physical constraints and values (Neill 1972, 84).”

To describe Innis’ ideas, we could chart them as:

**PHYSICAL CONSTRAINTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical forces</th>
<th>Social forces</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i.e. infrastructures, economy)</td>
<td>(i.e. education, religion)</td>
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**VALUES**

If one were to begin to examine the impact of cell phones in the industrialized world, it would be possible to start with issues of the physical constraints and move systematically in a clockwise manner until all logical connections were made in the cultural analysis. To examine changes in cultures that have traditionally favored oral communication, the pattern would be reversed; one would start from the bottom section on values and proceed in a counterclockwise rotation to link the various components in a manner that would honor the traditions of an oral society. The end result however, whatever the status of the region and the direction of the inquiry, would result in all of the critical components being addressed, and therefore, comparisons would be along the same criteria, though the approach from a different, more culturally sensitive perspective.

While Innis might not have been able to predict his contributions to a systematic understanding of network theory, his components do give order and structure to developing a coherent approach to comparative case studies and contexts. Tied to media ecology as an explanation of what happens in the process of an emerging environment, Innis’ contributions to network theory take on an even greater import.

In the case of the impact of cell phones in the developing world, we can see that the traditional values of an oral society take precedence over social organization and perceived utility of the communications medium. If we consider that oral societies have a strong connection to homeostasis (Goody and Watt 1968, pp. 31-4) which grounds action in the present. The “structural amnesia” that results is also critical to understanding how using a technology that merely extends the verbal/oral values is a boon to this type of technology’s use.
Secondarily, oral societies reify the sense of the spirit; therefore, the use of cell technology for religious purposes, as evidenced in our examples, may be less surprising in a developing society than in an industrialized one, where we might question the use of the technology for such a seemingly “heathen” purpose.

Finally, but most importantly, it is the communal aspect of the oral society that has lent itself so well to the communal sharing of cell phones for specific purposes. The sense of shared property is then, not an obstacle, but rather, a means of participating in the traditional culture despite the addition of the technology; completely antithetical to the values of the industrialized nations where sole ownership and individual contract/control/ownership is a part of the activity of using a cell phone.

The one traditional variable that does change in the examples given of using cell phones in developing countries has to do with the creation of a location of privacy. Cell phones by their portable nature, can be used for very private communication in communal societies. It is not surprising though, that the shift of using cell phones in public places for private conversations is the most upsetting feature of using cell phones in industrialized nations!

Media ecology definitely describes the new environment that is the result of any social change caused by technology. But on the case of oral societies that undergo changes, we can see how an ordering of principles goes along with the social change. To avoid major culture shock, adopting and diffusing technology through traditional means demonstrates how well a technology can introduce change in a non-threatening way. For that, cell phone technology may be unique.

References and Further Reading:


1. Title of the submission: An International Study of Gender Differences of the Fourth Graders in Reading Literacy Achievement and Non-Achievement Self-Measures

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An International Study of Gender Differences of the Fourth Graders in Reading
Literacy Achievement and Non-Achievement Self-Measures

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Abstract
This study investigated gender differences in reading literacy achievement, and self-reported measures of reading attitude, self-perception of reading ability, reading development behavior including in- and outside-school reading activities, reading for homework, computer use, and home possessions and reading resources at fourth grade in the cross-national and cross-cultural international settings. Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) and discriminant analyses were conducted, using the data of Germany, Hong Kong, Iran, Morocco, and the United States from the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) 2001 database. Findings indicate that Iranian fourth grade males significantly outscored their female counterparts on the scale of overall reading literacy development behavior, though across the five nations or region females generally outperformed their male counterparts on all the reading achievement measures and outsored the male peers in most of the self-reported measures. Findings also indicate that at both upper and lower quartiles, fourth grade females tended to show more positive attitude toward reading literacy than males although males tended to have more frequent access to computers and more home literacy resources than their female peers.
Key words: gender difference, reading literacy attitude, perception of reading ability, reading literacy development behavior, reading literacy achievement, self-reported measures, fourth graders, cross-cultural and international study, multivariate and discriminant analysis.

Introduction

Reading literacy development is a complex process. The PIRLS framework (Campbell, Kelly, Mullis, Martin, & Sainsbury, 2001) identifies three major reading and literacy learning contexts: national and community context, home context, and school context. Related to these contexts are national demographics and resources, home-based language fostering activities, language at home, home resources, home-school connections, student’s outside school literacy activities, school environment and resources, teacher and instruction related factors (Campbell, et al., 2001).

Past studies have explored a broad range of social and personal factors to explain differences in school achievements. Among those social factors are home environment and possessions (Bloom, 1986; Keith, Reimers, Fehrmann, Pitterbaum, & Aubrey, 1986; Verna & Campbell, 1999), classroom or school structure and community learning environment (Alexander & Pallas, 1983; Bryk & Driscoll, 1988; Murimba, Moyo, Pfukani, Machingaidze, & Mtembo, 1994; Purkey & Smith, 1983); parent backgrounds and support (e.g., Christenson, Rounds, & Gorney, 1992; Lynch, 2002; National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 1977), and socioeconomic status (SES) (e.g., Balli, 1996; Bracey, 1996; Rosenthal, Meline, Ginsburg, & Baker; 1981; Sojourner & Kushner, 1997).

I would like to thank Dr. Diane Monrad for her thoughtful review and feedback upon an earlier draft of the paper.
Social-cognitive and developmental behavior researchers (e.g., Bong, 1999; Eccles, Wigfield, Harold & Blumenfeld, 1993; Pintrich & Schrauben, 1992; Wigfield & Eccles, 1992) also investigated multiple personal factors such as motivation, attitude, self-concept or self-perception of ability that could affect students’ school performance, particularly achievement in reading literacy and mathematics. Past studies have found association between students’ attitude/self-concept and reading literacy achievement (e.g., Byrne, 1986; Diamond & Onwuegbuzie, 2001; Hansford & Hattie, 1982; Shavelson & Bolus, 1982; Wilgenbusch & Merrell, 1999).

Diamond and Onwuegbuzie (2001) investigated reading achievement and attitude as a function of grade, gender, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status for grades K-5 students, and found a significant relationship between reading achievement and attitudes toward reading. Hansford and Hattie (1982) conducted a meta-analysis of 128 studies and found correlations between self-concept and achievement ranged from -.77 to .96.

For many decades, the issue of gender difference has been one of the popular topics in educational, behavioral, and sociological research. Boys and girls grow, socialize, and learn quite differently. This is even more salient under different cultural and international contexts.

Studies and reports on gender differences in reading achievement within many countries and cross countries have been generally in favor of females (Elley, 1992, 1994; Mulli, Martin, Gonzalez, & Kennedy, 2003; Thorndike, 1973; Wagemaker, Taube, Munck, Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides, & Martin, 1996).
In a reading study conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) in 1991, nine-year-old girls significantly outperformed boys in 19 out of 27 countries (Elley, 1992, 1994). In the Progress in the International Literacy Study (PIRLS) 2001 (Mullis and colleagues, 2003), overall results showed that the fourth grade females had significantly higher achievement than their male peers for both reading purpose scores and overall reading literacy achievement in each country, and more pronounced for achievement in the section of the literary experience purpose than that for the informational purpose.

In their synthesis of an extensive literature review, Bond and Dykstra (1997) reported that females consistently outperformed males in reading achievement, regardless of the age of the students, according to various research results (i.e., Balow, 1963; Carroll, 1948; Gates, 1960; Heilman, 1961; Puley, 1951; Tomplin, 1957; Wejen & Gramlis, 1963 [as cited in Bond & Dykstra, 1997, and Diamond & Onwuegbuzie, 2001]).

Probably the most well-known demographic or social factor related to students’ school achievement is socio-economic status (SES). Although methods of operationalizing SES may vary, most often cited SES indicators include lunch status, family income, parent educational level, house location and age, and home possessions. Many studies have found association between students’ socio-economic status and their academic achievement, especially in reading literacy (e.g., Alwin & Thornton, 1984; Diamond & Onwuegbuzie, 2001; Purcell-Gates,

In an 18-year longitudinal study, Alwin and Thornton (1984) found a strong relationship between SES and verbal ability, current placement, and amount of schooling that one receives. They also found that high school grade point average was related to socioeconomic status, and that effects in the early developmental years (i.e., preschool and early elementary school) were stronger. They concluded that socioeconomic factors might have a greater impact on schooling outcomes, including reading achievement, at earlier ages.

In another reading study of fifteen countries conducted by the IEA in 1973, results indicated the socio-economic status was one of the most important contributing predictors for reading achievement (Thorndike, 1973). Walberg and Tsai (1984) documented that 13-year-olds with higher SES had higher reading achievement scores on the 1997-1980 NAEP tests than did students from low SES families. They included in the determination of SES such factors as educational level of parents and the presence of books and magazines at home.

In a more recent investigation, Walker and others (1994) reported that children from low socio-economic homes had lower scores on reading and spelling standardized achievement tests across the elementary grades. Differences were attributed to early language experiences that were associated with low SES, with those from low socioeconomic homes being at a distinct disadvantage.

Taking into account the association between SES and student achievement, SES, as an important factor or indicator, should be included in this study of the
relationship between teachers’ assessment practices and students’ reading literacy achievement.

Much of the literature on the studies of gender differences in attitude toward reading also favors females, especially for children of young age or early grades (Anderson, Tollefson, & Gilbert, 1985; Parker & Paradis, 1986; Shapiro, 1980, 1990; Stevenson & Newman, 1986; Wilgenbusch & Merrell, 1999). Females also tended to show more positive attitude toward reading with increased years of schooling than those of their male counterparts (e.g., Barnett & Irwin, 1994; Davies & Brimber, 1993; McKenna, Kear, & Ellsworth 1995; Kush & Watins, 1996).

Anderson, et al. (1985) studied the attitude toward reading of 276 intellectually gifted students in Grades 1 through 12. Overall, females in the study reported statistically significantly more positive attitudes toward reading than did males. In a study involving students enrolled in public schools in the Rocky Mountain region, and using a random sample, Parker and Pardis (1986) found significant differences between males and females in Grade 4 through 6, with females reporting statistically more positive attitudes toward reading than did males.

In a meta-analysis of 22 articles on gender difference, Wilgenbusch and Merrell (1999) found that, females reported a higher level of self-concept in verbal than male participants across sample groups (i.e., total sample, mixed sample, elementary grade sample, and secondary-grade sample) although in other content areas or constructs (i.e., Global, mathematics, physical appearance,
athletic/psychomotor coordination, emotional/affect) the pictures of gender differences are mixed.

Studies undertaken outside the United States have also supported the above-findings in attitude toward reading among male and female students. Davies and Brimer (1993), in their investigation of gender differences in a British primary school, reported that the attitudes of females aged 6-11 years toward reading and reading materials were more favorable than were those of their male counterparts.

In relation to their differences in reading literacy achievement, how males and females differ in multivariate (i.e., social and psycho-cognitive) dimensions is of great interest to educational decision-makers, and educators at large, for understanding the general pattern of gender differences in terms of their literacy development behavior will help us to find best practice and optimize our educational resources and pedagogy that fit different gender. This paper intended to compare and examine how 4th grade males and females differed in their self-reported measures including perceptions and attitudes, and behavior toward reading literacy, and in their actual reading literacy performance across nations simultaneously. As past studies indicated boys and girls differed in multivariate self-measures across ability levels (gifted versus low-achievers) (e.g., Derevensky, Hart, & Farrel, 1981; Long, Manning, & Manning, 1985), this paper also investigated whether and how fourth grade males and females differed in self-measures at different level of ability or achievement (i.e., at the top and bottom level of achievements).
Therefore, the purpose of this study, as one of the secondary analyses to the PIRLS 2001 Database, was to investigate multi-differential gender-related factors that interplay in the 4th grade students’ reading literacy development and reading literacy performance in culturally and linguistically diversified countries or regions. More specifically, it examined the multivariate relationships between 4th graders’ reading literacy development factors (particularly, self-perception and attitude toward reading, home study environment or resources, classroom learning environment, in school and outside-school reading activities, and computer use), and reading literacy achievement across genders at international level. The study explored the following research questions:

1.) Do the 4th grade boys and girls differ in overall reading literacy development behavior and/or in reading literacy achievement across the five nations in the same way?

2.) What are the distinctive features that differentiate the higher reading literacy achieving boys and girls in relation to their reading literacy development behavior and their reading literacy performance under cross national settings?

3.) What are the distinctive features that differentiate the low reading literacy achieving boys and girls in relation to their reading literacy development and their reading literacy performance under cross national settings?

Methods

Based on geographical locations, and language types, a stratified representative sample of five nations or region (i.e., Germany, Hong Kong, Iran, Morocco, and the United States) were selected from the 35 nations or region in the PIRLS 2001 database.
This sample, to a certain degree, represent culturally, and linguistically diversified countries. The population of the study was the fourth graders in the five countries or region mentioned above, and the samples comprised approximately, 25,000 cases merged for the five nations or region from the PIRLS 2001.

Two types of study were conducted: multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) and discriminant analyses. The variables used for the 1st study include the outcome variables-- students’ reading literacy assessment scores which is composed of three aspects (i.e., reading achievement score for acquiring or using information purpose, reading achievement score for literary experience purpose, and overall reading achievement score), as assessed by the PIRLS-2001 achievement test. The non-achievement self-measures included student’s attitude toward reading literacy, students’ self-concept of reading literacy, students’ reading development behavior (i.e., in class and outside of classroom reading literacy-related activities, follow-up reading assessment activities, reading for homework, TV watching behavior, student’s home environment or resources, students’ feeling about classroom and school literacy learning environment as measured by the student questionnaire) (see Appendix for the descriptions of the variables).

Correlations among the reading achievement scores (criterion variables), and self-measures were studied. A factorial multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA), using the six scales—reading for acquiring and using information, reading for literary experience, and overall reading achievement, reading attitude, self-perception in reading literacy, and overall reading development/practice as repeated measures, was conducted
to investigate the multivariate relations among various self-measures and the criterion variables.

For the second study, a subset was used that contains only the upper quartile (75th percentile and above) and the lower quartile (25th percentile and below) data points of the above-mentioned five nations or region on the international benchmark.

The first discriminant analysis was conducted in order to describe the gender differential features that may distinguish boys and girls at or above the upper quartile across the five nations or region, using the gender as the classification variable, and a series of self-measures as indicator or discriminating variables (e.g., self-concept, reading attitude, home reading literacy resources, in class and outside school reading activities, reading for homework, and reading literacy-related home possessions) gathered from the student questionnaires.

The second discriminant analysis was conducted to describe the differential features that set apart boys and girls at the bottom 25th percentile across the five nations or region. Similar to the top students' study, gender was used as the classification variable, and self-concept of reading, reading attitude, home literacy resources, in school and outside school reading activities, reading for homework, and reading literacy-related home possessions along with the criterion variables were used as discriminating variables.

Results

Study 1

**Correlation of Variables and Multivariate Analysis of Variance of Six Measures or Scales.** Table 1 illustrates the correlations among the self-measures and the criterion variables. For both boys and girls, students’ self-perception about reading was moderately
positively correlated to their overall reading achievement \( (r = .309, \text{ and } r = .344 \) respectively). Students’ attitude toward reading was slightly positively \( (r = .114, \text{ and } r = .041, \) respectively) related to their overall reading achievement. Student home language use and home possessions are positively \( (r = .466^a/454^b, \text{ and } r = .542^a/.528^b, \) respectively) correlated to their reading achievement. Students’ second portion of things outside school, and their home learning resources are slightly positive related to their reading achievement. Moderately negative correlations were found between students’ overall reading achievement—the criterion variable and the first port of students’ things outside of school \( (r = -.232^a/-245^b) \), between the criterion variable and students’ after-class reading assessment activities \( (r = -.359^a/-370^b) \), and between the criterion variable and student reading for homework \( (r = -.293^a/-268^b) \). Slightly negative relations were found between the criterion variable and students’ computer use \( (r = -.085^a/-060^b) \), and between the criterion and students’ feeling about school \( (r = -.006^a/-022^b) \). A comparison of the correlations cross gender did not show any significant difference between girls and boys among the correlations between the criterion variable—overall reading achievement and self-measures although noticeable gender difference was found on the correlation between the criterion and the students’ attitude toward reading, and the correlation between the students’ literacy practice and their reading self-perception.

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Figure 1 visually depicts the gender differences in overall reading literacy development practice or behavior across the five nations or region. Table 2 provides the descriptive statistics of the six scales across the five nations or region.

\[ \text{the correlation coefficient for the girls, and } \text{the correlation coefficient for the boys.} \]
The six scales included (1.) reading achievement for acquiring and using information, (2.) reading achievement for literary experience, (3.) overall reading achievement, (4.) reading self-perception, (5.) reading attitude, and (6.) overall reading literacy development behavior (see Appendix for the details of variables).

As consistent with the PIRLS 2001 Report, across the five countries or region, girls showed higher mean scores on five of the six scales—reading achievement for acquiring and using information, reading achievement for literary experience, overall reading achievement, reading self perception, and reading attitude.

However, on scale 6 (overall reading literacy practice or development behavior), Iranian 4th grade males showed higher mean scores than their female counterparts. For other four nations or regions, girls on average outscored boys on this scale, too.

As shown in Table 3, the multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) of the six scales (repeated measures) indicated three significant interaction effects (a country × scale × sex three-way interaction, two significant two way interactions: scale × sex, and scale × country), and a scale main effect. As a secondary research to the PIRLS 2001, the current study focused on the sex by scale interaction.

As illustrated by Table 4, the follow-up multiple t-tests of scales between boys and girls indicated that except for Iran, girls did significantly better than their male
counterparts in all the six scales. As for Iran, girls outdid the boys in five of the six scales. On the sixth scale of overall reading development practice, however, Iranian boys outsored the girls significantly. To maintain the overall Type I error rate at .05, a significant level for each test was set at .0008. All the tests were significant at the adjusted Bonferroni alpha level.

Study 2

Discriminant Analysis 1 for Boys and Girls at the Upper Quartile International Benchmark. As shown by Table 5, at and above the upper quartile international benchmark for the five nations or region under discussion, girls outperformed boys on all the subscales in relation to reading literacy achievement, i.e., on the measures for reading achievement for acquiring and using information purpose, reading achievement for literary experience purpose, and for overall reading achievement. As for the self-measures, girls scored higher than boys on some aspects of “[reading literacy] things outside of school [portion 1]” (see Appendix for detail), reading follow-up assessment activities, reading attitude, self-perception of reading ability, feelings about school literacy learning environment, home possessions, whereas boys scored slightly higher than girls on the subscale of “things outside school” [portion 2], reading for homework, home oral language use opportunity, and overall home reading literacy resources.

As shown by Table 6, for higher achievers, correlation coefficients between each of the three reading dimension scales and the self-measures are moderate or weak,
ranging from naught to about .23 (e.g., \( r = .23 \) for reading for literary experience purpose [plausible value 1] and home oral language use, \( r = .21 \) for reading for literary experience purpose [plausible value 1] and student reading perception, and \( r = .20 \) for home reading literacy resources, \( r = .21 \) for overall reading achievement [plausible value 1] and student reading perception). The associations among most of the background variables or self-measures are weak. Moderately positive correlations are found between “things outside of school” portion 1 and portion 2 (reading practice outside school, see Appendix for detail) and student follow-up assessment activities, between reading practice outside school 1 (see Appendix for detail) and student reading attitude, and between home oral language use opportunity and home literacy resources, and between home possessions and home reading literacy resources. The highest positive correlation (\( r = .87 \)) was found between computer use and home literacy resources as they share something in common.

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Table 7 and Table 8 provide eigenvalues and significant test of the function. The eigenvalues for the discriminant function for top student boys and girls is .091 and canonical correlation is .289. Wilks’ Lambda for the test of this function (.916) and Chi-square statistics (322.947) indicates this discriminant function is significant (\( p < .001 \)).

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As shown by Table 9, when we examine the standardized function coefficients for top portion of the students, home reading literacy resources (Tothmres) makes the greatest contribution. Students’ reading attitude (Totratti) and computer use (Totcompu) also contributed significantly. All other variables make no significant contribution to the function.

When we examine the within-group correlation between the variables and the discriminant function (see Table 10), student’s attitude toward reading has the highest correlation (.651), followed by student’s feeling about the literacy learning environment (.382), computer use (-.347), and home reading resources (-.306). This function might be characterized as the “reading attitude-home reading resources” continuum dimension.

Table 11 illustrates the group means at centroids. We may infer that top boys and girls across the five above-mentioned nations or region mainly differed in their attitude toward reading literacy development. The boys tended to show low scores in their attitude toward reading scale, whereas the girls tended to indicate high scores in this scale that were assessed by the PIRLS student background questionnaires. Upper quartile boys also tended to have more frequent computer use, and more abundant home reading resources than their female counterparts.
Discriminant Analysis 2 for Boys and Girls at the Lower Quartile International Benchmark. As shown by Table 12, at the lower quartile international benchmark for the five nations or region under discussion, girls outperformed boys on the most of the subscales in relation to reading literacy achievement, i.e., on the measures for reading achievement for acquiring and using information purpose (asrinf01-asrinf05), some portions of reading achievement for literary experience purpose (asrlit01 and asrlit04), and for overall reading achievement except for asrrea03. As for the background or self-measure subscales, girls outscored boys on the aspects of “[reading literacy] things outside of school,” “reading practice after class” or assessment activities, reading for homework, reading attitude, reading self-perception, feeling about school literacy learning atmosphere, home oral language opportunity, home possessions, whereas, boys outscored girls in the subscales of reading for literary experience purpose (asrlit02, asrlit03) and overall reading achievement (asrrea03), and in their responses to the aspects of computer use, and home reading literacy resources.

As shown by Table 13, for lower literacy achievers, correlations between each of the three reading dimension criterion scales and the self-measures are weak, and mostly negative, ranging from naught to about -.21 (e.g., r = -.21 for asrinf01 and “things outside of school” portion 1, r = -.21 for reading to acquire and use information

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For each aspect of reading achievement, PIRLS 2001 has five plausible values or replicated scores (e.g., asrinf01-asrinf05, scores for informative purpose). Each of them is a valid measure.
[plausible value 1](asrinf01) and student follow-up assessment activities, and $r = -0.214$
for reading to acquire and use information [plausible value 1](asrrea01) and “things outside school” [portion 1]. The associations among most of the self-measures are moderate or weak. Moderately positive correlations are found between “things outside of school portion 1 or portion 2 (reading practice outside school, see Appendix for detail) and student follow-up assessment activities ($r = 0.59$, and $r = 0.47$), between reading practice outside school (portion 1) and student reading attitude ($r = 0.423$), and between home oral language use opportunity and home literacy resources ($r = 0.46$), and between students “things outside of school” (portion 1) and feelings about school literacy learning environment ($r = 0.32$). Similar to the findings with higher achievers, the highest positive correlation ($r = 0.92$) was found between computer use and home literacy resources as the subscales may overlap or share something in common.

Table 14 shows the eigenvalue for the discriminant function is 0.074 and the canonical correlation is 0.263. Wilks’ Lambda test (.931) in Table 15 indicates that the discriminant function is statistically significant ($p < .001$).

As shown by Table 16, for the lower achievers—bottom portion of the students, home reading literacy resources (Tothmres) makes the greatest contribution. Computer use (Totcompu) makes next most significant contribution.
Variables of overall reading achievement (asrrea04), reading for information purpose (asrinf03), reading for literacy purpose (asrlit02), and home oral language opportunity (homelang) also contributed significantly to the function.

In examining the correlations between the discriminant function and variables (Table 17), we find that students’ attitude toward reading has the highest correlation (.482), followed by “things outside school” (portion 1) (.434), and students’ “feeling about school literacy learning atmosphere” (.313), “reading for homework” (.292) and reading perception (.257) with moderate positive coefficients. Thus, this function is mainly concerned with reading attitude and perception, and we may call it the “reading attitude and perception” dimension.

Examining the group means at centroids for the bottom portion of the five nations or region (Table 18), we find that similar to the findings with the top students, for lower achieving students, boys tended to be low in reading attitude scale measure, whereas girls would tend to hold more positive attitude toward reading literacy.

Summary and Discussion

The multivariate analysis of variance of the six scales (three achievement scales and three non-achievement measures) indicated a significant scale by
gender interaction effect, and the post hoc univariate analysis provided evidence that across the five nations or region, girls generally outperformed boys in all the aspects of reading literacy achievement tests, and girls also had higher scores in self-perception of reading, reading attitude, and outside school reading activities than boys. This finding is consistent with the IEA previous studies and PIRLS 2001. However, Iranian boys outscored the Iranian girls in respect of overall reading literacy practice or development activities. As the five nations or region chosen represent different national performance levels, and Iran was at the low performance level as compared with Germany, the United States, and Hong Kong, and the only Islam nation chosen, the differences across gender in literacy achievement and in their responses to some of the categorical scales may be country-specific or culturally determinate, for in Islam countries females are usually more constrained in socialization and this may negatively affect their self-perception of ability and attitude toward reading and thence their overall reading literacy developmental practice or behavior.

An examination of the correlations between the criterion variables (the three aspects of reading literacy achievement and the non-achievement self-reported measures indicated that only moderate positive association was found between students’ self-perception of reading and the criterion variables, and weak relations were found between the criterion and most of the self-measures. Although negative correlations were found between students’ reading achievement--criterion variable and the first portion of students’ outside-of-school reading activities, between the criterion variable and students’ after-school reading

20
assessment, and between the criterion variable and student reading for homework, between the criterion variable and students’ computer use, and between the criterion and students’ feeling about school, we should be cautious of interpretation and implication as the magnitude of the correlation was so small. It may indicate that those classification measures or constructs need to be redefined; or, those classification variables are highly inter-correlated, but only marginally correlated to the criterion variables, and therefore multi-collinearity remains, which calls for further analyses.

For both top and bottom portion of the students, girls tended to have more positive attitude toward reading literacy than boys although boys tended to have more frequent access to computers and/or home reading literacy resource than do girls. The results are consistent with previous studies on gender differences in reading attitudes (e.g., Anderson, et al., 1985; Davies & Brimber, 1993; Parker & Paradis, 1986; Diamond & Onwuegbuzie, 2001; Hansford & Hattie, 1982; Shavelson & Bolus, 1982; Wilgenbusch & Merrell, 1999). The results indicate that attitude and self-perception of reading stand out as a distinctive feature between the fourth grade males and females. This gender attitudinal difference at early age and at later grades may explain why females usually outperform their male peers in reading literacy achievement.

The results did not show evidence to support the hypothesized positive association between computer use, or home reading facilities/resources and overall reading literacy achievement. The results were inconsistent with previous
studies (e.g., Darter & Phelps, 1990) that indicated positive impact of computer use on the part of students and their reading achievement. One possible explanation might be that these young children (particularly, boys) did not make good use of the computers or facilities for literacy learning purpose, but rather for non-literacy learning purposes (e.g., computer/video game or entertainment purpose). Teacher- or parent-guided use of computer especially for early age children may play a vital role in children’s positive reading behavior development. It is recommended that further experimental studies be conducted on the relationship between student achievement and the guided and non-guided use of computers on part of students.

This current study is limited in some ways. First, as no experiment was involved in the PIRLS 2001 study, we could not draw causal relationship between the criterion measures (reading literacy achievement) and the self-reported non-achievement measures even if high correlations or high discriminant coefficients were found.

Constrained by the design of the PIRLS 2001, for the United States and Morocco, no parent questionnaire was administered. Thus in this study I did not include some important home and parent related variables such as SES, parental educational level, parental sexual orientation, parental attitude and perception of reading, and parental involvement or support. It is recommended that future studies should include these variables so as to gain a more complete view-point of gender difference issues under broad social contexts.
Endnote: Readers are referred to the following web site to access to the background questionnaire instruments:

http://timss.bc.edu/pirls2001i/pdf/Supplement_1.pdf

References


March 24-28, 1997).


School Psychology Quarterly, 14 (2), 101-120.

Table 1

*Correlation Coefficients among Measures across Genders*

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*Note.* The number without the bracket is the Pearson correlation coefficient for girls. The number in the bracket is the Pearson correlation coefficient for the boys. All correlations are statistically significant (*p* < .001) except otherwise marked. *p* < .085 (between total computer use and home language use opportunity).
Figure 1. Comparison of males and females at fourth grade on the scale of overall reading development behavior and practice across five nations or region from the PIRLS 2001.
Table 2

*Descriptive Statistics of Six Scales for Girls and Boys within Five Countries or Region*

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Table 2

Descriptive Statistics of Six Scales for Girls and Boys within Five Countries

or Region (Continued)

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| United States | 1     | F               | 538.38    | .0538      |
|               |       | M               | 525.15    | .0585      |
|               | 2     | F               | 557.85    | .0608      |
|               |       | M               | 541.42    | .0669      |
|               | 3     | F               | 551.96    | .0577      |
|               |       | M               | 531.21    | .0628      |
|               | 4     | F               | 12.69     | .0019      |
|               |       | M               | 12.39     | .0020      |
|               | 5     | F               | 18.71     | .0028      |
|               |       | M               | 16.86     | .0031      |
|               | 6     | F               | 100.63    | .0120      |
|               |       | M               | 98.52     | .0131      |

Note: Test was weighted by totwgt (total sstudent weight). Scale 1 = PLAUSIBLE VALUE: INFORMATION BLOCKS PV1(Asrinf01), Scale 2 = PLAUSIBLE VALUE: LITERARY BLOCKS PV1(Asrlit01), Scale 3 = PLAUSIBLE VALUE: ALL BLOCKS PV1(Asrrea01), Scale 4 = student reading perceptions about reading (Totrpert), Scale 5 = student reading attitude (Totratti), and Scale 6 = student total literacy reading practice score (Litpract).

F = females. M = males. The first of the five plausible values for each of the three aspects reading achievement scores was used in this part of analysis.
### Table 3

**Multivariate Tests$^c$ of Six Scales**

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**Note.** Exact statistic. $^a$ The statistic is an upper bound on $F$ that yields a lower bound on the significance level. $^b$ Design: Intercept+COUNTRY+SEX+COUNTRY $^*$ SEX. Within Subjects Design: SCALE.

### Table 4

**Two Sample t-tests of the Six Scale Between Boys and Girls across the Five Nations or Region**

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### Table 4

*Two Sample t-tests of the Six Scale Between Boys and Girls across the Five Nations or Region (Continued)*

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<tr>
<th>Country or Region</th>
<th>Scale or Variable</th>
<th>Mean Difference</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>p value</th>
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<td>181.915</td>
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Note. Equal variances are assumed. Weighted by the TOTWGT (total student weight).

Bonferroni adjustment was used to keep overall error rate at .05. Each level of each test was set at .0008. All tests were statistically significant (p < .0001), two-tailed.

### Table 5

*Descriptive Statistics for Boys and Girls at Upper Quartile International Benchmarks*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure/Variable</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>St.D</th>
<th>St.D</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASRINF01</td>
<td>597.63482605</td>
<td>594.15429014</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASRINF02</td>
<td>598.18227780</td>
<td>594.55388246</td>
<td>43.62854780</td>
<td>43.27013210</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASRINF03</td>
<td>597.93648304</td>
<td>594.99000911</td>
<td>44.55279158</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASRINF04</td>
<td>599.29329642</td>
<td>595.09693448</td>
<td>45.02640505</td>
<td>43.87958764</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASRINF05</td>
<td>599.11763594</td>
<td>595.21355754</td>
<td>45.40958667</td>
<td>43.88276492</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASRLIT01</td>
<td>602.09081871</td>
<td>594.88315778</td>
<td>50.00475367</td>
<td>49.23936874</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASRLIT02</td>
<td>601.21149656</td>
<td>596.14986187</td>
<td>50.93094108</td>
<td>49.77172402</td>
</tr>
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<td>ASRLIT03</td>
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<td>594.50346679</td>
<td>51.97564297</td>
<td>49.67373114</td>
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<td>ASRLIT04</td>
<td>601.79150148</td>
<td>597.21255116</td>
<td>52.73883186</td>
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<td>ASRLIT05</td>
<td>600.23133928</td>
<td>594.39265724</td>
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<td>ASRREA01</td>
<td>613.85880729</td>
<td>608.20973488</td>
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<td>ASRREA02</td>
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<td>599.05051956</td>
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<td>ASRREA03</td>
<td>603.61425302</td>
<td>599.76195951</td>
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<td>ASRREA04</td>
<td>603.45661796</td>
<td>598.33443159</td>
<td>43.69440157</td>
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Table 5

**Descriptive Statistics for Boys and Girls at the Upper Quartile International**

**Benchmarks (Continued)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure/Variable</th>
<th>Mean$^1$</th>
<th>Mean$^2$</th>
<th>St. D$^1$</th>
<th>St. D$^2$</th>
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<td>TOTASCH1</td>
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<td>17.89696970</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTASCH2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAFACT</td>
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<td>TOTCOMPU</td>
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<td>16.87151515</td>
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<td>HOMELANG</td>
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<tr>
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*Note: Mean$^1$ and St.D$^1$ refer to mean and standard deviation of the measures for Group 1 (girls). Mean$^2$ and St.D$^2$ refer to mean and standard deviation of the measures for Group 2 (boys).*
Table 6

Correlation Coefficients among Measures (for Students at the Upper International Benchmark)

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<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
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<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
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<td>6. Totact</td>
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<td>7. Totcompu</td>
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<td>.089</td>
<td>.042</td>
<td>.210</td>
<td>.323</td>
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<td>.041</td>
<td>.246</td>
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<td>.085</td>
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### Table 7

**Eigenvalues**

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<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Eigenvalue</th>
<th>% of Variance</th>
<th>Cumulative %</th>
<th>Canonical Correlation</th>
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*aFirst canonical discriminant functions were used in the analysis.*

### Table 8

**Wilks’ Lambda**

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<tr>
<th>Test of Function(s)</th>
<th>Wilks’ Lambda</th>
<th>Chi-square</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
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<td>1</td>
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### Table 9

**Standardized Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients for Top Students**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Coefficient</th>
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<td>Reading for informational purpose (ASRINF01-Plausible value 1)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for informational purpose (ASRINF02-Plausible value 2)</td>
<td>-.017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for informational purpose (ASRINF03-Plausible value 3)</td>
<td>-.219</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reading for informational purpose (ASRINF04-Plausible value 4)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reading for informational purpose (ASRINF05-Plausible value 5)</td>
<td>-.039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for literary experience purpose (ASRLIT01-Plausible value 1)</td>
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<td>Reading for literary experience purpose (ASRLIT02-Plausible value 2)</td>
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<td>Reading for literary experience purpose (ASRLIT03-Plausible value 3)</td>
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<td>Reading for literary experience purpose (ASRLIT04-Plausible value 4)</td>
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<td>Reading for literary experience purpose (ASRLIT05-Plausible value 5)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall reading literary achievement (ASRREA01-Plausible value 1)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall reading literary achievement (ASRREA02-Plausible value 2)</td>
<td>-.132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall reading literary achievement (ASRREA03-Plausible value 3)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall reading literary achievement (ASRREA04-Plausible value 4)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall reading literary achievement (ASRREA05-Plausible value 5)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Things outside of school (portion 1) (TOTASCH1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Things outside of school (portion 2) (TOTASCH2)</td>
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<td>Reading assessment activities (TOTFACT)</td>
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<td>Computer use (TOTCOMPU)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reading and time spent for reading on homework (TOTRDFHW)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading attitude (TOTRATTI)</td>
<td>.643</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feeling about school (TOTSFSCCH)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Home language us (HOMELANG)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Home reading literacy-related possessions (TOTHMPS)</td>
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</table>
Table 10

**Within-Group Correlations with the Discriminant Function for Top Students**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function 1</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading attitude (TOTRATTI)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling about school (TOTSFSCH)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer use (TOTCOMPU)</td>
<td>-.347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall home reading resources (TOTHMRES)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reading for literary experience purpose (ASRLIT03-Plausible value 3)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading perception (TOTRPERT)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Things outside of school (portion 2) (TOTASCH2)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall reading literary achievement (ASRREA04-Plausible value 4)</td>
<td>.193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for literary experience purpose (ASRLIT05-Plausible value 5)</td>
<td>.189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for literary experience purpose (ASRLIT02-Plausible value 2)</td>
<td>.165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall reading literary achievement (ASRREA05-Plausible value 5)</td>
<td>.164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading assessment activities (TOTAFAC)</td>
<td>.160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for informational purpose (ASRINF04-Plausible value 4)</td>
<td>.155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for literary experience purpose (ASRLIT04-Plausible value 4)</td>
<td>.147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall reading literary achievement (ASRREA03-Plausible value 3)</td>
<td>.144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for informational purpose (ASRINF05-Plausible value 5)</td>
<td>.143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall reading literary achievement (ASRREA02-Plausible value 2)</td>
<td>.140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for informational purpose (ASRINF02-Plausible value 2)</td>
<td>.137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for informational purpose (ASRINF01-Plausible value 1)</td>
<td>.133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for informational purpose (ASRINF03-Plausible value 3)</td>
<td>.109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading and time spent for reading on homework (TOTRDFHW)</td>
<td>-.069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home reading literacy-related possessions (TOTHMPS)</td>
<td>.045</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 11

**Functions at Group Centroids for Top Students**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex of Students</th>
<th>Function 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>-.337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>.271</td>
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</table>

Unstandardized canonical discriminant functions evaluated at group means.
Table 12

Descriptive Statistics for Boys and Girls at the Lower Quartile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure/Variable</th>
<th>Mean(^1)</th>
<th>St.D(^1)</th>
<th>Mean(^2)</th>
<th>St.D(^2)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASRINF01</td>
<td>409.5307166</td>
<td>71.607811369</td>
<td>405.59046959</td>
<td>66.760590389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASRINF02</td>
<td>409.23217685</td>
<td>75.220239762</td>
<td>401.61944299</td>
<td>67.024127103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASRINF03</td>
<td>404.10146185</td>
<td>75.220239762</td>
<td>403.63133855</td>
<td>67.965970262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASRINF04</td>
<td>403.83989868</td>
<td>72.780245800</td>
<td>400.19442007</td>
<td>70.326166073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASRINF05</td>
<td>405.13031499</td>
<td>72.515598838</td>
<td>401.15499222</td>
<td>74.163935632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASRLIT01</td>
<td>399.09993874</td>
<td>65.583292300</td>
<td>396.12998932</td>
<td>65.856000041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASRLIT02</td>
<td>397.34454936</td>
<td>69.195828269</td>
<td>397.88015417</td>
<td>63.395936658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASRLIT03</td>
<td>396.89517458</td>
<td>67.115508569</td>
<td>397.30408724</td>
<td>63.222066382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASRLIT04</td>
<td>399.75885000</td>
<td>67.153443101</td>
<td>399.07473014</td>
<td>62.974428135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASRLIT05</td>
<td>395.35866543</td>
<td>66.897762759</td>
<td>397.97799297</td>
<td>62.830187954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASRREA01</td>
<td>387.27536292</td>
<td>57.109645280</td>
<td>381.50158433</td>
<td>52.246525248</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASRREA02</td>
<td>400.05542939</td>
<td>68.189078338</td>
<td>397.15212148</td>
<td>61.564183759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASRREA03</td>
<td>397.45597494</td>
<td>68.798790001</td>
<td>397.93542852</td>
<td>59.669282995</td>
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<td>ASRREA04</td>
<td>400.20931760</td>
<td>63.265481674</td>
<td>391.46202507</td>
<td>63.940981996</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASRREA05</td>
<td>395.02742732</td>
<td>64.463125162</td>
<td>394.14010588</td>
<td>63.619625679</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTASCH1</td>
<td>19.38278932</td>
<td>4.480652913</td>
<td>18.2386640</td>
<td>4.931953553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTASCH2</td>
<td>15.32640950</td>
<td>3.666164044</td>
<td>15.15587045</td>
<td>3.968690337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAFACT</td>
<td>20.92284866</td>
<td>5.193286092</td>
<td>20.48582996</td>
<td>5.264100317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTCOMPU</td>
<td>17.10979228</td>
<td>4.703959910</td>
<td>17.57489879</td>
<td>4.703959910</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTDFHGW</td>
<td>6.45994065</td>
<td>1.721458752</td>
<td>6.16599190</td>
<td>1.881040595</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTRATTI</td>
<td>18.00593472</td>
<td>3.634524273</td>
<td>17.03441296</td>
<td>3.634524273</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTSFSCCH</td>
<td>17.25519288</td>
<td>2.903227582</td>
<td>16.70647773</td>
<td>3.325004925</td>
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<tr>
<td>HOMELANG</td>
<td>4.51632047</td>
<td>1.375984753</td>
<td>4.38259109</td>
<td>1.437466136</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTHMPS</td>
<td>6.71513353</td>
<td>1.075502124</td>
<td>6.66396761</td>
<td>1.103395666</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTRPET</td>
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<td>2.26677992</td>
<td>10.85020243</td>
<td>2.486847748</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTHMRES</td>
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<td>6.156292711</td>
<td>31.08299595</td>
<td>6.229485141</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Note. Mean\(^1\) and St.D\(^1\) refer to mean and standard deviation of the measures for Group 1 (girls).

Mean\(^2\) and St.D\(^2\) refer to mean and standard deviation of the measures for Group 2 (boys).
Table 13

*Correlation Coefficients among Measures (for Students at Lower Quartile International Benchmark)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Asrinf01</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>2. Asrlit01</td>
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<td>3. Asrrea01</td>
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<td>.682</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Totasch2</td>
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<td>-.100</td>
<td>-.097</td>
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<td>6. Totfact</td>
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<td>-.124</td>
<td>-.190</td>
<td>.594</td>
<td>.465</td>
<td>1.000</td>
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<td>7. Totcompu</td>
<td>-.073</td>
<td>-.014</td>
<td>-.014</td>
<td>.236</td>
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<td>.344</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Totrdfhw</td>
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<td>-.109</td>
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<td>.179</td>
<td>.295</td>
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<td>9. Totratti</td>
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<td>.363</td>
<td>.080</td>
<td>.244</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Totsfsch</td>
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<td>-.018</td>
<td>-.047</td>
<td>.316</td>
<td>.230</td>
<td>.300</td>
<td>.050</td>
<td>.180</td>
<td>.482</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Homelang</td>
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<td>.053</td>
<td>.160</td>
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<td>.186</td>
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<td>1.000</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>12. Tothmps</td>
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<td>.183</td>
<td>.190</td>
<td>.168</td>
<td>.185</td>
<td>.116</td>
<td>.288</td>
<td>.047</td>
<td>.170</td>
<td>.133</td>
<td>.249</td>
<td>1.000</td>
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<td>13. Totpert</td>
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<td>.032</td>
<td>-.045</td>
<td>.191</td>
<td>.141</td>
<td>.150</td>
<td>.057</td>
<td>.094</td>
<td>.318</td>
<td>.219</td>
<td>.061</td>
<td>.050</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>14. Tothmres</td>
<td>-.013</td>
<td>.068</td>
<td>.045</td>
<td>.273</td>
<td>.381</td>
<td>.354</td>
<td>.915</td>
<td>.034</td>
<td>.133</td>
<td>.098</td>
<td>.464</td>
<td>.520</td>
<td>.088</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 14

Eigenvalues for Discriminant Function (Low Achievers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Eigenvalue</th>
<th>% of Variance</th>
<th>Cumulative %</th>
<th>Canonical Correlation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>.074\textsuperscript{a}</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>.263</td>
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</table>

\textsuperscript{a}First canonical discriminant functions were used in the analysis.

Table 15

Wilks’ Lambda for the Discriminant Function (Low Achievers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test of Function(s)</th>
<th>Wilks’ Lambda</th>
<th>Chi-square</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>.931</td>
<td>58.498</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16

Standardized Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients for Lower Achievers

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Variable</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for informational purpose (ASRINF01-Plausible value 1)</td>
<td>-.250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for informational purpose (ASRINF02-Plausible value 2)</td>
<td>.615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for informational purpose (ASRINF03-Plausible value 3)</td>
<td>-.212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for informational purpose (ASRINF04-Plausible value 4)</td>
<td>-.083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for informational purpose (ASRINF05-Plausible value 5)</td>
<td>.184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for literary experience purpose (ASRLIT01-Plausible value 1)</td>
<td>.295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for literary experience purpose (ASRLIT02-Plausible value 2)</td>
<td>-.568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for literary experience purpose (ASRLIT03-Plausible value 3)</td>
<td>.045</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reading for literary experience purpose (ASRLIT04-Plausible value 4)</td>
<td>-.070</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reading for literary experience purpose (ASRLIT05-Plausible value 5)</td>
<td>-.458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall reading literary achievement (ASRREA01-Plausible value 1)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall reading literary achievement (ASRREA02-Plausible value 2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overall reading literary achievement (ASRREA03-Plausible value 3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overall reading literary achievement (ASRREA04-Plausible value 4)</td>
<td>.667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall reading literary achievement (ASRREA05-Plausible value 5)</td>
<td>-.093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Things outside of school (portion 1) (TOTASCH1)</td>
<td>.469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Things outside of school (portion 2) (TOTASCH2)</td>
<td>-.130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading assessment activities (TOTAFACT)</td>
<td>-.088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer use (TOTCOMPU)</td>
<td>.894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading and time spent for reading on homework (TOTRDFHW)</td>
<td>.189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading attitude (TOTRATTI)</td>
<td>.319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling about school (TOTSFSCH)</td>
<td>.064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home language us (HOMELANG)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home reading literacy-related possessions (TOTHMPSTMPS)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reading perception (TOTRPERT)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall home reading resources (TOTHMRES)</td>
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</tr>
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</table>
Table 17

**Within-Group Correlations with Discriminant Function for Bottom Students**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading attitude (TOTRATTI)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Things outside of school (portion 1) (TOTASCH1)</td>
<td>.434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling about school (TOTSFSCH)</td>
<td>.313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading and time spent for reading on homework (TOTRDFHW)</td>
<td>.292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading perception (TOTRPERT)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall reading literary achievement (ASRREA04-Plausible value 4)</td>
<td>.248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for informational purpose (ASRINF02-Plausible value 2)</td>
<td>.195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall reading literary achievement (ASRREA01-Plausible value 1)</td>
<td>.192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer use (TOTCOMPU)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home language use (HOMELANG)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading assessment activities (TOTAFACT)</td>
<td>.151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall home reading resources (TOTHMRES)</td>
<td>-.125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for informational purpose (ASRINF01-Plausible value 1)</td>
<td>.103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for informational purpose (ASRINF05-Plausible value 5)</td>
<td>.098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for informational purpose (ASRINF04-Plausible value 4)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home reading literacy-related possessions (TOTHMPS)</td>
<td>.084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for literary experience purpose (ASRLIT01-Plausible value 1)</td>
<td>.081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall reading literary achievement (ASRREA02-Plausible value 2)</td>
<td>.081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Things outside of school (portion 2) (TOTASCH2)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for literary experience purpose (ASRLIT05-Plausible value 5)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overall reading literary achievement (ASRREA05-Plausible value 5)</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading for informational purpose (ASRINF03-Plausible value 3)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18

**Functions at Group Centroids for Low Achievers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex of Student</th>
<th>Function 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>-.225</td>
</tr>
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<td>Girls</td>
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</table>

*Note.* Unstandardized canonical discriminant functions evaluated at group means.
Appendix A

**Description of Variables**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Variable</th>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>idcntry</td>
<td>Country or region in the study</td>
<td>Germany, Hong Kong_SAR, Iran, Morocco, and United States.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gender</td>
<td>Sex of Student</td>
<td>Binary dummy variable (girl = 1, boy = 0, recoded from itsex).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asrrea01-Asrrea05</td>
<td>PLAUSIBLE VALUE: ALL BLOCKS PV1-PV5</td>
<td>Reading Overall Plausible Values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asrinf01-Asrinf05</td>
<td>PLAUSIBLE VALUE: INFORMATION BLOCKS PV1-PV5</td>
<td>Reading to Acquire Information Plausible Values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asrlit01-Asrlit05</td>
<td>PLAUSIBLE VALUE: LITERARY BLOCKS PV1-PV5</td>
<td>Reading for Literacy Purpose Plausible Values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totasch1</td>
<td>Things outside of School 1</td>
<td>Student reading development activities outside of school Portion 1—Question 3 on the Student Questionnaire. Composite of Asbgtoc1-Asbgtoc7, reverse-coded. Examples: “I read aloud to someone at home.” “I listen to someone at home read aloud to me.” “I read to find about things I want to learn.” 4-point Likert-scaled items.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totasch1</td>
<td>Things outside of School 2</td>
<td>Reading development activities outside of school Portion 2—Question 4 on the Student Questionnaire. Composite of asbgroc1-asbgroc6, reverse-coded. Asbgroc7, and asbgroc8 were not used for country-specific reasons. Examples: “I read comic books.” “I read stories and novels.” “I read magazine.” “I read newspapers.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asbgblib</td>
<td>Borrowing books</td>
<td>Borrow books from school library and local library, reverse-coded.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Totinsch</td>
<td>In-school reading activities</td>
<td>Reading development in school activities—Question 7 on the Student Questionnaire, and composite of asbgtic1-asbgtic6. Reverse-coded. Examples: “My teacher reads aloud to the class.” “I read aloud to the whole class.” “I read aloud to a small group of students in my class.”</td>
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### Description of Variables (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
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<tr>
<td>Totafact</td>
<td>Activities After reading in class</td>
<td>Follow-up or reading assessment activities—Question 8 on the Student Questionnaire, composite of asbgafrr1-asbgafrr8. Reversed coded. Examples of the statements: After I have read something in class… a) “I answer questions in a workbook or on a worksheet about what I have read.” b.) I write something about what I have read.” h.) “I take a written quiz or test about what I have read.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totcompu</td>
<td>Computer use</td>
<td>Computer-based literacy development activities, composite of asbguspc-asbgpc4. Question 11 on the Student Questionnaire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totratti</td>
<td>Reading attitude</td>
<td>Student attitude toward reading literacy development—Question 12 on the Student Questionnaire, composite of asbgrst1-asbgrst6. Negatively phrased items (2, 3, 5, 6) were reverse-coded.</td>
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<td>Totrpert</td>
<td>Reading perception</td>
<td>Student self-perception about reading literacy ability—Question 12 on the Student Questionnaire. Composite of asbgrab1-asbgrab4 (4 items). Reverse code.</td>
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<td>Totsfsch</td>
<td>Feeling about school</td>
<td>Student’s feeling about school learning atmosphere—Question 14 on the Student Questionnaire, composite of asbgcst1-asbgcst5r. Reverse-code.</td>
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<td>Totschen</td>
<td>School safety environment</td>
<td>Student’s feeling about school safety atmosphere—Question 15 on the Student Questionnaire, composite of asbgsstl, asbgsstl, asbgbul, asbgsht, asbgohrt. Reverse-code before summing up.</td>
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<td>Homelang</td>
<td>Home language use</td>
<td>Language-speaking or use opportunity at home—Questions 17-18 on the Student Questionnaire, composite of asbglanh, and asbglana. Reverse-code.</td>
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Appendix

Description of Variables (Continued)

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<th>Description</th>
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<td>Tothmps</td>
<td>Home possessions</td>
<td>Home reading literacy possession or resources—Question 20 on the Student Questionnaire, composite of asbgps1-asbgps4. For country-specific reason, asbgps5-asbgps12 were not used. Reverse-coded before summing up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totrdfhw</td>
<td>Reading for homework</td>
<td>Frequency of teacher assigned reading and student’s time spent on reading for homework—Questions 9-10, composite of asbghwrd and asbghwtm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litpract</td>
<td>Reading Literacy Development Activities</td>
<td>Reading literacy overall development activities, composite of totasch1, toasch2, asbgbib (recoded), asbgtvdy (TV watching), totrdfhw, totinsch, tocomput, and toifact.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tothmres</td>
<td>Home overall resources</td>
<td>Home overall resources for reading literacy development, composite of asbgbook (books in the home), tocomput (computer) and tothmps (home reading possession).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Author

Shiqi Hao is a Ph.D. candidate and ABD in Educational Psychology and Research, at the College of Education, University of South Carolina. He also works as a research assistant at the Office of Program Evaluation, College of Education, University of South Carolina, and has participated in the evaluation of several federal- or state-funded programs such as South Carolina Reading Initiative (SCRI), South Carolina Reading First, and Engineering Bridges Project. His research interests include research methodology, measurement and assessment issues, program evaluation, interdisciplinary and international studies, and gender issues.
Influence of School Characteristics on A Regional Literacy Program Effect of Individual Teachers

Shiqi Hao
Office of Program Evaluation, College of Education
University of South Carolina

Abstract

This study investigated the differential effect of school (organizational) characteristics on the South Carolina Reading Initiative (SCRI) individual teachers’ end-of-program responses about their beliefs and practice of reading and literacy instruction as measured by the Reading Profile (RP) by using a two level hierarchical linear model. Results showed that administrative and staff support as an important school level characteristic made a difference on the school teachers’ average program effect in terms of RP.
responses scores. More specifically, schools that showed support to the SCRI teachers would yield high average teachers’ RP scores than those non-supportive schools. Other school compositional factors such as high minority status, student-per-teacher ratio, Title 1 school district status also made a difference in predicting overall mean school RP scores. The results did not support the implied hypotheses that the pretest of the Teaching Orientation to the Reading Profile (TORP), or that gender would well predict a teacher’s response to the RP although some of the level 2 predictors did contribute to the gender difference in predicting a teacher’s response in a typical school to the Reading Profile. Implications of the study and directions for future study were also discussed.

Introduction

Over the years, educational researchers and program evaluators have observed the multi-level or multi-layered effects in their studies of the program effects, and recommended the application of hierarchical linear modeling in the multilevel data analysis (e.g., Adcock & Phillips, 2000; Burstein, 1980; Koopmans, 1998; Raudenbush & Sampson, 1999; Wang, 1999, Yen, Schafer, & Rahman, 1999; Young, 1999). School systems are generally hierarchical or nested in layers (Barr & Dreeben, 1981; Purkey & Smith, 1983). Following this line, often the effects of a program are multi-layered: at one end we would like to see how a program affects individuals (e.g., students or teachers as compared with classroom and school or superordinate organization); at the other end we see individuals are nested in the classrooms, schools, districts or a larger unit. Therefore, superordinate factors (i.e., classroom, school environment or compositional characteristics) can often play an important role in the overall program effect on individuals.
Previous studies have utilized Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM) to investigate both student level and school level factors and program effects (e.g., Kobrin et al., 2003; Lee & Bryk, 1989; Lee & Coladarci, 2002; Marzano, 2000, and 2001; Pellerin, 2000; Rumberger, 2002; Stage, 2001; Yamaguchi et al., 2003). Kobrin et al. (2003) used HLM to examine student- and school-level predictors of the discrepancy between students standardized high school grade point average (HSGPA) and standardized total Scholastic Assessment Test (SAT) scores. At the student level, they used academic curriculum intensity, socioeconomic status (SES), the difference between a student SAT mathematics and verbal scores (SATM-V), and gender to predict the HSGPA-SAT discrepancy within each school. At the school level, they chose four factor aggregated scores (economic advantage, school size, computer technology, and school resources) to predict variation in the intercepts (average scores) and slopes (variations) across schools. They found that all of the student-level variables except for curriculum intensity were significant predictors of discrepancy scores, and level 1 intercepts as well as slopes for gender varied significantly across schools.

Luyten (1998) compared elementary and secondary schools in the Netherlands with respect to the consistency of achievement scores across subjects at individual and school levels. They found that there was less consistency at the student level within schools, and lower consistency in secondary education than elementary schools at the school level.

One of the interesting areas in social and educational research is the relationship between a program effect on individual (e.g., students or teachers) and the mediated effect of the organizational characteristics (i.e., school environment or backgrounds).
across the schools. Bryk and Driscoll (1988) used the Administrator and Teacher Supplement of the High School and Beyond Survey to investigate how characteristics of school organization were related to teachers’ sense of efficacy in their work. They hypothesized that teachers’ efficacy would be higher in schools with a communal, rather than a bureaucratic, organizational form. Their results indicated that teacher efficacy was substantially higher in schools with a communal organization, even after controlling for compositional differences among schools.

Armor et al. (1976) examined the program effect of 20 Los Angeles schools participating in a special program to improve reading. The authors suggested that the following school characteristics were associated with gains in reading performance: (a). teachers’ strong sense of efficacy and high expectations for students; (b) maintenance of orderly classrooms; (c) high levels of parent-teacher and parent-principal contact; (d) ongoing in-service training of teachers with topics often determined by teachers, together with frequent informal consultations among teachers in implementing reading programs; (e) principals who achieve a balance between a strong leadership role for themselves and maximum autonomy for teachers, and (f) teacher flexibility in modifying and adapting instructional approaches.

The literature in the study of school effectiveness has also indicated the students’ improvement in learning and general program effect were influenced by the climate of the school or school culture (e.g., Rutter, 1981; Rutter et al., 1979; Wynn, 1980; Purkey & Smith, 1083). “A school culture perspective rejects the view that schools are relative static constructs of discrete variable. Instead, schools are thought to be dynamic social systems made up of interrelated factors “ (Brookover et al., 1979) (as cited by Purkey and
Based on research on effective schools (e.g., Averch et al., 1972; Mayeske, et al., 1972; Edmonds, 1979a, 1979b, 1981; Purkey & Smith, 1983), effective schools were characterized of the following five aspects: (1.) strong administrative leadership; (2.) high expectations for children’s achievement; (3.) an orderly atmosphere conducive to learning; (4.) an emphasis on basic-skill acquisition, and (5.) frequent monitoring of pupil progress. Although HLM as a research tool has been widely used in the analysis of multilevel data, particularly in the studies of students’ achievement and classroom or school characteristics, few recent studies by way of HLM has been found on school organizational characteristics and their mediating effects in a program on teachers.

South Carolina Reading Initiative (SCRI) was a three-year longitudinal state-wide intensive staff development effort designed to improve reading skills and strategies of children and to increase the teachers’ knowledge about reading research and provide teachers with administrative and in-class support they need to be consistent with reading research. One of the program effects is how teachers’ beliefs and practice of reading and literacy teaching methodology in their classroom were aligned with the SCRI Reading Profile (RP) after the three-year period of the project. It was of primary interest to the investigators how an individual teacher’s beliefs and practice in terms of literacy teaching strategies improved toward more (or less) alignment with the SCRI RP was related to the school level characteristics. These school environment characteristics included such variables as whether the administration (e.g., principal) and staff was supportive to the project or not, whether a school district was of Title 1 or not, student population size, component of minority students, etc. The purpose of this current study was to investigate the differential effect of school (organizational) characteristics on the individual teachers’
end-of-program responses about their beliefs and practice about reading and literacy
instruction as measured by the Reading Profile (RP) in the SCRI by using a two level
HLM model. Thus, this study investigated both individual teacher effect and the school
level effects upon the teachers. It was hypothesized that an individual teacher’s final year
responses on the RP in terms of alignment with SCRI classroom literacy theory and
practice was not only determined by individual personal effect, but was also influenced
by his or her school characteristics as mentioned above. In this study the following
research questions were explored:

1.) Would school compositional characteristics (e.g., administrative supportive or
not, proportion of minority students, student-per-teacher ratio, Title 1 school or
not) be related to the average school Reading Profile score (school program
effect)?

2.) Would school compositional characteristics be related to the gender difference of
a typical school teacher’s responses to the Reading Profile at the end of the three
year program?

3.) Would the pre-test--Teaching Orientation to Reading Profile (TORP) prior to the
SCRI project be a significant level one predictor while controlling gender?

4.) Would gender make a difference in predicting a teacher’s end-of-program effect
(RP scores) while controlling the TORP prior to the project? The current study,
which empirically investigated both teacher level factors and school level factors, would
shed light on some common distinguishing features or characteristics between a potential
successful or unsuccessful school in a regional program implementation, and therefore
contributed to the literature in school influence research.
Method

The data for the current study was collected from the South Carolina Reading Initiative (SCRI) teachers’ Reading Profile and TORP survey data. The level 2 units contained 156 public elementary or intermediate schools involved in the SCRI across South Carolina, USA. The level 1 (teacher) dataset contained 994 data points. The level 1 variables included SCRI teachers’ Reading Profile scores at the end of the three-year program (as the outcome variable), teachers’ gender, and their TORP scores (as a pre-test prior to the program introduction), and their years of teaching experience. The school level variables included the administrative and staff supportive status (a dummy dichotomous variable with 1=support and 0=non-supportive), group mean TORP (pre-test), student-per-teacher ratio, student enrollment or population size, Title 1 school district status (dummy-coded with 1 being a Title I school district, and 0 otherwise), and high minority student school status--an indicator variable with value 1 if a school has more than 50% minority enrollment and 0 otherwise (for details of variable codings, please refer to Appendix).

As summarized in Table 1, on the RP (a 60 item Likert-scaled, and 4-point scale survey), with a possible maximal total score of 240, SCRI teachers’ average RP score was 220.66 with a standard deviation of 13.88. On the TORP (a 28 item likert-scaled, and 5-point survey), out of a maximal possible total score of 140, SCRI teachers scored on average about 84 points with a standard deviation of 9.85 prior to the first year of the program. On level two, 79% of schools had administrative and staff support, and 93% belonged to a Title 1 school district. High minority student schools made up 47% of the

1 I would like to thank Dr. Diane Stephens, the PI and professor of reading instruction at the University of South Carolina, for allowing me to use the SCRI data to accomplish this study.
156 schools sampled. School student population sizes ranged from 125 to over 2000, and students-per-teacher ratios varied from approximately 6 to 18. School mean TORP (mean pre-test) scores ranged from 97 to about 100.

In analyzing the data, the author of the current study tested several two level hierarchical linear models. In order to determine the total amount of variability in the outcome (SCRI teachers’ responses to the Reading Profile at the end of the program), I first ran a baseline model (a random effect ANOVA model) without predictors for either level 1 or level 2 equations. The average school mean RP was estimated as 220.62, and the pooled within school variance was 128.63 (See Table 2). Next I added the predictors of gender and pre-test (TTORP1) (group-centered) to level 1 equation while at level 2, I added six predictors, i.e., MTORP, HIMINORI, STTRATIO, ENROLL, TITLE-1, and SUPPORT to level 2 equation, thus making it a conditional full or saturated model.

In the initial analysis using the full model, several of the estimated coefficients were trivially small (ENROLL, $\gamma_{04}$, $\gamma_{14}$, $\gamma_{24}$ and $\gamma_{34}$; MTORP1, $\gamma_{11}$, $\gamma_{21}$, $\gamma_{31}$, etc.). Therefore, each of these corresponding level-2 predictors were deleted and a reduced model was estimated. Finally, I selected an intercepts- and slopes-as-outcomes model:

Level-1 Model: $Y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(GENDER) + \beta_{2j}(TTORP1) + r_{ij}$

(TTORP1 was group-centered).
Level-2 Model:

\[
\beta_{0j} = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1 (\text{HIMINORI}) + \gamma_2 (\text{STTRATIO}) + \gamma_3 (\text{SUPPORT}) + \gamma_4 (\text{TITLE}_1) + \mu_{0j}
\]

\[
\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} + \gamma_{11} (\text{HIMINORI}) + \gamma_{12} (\text{STTRATIO}) + \gamma_{13} (\text{SUPPORT}) + \gamma_{14} (\text{TITLE}_1) + \mu_{1j}
\]

(The residual school-specific random effects, \( \mu_{0j} \) and \( \mu_{1j} \) were each assumed normally distributed with mean 0 and variance \( \tau_{00} \), and \( \tau_{10} \), respectively)

\[
\beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20} .
\]

(TTORP1 was fixed across schools, assuming there was not much variability as to the pre-test scores between schools). The level-1 variance has been reduced to 148.64 from 168.23 after taking into account of teachers’ gender, and the pre-test TORP. The increment proportion of variance explained by this Level 1 model is 

\[
\frac{168.23 - 148.64}{168.23} = 0.12.\]

The reliability estimate for the intercept \( B_0 \) was 0.602, and for gender slope \( B_1 \) was 0.468. The results for the final chosen model are presented in Table 3 in the results section.

Results

School Mean Reading Profile Score. As shown in Table 3, mean RP was lower in schools with high minority concentrations (\( \hat{\gamma}_{01} = -14.32, t = -2.68 \)), and in schools with higher student-per-teacher ratio than those with lower student-per-teacher ratio (\( \hat{\gamma}_{02} = -4.26, t = -2.96 \)) (see Table 3). Title1 schools would achieve higher average RP scores than non-Title1 schools (\( \hat{\gamma}_{04} = 14.36, t = 1.58 \), but also with large standard error of 9.07). Those schools where teachers received administrative and staff support achieved higher RP than those schools where teachers did not receive administrative and staff support (\( \hat{\gamma}_{03} = 23.75, t = 2.89 \)). More specifically, on average, the SCRI schools with
administrative and staff support would usually achieve about 24 points more on the total score for the RP than those schools without the support.

**Gender Difference.** Gender difference in RP was higher in high minority student schools than non-high minority student schools ($\hat{\gamma}_{11} = 11.80, t = 2.24$), and in those schools with higher student-per-teacher ratio than otherwise ($\hat{\gamma}_{12} = 4.72, t = 3.23$) (see Table 3). But gender slopes were significantly weaker in Title 1 schools than non-Title 1 schools ($\hat{\gamma}_{14} = -21.37, t = -2.38$) and in the schools with administrative and staff support than otherwise ($\hat{\gamma}_{13} = -18.80, t = -2.22$). This means that other things being equal, male and female teachers were more homogenous in their end-of-program RP response in Title 1 schools than non-Title 1 schools and in supportive schools than non-supportive schools.

**Mean Pre-test (TORP1) Difference.** As shown in Table 3, all the level 2 or school-level variables of interest did not contribute to the significant difference of teachers’ responses on the pre-test on the SCRI teachers’ orientation of Reading Profile (TORP). On average, mean pre-test difference for all the schools was only less than 1 point.

Discussion and Conclusion

The results of analysis confirmed that administrative and staff support as an important school level characteristic made a difference on the school teachers’ average program effect in terms of RP responses scores. More specifically, schools that showed administrative or staff support to the SCRI teachers would achieve approximately 24 points more on the RP on average than those non-supportive schools. This result is
consistent with previous studies on effective schools (e.g., Edmons, 1979a, 1979b, 1981; Purkey & Smith, 1983). Other school compositional factors such as high minority status, student-per-teacher ratio, Title 1 school district status also made a difference in predicting overall mean school RP scores between schools. The data did not support the implied hypothesis that the pretest Teaching Orientation to Reading Profile (TORP) or that gender would well predict a teacher’s response to RP although some of the level 2 predictors did contribute to the gender difference in predicting a typical school teacher’s response to RP. Moreover, none of the level 2 predictors or school level factors significantly contributed to the explanation of the slope of TORP gap across schools. This may indicate that TORP as a pretest was not related to those school characteristics such as high minority student component, student-per-teacher ratio, student population size, and Title 1 status. The result of data analysis also suggested that school mean pretest TORP, school student population size were not a significant school level predictors (at least for this sample) that contributed to the level 1 slopes (regression coefficients).

As shown in Table 3, there is still quite a lot of variance that remains unexplained in level 1 model. This may mean that there are more important predictors that have been excluded. For future studies, it is recommended that level 1 variables of interest may include teachers’ salary, teachers’ first year or not, teachers’ educational background, and certified or subjects of teaching, and prior experience or involvement in similar programs. School level compositional factors may include average student SES status, average teachers’ salary, average PACT score, school teacher turnover rate, and so on. It is also recommended that future studies may incorporate a growth model that can measure
longitudinally the teachers’ level program effect (teachers’ change over time) and school
environment or background effects on the program effect of teachers across schools.

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Table 1

*Descriptive Statistics of the Level 1 and Level 2 Variables*

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<tr>
<th>Variable Names</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
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<th>Max</th>
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<tr>
<td>Teacher-level variables</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>S03TRP (Total RP)</td>
<td>994</td>
<td>220.66</td>
<td>13.88</td>
<td>138.00</td>
<td>240.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>TTORP (1st Year Total TORP)</td>
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<td>83.93</td>
<td>9.85</td>
<td>45.00</td>
<td>122.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>GENDER</td>
<td>994</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>YEXP (Years of teaching)</td>
<td>994</td>
<td>2.78</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>School-level Variables</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTTORP (School mean TORP)</td>
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<td>83.99</td>
<td>4.53</td>
<td>66.65</td>
<td>99.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIMINORI (Over 50% are minority students)</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STTRATIO (Student-per-teacher ratio)</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>14.02</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>5.90</td>
<td>18.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>ENROLL (Student size)</td>
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<td>583.68</td>
<td>285.06</td>
<td>125.00</td>
<td>2095.00</td>
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<td>Support</td>
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<td>.79</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Title 1 (Title 1 school district)</td>
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<td>.93</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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Table 2

*Fixed Effects of Unconditional Model (without Level 1 or Level 2 Predictors)*

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<th>Fixed Effect Coefficient</th>
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<th>t-ratio</th>
<th>Approx. df</th>
<th>p-value</th>
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<td>Model for school mean RP, $\beta_0 j$</td>
<td>220.62</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>370.86</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRCEPT, $\gamma_{00}$</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Variance Component</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept1, $\mu_0 j$</td>
<td>24.62</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>315.04</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level-1, $r_{1 j}$</td>
<td>168.23</td>
<td></td>
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*Note.* Deviance=8008.50162. Number of estimated parameters = 2.
### Results from the Intercepts- and Slopes-as-Outcomes Model (Final Conditional Model)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fixed Effects</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>se</th>
<th>t-ratio</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Model for school mean RP</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRCEPT, $\gamma_{00}$</td>
<td>250.25</td>
<td>22.43</td>
<td>11.16</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIMINORI, $\gamma_{01}$</td>
<td>-14.32</td>
<td>5.34</td>
<td>-2.68</td>
<td>0.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STTRATIO, $\gamma_{02}$</td>
<td>-4.26</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>-2.96</td>
<td>0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUPPORT, $\gamma_{03}$</td>
<td>23.75</td>
<td>8.21</td>
<td>2.89</td>
<td>0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TITLE_1, $\gamma_{04}$</td>
<td>14.36</td>
<td>9.07</td>
<td>1.58</td>
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<tr>
<td>Model for gender slopes</td>
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<td>NTRCPT, $\gamma_{10}$</td>
<td>-32.32</td>
<td>22.84</td>
<td>-1.42</td>
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<td>HIMINORI, $\gamma_{11}$</td>
<td>11.80</td>
<td>5.28</td>
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<td>STTRATIO, $\gamma_{12}$</td>
<td>4.72</td>
<td>1.46</td>
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<td>SUPPORT, $\gamma_{13}$</td>
<td>-18.80</td>
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<td>TITLE_1, $\gamma_{14}$</td>
<td>-21.37</td>
<td>8.99</td>
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<td>Model for TORP1 slopes</td>
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<th>Random Effects</th>
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<th>df</th>
<th>$\chi^2$</th>
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<td>School mean RP, $\mu_{0j}$</td>
<td>211.84</td>
<td>47</td>
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<td>Gender slope, $\mu_{1j}$</td>
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<td>47</td>
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<td>Level-1, $\eta_{1j}$</td>
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*Note.* Deviance = 7882.687578. Number of estimated parameters = 4.
Appendix

Description of the Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher-level</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pre-test (TTORP)</td>
<td>Total score on the Teacher Orientation of Reading Profile—a 28 Likert-scaled survey that measures a teacher’s beliefs and practice of literacy and reading teaching in terms of SCRI.</td>
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<tr>
<td>GENDER</td>
<td>A binary variable (1=female; 0=male).</td>
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<tr>
<td>YEXP</td>
<td>Years of experience in teaching.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>School-level</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>MTORP1</td>
<td>School mean Torp1 score measured as a pre-test.</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIMINORI</td>
<td>A binary dummy variable (1=high minority student school, with minority students more than 50% of the total school student population, 0=non-high minority student school with minority students less than 50% of the student population).</td>
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<tr>
<td>STTRATIO</td>
<td>Student per teacher ratio.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ENROLL</td>
<td>School enrollment or student population size</td>
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<td>TITLE_1</td>
<td>A binary dummy variable (1=Title1 district school; 0=non Title1 district school). Title1 district is defined as any district with a school in Title 1 Corrective Active or School Improvement.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUPPORT</td>
<td>A binary dummy variable (1=supportive, and 0=non-supportive). This variable is defined by a teacher survey measuring the school administration’s attitude toward the program including principals’, and staffs’ support to the SCRI teachers.</td>
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Panel Title: 
Travel, Encounter and the Production of Culture

Chairs:
Susan Harding
Dept. of Anthropology, University of California, Santa Cruz
Email:hard@ucsc.edu

Shiho Satsuka
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Panel Abstract:
In this panel, we explore how cultural encounters are being re-theorized and how the concept of culture is changing in the process. Much recent anthropological writing points out that culture is always emergent through interactions and encounters with the Other. Mary Louise Pratt and James Clifford provide us with the useful notion of "contact zone" as a space in which culture emerges through power-laden encounters of people from different places and positions. Building on their insights, we examine exactly what happens in terms of cultural production in the
cross-cultural encounters, how differences and similarities are articulated, and how elucidating the process of encounter contributes to anthropological theories of culture. Examples are drawn from East European Indianists reenacting North American Native peoples; strategic collaboration in Yoruba culture production between Yoruba performers, an Austrian sculptor, and a German scholar; Japanese tour guides interpreting Canadian nature; and Western travel narratives of cultural contact and recoding in New Guinea. After presentations of each panelist's research, we will open the discussion with the audience.

**Spearheading American Indian Cultures:**

**Cultural Appropriation and Military Encounters in Europe and the Middle East**

*German V. Dziebel, Stanford University*

On the basis of fieldwork in Eastern and Western Europe in 2000-2001, I will discuss the phenomenon of the appropriation of American Indian cultures in Europe and especially its utilization in military contexts. I will focus on the case of the use of American Indian war “magic” and gear by a platoon of Russian Special Forces in Chechnya, and position it, on the one hand, within the highly diversified culture of the reenactment of “traditional” American Indian cultures by contemporary Europeans and, on the other, within the history of American Indian support of the U.S. military incursions. I will argue that the globalization of the American Indian cultural heritage during the 20th century and its exportation into Europe have been taking place in close connection with changing patterns of internal relationships between American Indian communities and the U.S. government, both at peace and at war. Culture, instead of being seen as a temporally and spatially boxed entity, should be interpreted as the coalescence of several power interests that cross the boundaries of nation-states and tribal communities to form a sovereign symbolic structure of action and interpretation.

**Sculpting Osogbo: Strategic Collaborations among Yoruba Artists, an Austrian Sculptor, and a German Scholar**

*Debra L. Klein, Vassar College*

This article maps out an alternative history of Yoruba culture production in Osogbo, Nigeria by charting the paths and relationships of two key foreigners, Susanne Wenger and Ulli Beier, who have consistently participated in the cultural and spiritual life of Osogbo since their arrival in 1950. By examining the stories of an Austrian artist and a German scholar in Osogbo, I shift the anthropological gaze to the collaborative process of transnational, transcultural brokerage in creating identities and movements. I illustrate how the process of sculpting a town-specific identity—Osogbo Yoruba—is a strategic collaborative endeavor that implicates European
assumptions about the Yoruba Other as much as Yoruba artists’ desires to reclaim themselves. I trace the tendril-like process of generating excitement about Yoruba culture, as it emerged out of conversations, encounters and casual talk during my field research in the 1990s.

**Enchanting Nature: Japanese Tourism in the Canadian Rockies**
Shiho Satsuka, Stanford University

This paper examines the role of Japanese tour guides as mediators in Japanese overseas tourism. In particular, I analyze how Japanese tour guides in the Canadian Rockies became enchanting commodities for tourists from Japan in their work of interpreting Canadian natural landscape. Drawing ethnographic examples from guide training sessions, I discuss how tour guides were struggling to translate different notions of humanity in the process of transforming themselves into an attractive commodity for Japanese tourists. Through this discussion, the paper explores how the subjectivity in the post-industrial capitalism has been produced through travel encounters.

**Cultural Recoding in, by, and of Contact Tales from the New Guinea Archive**
Susan Harding, University of California, Santa Cruz

Much Western travel literature, including tourist studies, produces and enacts, even as it criticizes, Western domination. It does so by obscuring autonomous and semi-autonomous interests and power in play and the extent to which the outcomes of cross-cultural encounters, including tourism, are complex, contingent, and constantly subject to negotiation. A contact zone approach to tourism, and to travel encounters more generally, brings these dimensions to the fore, among other ways, by focusing on the recoding practices of all sides in cross-cultural encounters. Recoding presumes a degree of intimacy and sustained contact, though may begin within hours of “first contact,” and involves taking up the discourse of the other and revoicing it, redirecting it toward one’s own ends. Although at moments recoding may be a conscious, even a cynically manipulative, process, it is mostly and more often unconscious, spontaneous, and open-ended, an inescapable aspect of all cross-cultural encounters. Western travel literature, including much of tourist studies, is an aggressive set of narrative conventions for recoding cultural others and elsewheres in ways that enact Western domination through the constant erasure of its own recoding practices and those of encountered others, thus masking the dialogics of engagement in favor of tropes of superiority and/or domination. In this paper, I re-view some classics from the travel archives of Western/New Guinea contact (“First Contact,” “Cannibal Tours,” “Cannibals and Crampons”) as well as an alternative, “contact zone” account (“Paradise”), show how recoding practices are variously figured, and discuss the narrative politics of those figurations.
ABSTRACT

1. The Process of Urban Decay in Recent African American Film

2. Ken Harris

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6. African American mainstream film in the 1990s, “black city spaces existed within limited historical parameters in which the city had always existed in its present form, or, perhaps, as it appeared in blaxploitation films from the 1970s.” Her project, along with that of Jacqueline Najuma Stewart in her forthcoming Migrating to the Movies: Cinema and Black Urban Modernity, is to broaden the historical context of the black city by examining earlier representations by black (and to a lesser extent white) filmmakers. Some films, however, have attempted to frame the urban experience as a process of historical decay represented cinematically and accounted for by forces both from without and from within the African American community. One such film discussed by Massood, Menace II Society, chronicles the downward spiral of Watts since 1965. An overlooked film that appeared after Massood’s book was published, Bones, ingeniously uses a ghost story to contrast the present-day decrepitude of a fictional black urban landscape with the roots of its decay in an idealized 1970s as resulting from individuals’ actions, social and political developments, and mythical/supernatural influences.
Uncertainty Principles:
Emerging Ethical Consciousness and Narrative Strategy

As writers create stories within fragile and contested territories, they are often confronted by difficult ethical questions. When the lives of people from different cultures, races and genders intersect, whose story should be told? Does the person of white, European ancestry have the right to tell his/her part of that story? Does a man have the right to tell a woman’s story? If so, from whose point of view? If not, should stories be peopled only with one’s own race, one’s own gender? What is the responsibility of the writer to create stories of the world she/he observes and lives in rather than the ideal one in which most of us would like to live? As South African writer, Mognane Wally Serote so aptly asked, “How shall we look at each other then?”¹

These questions are not just philosophical for the writer. The answers may determine what we will or will not permit ourselves to write, especially if

¹ Looking toward a post-apartheid South Africa, Serote posed this question in A Tough Tale.
we want to approach story-telling with a sensitive eye to the power of literature to show readers a world of diverse and intersecting experiences.

This paper examines social and political questions facing today’s writers and explores emerging ethical strategies for entering the space of intersecting experiences shared by disparate characters who find themselves caught in the same uncertain moment. Techniques of perspective such as witness/reflection, circular surveillance, montage, and pronoun bridging will be examined in the works of South African writer, Nadine Gordimer and Australian writer, Janette Turner Hospital.
Submission Proposal for the
Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences 2005

Title: "From the Other End of the Leash: A Look at Animal-Assisted Therapy from the Animals' Perspective"

Topic Area: Sociology

Presentation Format: Paper Session

Author: Hatch, Alison
Doctorate Student

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Please see attached abstract.
Abstract
"From the Other End of the Leash: A Look at Animal-Assisted Therapy from the Animals' Perspective"

By Alison Hatch
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Alison.Hatch@colorado.edu

Over the last couple of decades, Animal-Assisted Therapy (ATT) programs have gained in popularity. Accompanying, and perhaps in part fueling, the relative abundance of AAT programs is a vast array of literature that attests to the many benefits such programs are said to have for humans. The prevalent perspective for current research on AAT is "what can non-human animals do for us?" with little or no consideration to what such programs may be doing for, or to, the animals involved. It seems reasonable to expect that those involved in AAT programs should be (or would want to be) concerned about animal welfare and the humane treatment of therapy animals. Recent sociological work affirms the capacity for animals to be minded actors with distinct selves, and have the capacity to feel and display a range of emotions. Given such findings, AAT programs should ideally be beneficial and rewarding to the animals as well as to the humans involved.

Based on 19 interviews with human volunteers who are involved in an AAT program sponsored by a local animal shelter, and including some of my own first hand experiences as a AAT volunteer, this study investigates the role and experience of the animals (primarily dogs) in AAT. Specifically, this study compares the use of shelter animals as "volunteer therapists" in comparison to the use of the human volunteers' own companion animals. Results indicate that AAT programs do raise some ethical concerns for the animals involved. Specifically, the animals from the shelter were more likely to experience physical and mental/emotional suffering (i.e., fatigue, dehydration, stress and fear). These findings indicate that more attention needs to focus on the experience of non-human animals in AAT programs. Additionally, this study raises some questions about the ethics involved in using shelter animals for AAT.

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6. Abstract

7. Paper with Title
Juvenile Crime in Detroit 1993-2003: Are There Racial Implications?

by

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ABSTRACT

This study focused black and white juveniles in Detroit from 1993 to 2003. A comparison was drawn with black and white juveniles. The central direction of this study was to explore arrests for violent crimes and arrests for narcotic law violations during the 1993-2003 time period. There were significant correlations for murder, rape, robbery, and aggregated assault when correlated with narcotic law violations for black juveniles. Additionally, there were significant correlations for murder and robbery when correlated with narcotic law violations for white juveniles.
The problem of the black offender deserves attention on the part of researchers, criminal justice professionals, lawmakers, and others. Information regarding juvenile arrests can contribute to greater understanding to the nature and dimension of the problem.

In this paper, the 1993-2003 data relative to arrests for crimes against the person (homicide, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) and for narcotics law violations will be examined. The data, which will be drawn from Detroit and will be viewed from a racial perspective.

Questions to be addressed include the following: What changes, if any, have occurred between 1993-2003 in the number of arrests of black offenders for violent crimes and narcotic law violations? What does the data suggest about the relationship between arrests for narcotics law offenses and arrests for violent crimes?

Researchers have investigated various factors that may be related to crime--factors such as the family, education, economic status, and drugs. In this paper, a review will be presented of literature on the possible relationship between the general development of criminal behavior and such factors as poor educational opportunities, poverty, and the usage and selling of drugs. The relationship between drugs and violent crime will be the basic thrust of the paper.
Factors Related to the Development of Delinquency

Family

Many articles have been written over the years concerning the relationship of the family to delinquency. Various factors such as family size and family structure have been examined. With respect to the family size, some of the data suggest that large family size is related to delinquency. There tends to be more delinquency emanating from families where there are a large number of children. Fisher (1984) noted that a review of the literature shows that a large family size is related to greater delinquency. The relationship remains when a number of variables, i.e., income, social economic status, parental criminality, and family composition have been controlled.

Another issue related to large family size is that it is often more difficult for parents to supervise their children. Fisher (1983) suggested that a possible hypothesis for explaining the relationship between family size and delinquency is that in large families, it may be more difficult for parents to provide adequate supervision than is the case with smaller families.

The structure of the family is another factor that is often suggested as being related to delinquency. There is a frequently mentioned premise in criminology that links broken homes to juvenile delinquency. In discussions of the lifestyle of families that produced juveniles who became delinquent, a broken home is an often-mentioned factor. Zimsmeister (1990) noted:

The most important source of violence among children is family breakdown. More than 60% of all children born today will spend at least
some time in a single parent household before reaching the age of 18. That kind of collapse of family structure is historically unprecedented in the United States and possibly in the world. For many black teenagers, according to a report by one child welfare organization, marriage is now an almost forgotten institution.

It has been suggested that juveniles from poor, minority families headed by a female tend to show an increase in delinquency. Moynihan (1959) suggested that the absence of a father in the household is related to juvenile delinquency.

Stern et al. (1984) pointed out that the father seems to provide the prime teaching and the deterrent force in the family through his role of value transmitter and disciplinarian. The authors went on to note that a father who is geographically removed from a family setting will be less effective in fulfilling these functions. It has often been noted that the absence of the father in the black family is enhanced by government requirements that the father be absent if the mother is to receive welfare payments. If he is unemployed, he is actually helping the economic situation if he is not present in the household. Ceinkovich and Giordano (1987) focused on the factors that lead to a broken home rather than on the effect of living in the situation after it has occurred. They note:

Far more important than the effects of the actual parental separation and on living in a broken home, are familiar problems and conflicts that brought about the separation in the first place. It seems as though it is generally accepted that harmonious, yet physically broken homes, are far less detrimental to the mental health of the children than are physically
intact but psychologically broken homes. Farnsworth (1984), in considering this same issue, raised questions with the thesis that a broken home is related in any meaningful way to juvenile delinquency. In her study, she pointed out:

The results from this analysis suggest that the importance of family structure for delinquency has been highly aggregated in the popular thesis linking broken homes to delinquency. The failure of broken homes to explain most delinquency within the present sample for either males or females is especially provocative so the broken home thesis is being populated into a context of observations of low income black families in Moynihan’s influential report. These results argue for an alternative explanation for high rates of official delinquency among lower class black juveniles. It is interesting to note, for example, that when family structure is implicated in delinquency within the sample of low, low income families, an integral feature of structure is parental employment. When both parents are employed and the father is present, the delinquency is reduced. This suggested a fruitful research focus in the future may be the economic dimensions of black families rather than their structure.

Roberts (1987), in viewing the mother as a social agent, noted that when children get into trouble, people are quick to place the blame on the mother who is raising her children alone. What seems to be overlooked is that most of these women are trying to be effective parents. It is very difficult, however, because their efforts to do so are undermined by the
social conditions that envelope their lives and are beyond their control. Their lives are based on a number of insecurities, both financial and emotional. McLoyd (1990) focused on the former concern when she noted:

Significant drops in income owing to a wide range of circumstances (e.g., divorce, job loss, cutbacks in work hours) occur more frequently among black families; consequently, relatively more black children than white children fall into poverty. In the last two decades, low wages, increasing levels of black male unemployment as a result of entrenchment in the manufacturing sector of the economy, and, relatedly, the rise in duration of stay in female-headed households have conspired to threaten the economic well-being of black children seen more than earlier times.

Weber et al. notes “that the establishment of a family identity in the youth that does not allow for delinquency appears to be linked to a reduction in delinquency. They go on to note that adolescents that are allowed to roam unsupervised are logically more likely to become involved in delinquent activities.” Zoglin (1996) in agreement with this same line of thinking suggested that “lack of supervision, broken homes, abusive parents, and negative role models are just some of the factors contributing to teenage crime. Thornberry (1987) argued that the attachment to parents has a stronger influence on the life of a youth during early adolescence rather than at later ages. He further suggests that the family is the most salient arena for social interaction and involvement. Jang (1999) noted that delinquency provides ample evidence of the importance of an adolescent’s relations with family, school, and peers in explaining his or her behavioral pattern. Thomas et al. (1996) noted that black
male adolescents were found to have fewer problem behaviors when nonresident fathers were not involved in single-mother families than did white male adolescents in single-mother families. This is not to suggest that problems do not exist; however, it is pointing to the idea that black families are not the only ones affected by their situation.

Balasco-Barr (1995) noted that family services should focus on children who are at risk of becoming future criminals. At risk children are those born into disorganized families and communities, whose environment caused them to develop formative behavior that continue the intergenerational cycle of criminology begun by their families. Intervention programs should emphasize not only prevention, but on services that can break the cycle.

Poverty

Many studies have found that there appears to be a relationship between poverty and violent crime in America. Also, poverty has an effect on both academic failure and extreme delinquency (Pagani et.al. 1999). Studies of police records have shown that homicide offenders are disproportionately drawn from the poor segments of the population (Schmid and Schmid, 1972; Wolfgang, 1958). In addition, there have been comparative studies showing that homicide rates are positively related to indicators of deprivation such as low education, substandard housing, high infant mortality rates, and low-income (Venture, 1975; Smith and Parker, 1980).
Other researchers argue that poverty is not linked to violent crimes. Messner (1982) and Blau and Blau (1982), for example, suggested that poverty is not related to homicide rates. One criticism of these studies has been that the single variable of income was used as the indicator of poverty. Loftin and Parker (1985) concluded that the studies that use multiple indicators of poverty (e.g., high infant mortality, substandard housing, low income) generally find significant positive effect, while those which rely on a single variable of income find weak and inconsistent effects.

Good, et al. (1986) argued that there is a link between employment and delinquency. They suggested that improving the employability of youths will have a positive immediate payoff by reducing juvenile criminality. They also suggested that young repeat offenders are less employable, and that successful efforts to reduce their criminal tendencies will increase the probability of their taking part in legal forms of employment. The problem is that often times young members of minority groups find it very difficult to find employment in inner cities. Economists say that the people who are having the most difficulty finding jobs are those who have always had it the hardest: young members of minorities form the inner cities. Mydans (1992), in focusing on Los Angeles, suggested that as working class whites are pushed down the economic ladder, they are displacing from the ladder those who have long occupied the bottom rung, young blacks and Hispanics, mostly from the inner city and with little hope of improving their situation. Given the fact that few jobs are available, many of these youths turn to selling drugs and feel that that is a job. They feel that it takes talent and that it is not easy selling drugs. They feel that
you have to look over your shoulder constantly or you could be arrested or killed, and that takes talent.

Hawkins (1983) noted that "to the extent that criminal violence is caused by economic deprivation and powerlessness, homicide rates will occur at a higher rate among the black under-class and among the black middle-class." This suggested that poverty and powerlessness are related; and as such in this type of environment, the probability of violence is higher. It is clear that the risk for violent crimes among black youth are on the rise. Wright et al (1999) suggested that various classical theories of delinquency have posited a negative relationship between socioeconomic status and delinquency, however, empirical studies have found little statistical association between them. They go on to suggest that socioeconomic status has a negative effect upon delinquency through some mediators and a positive effect upon delinquency through other mediators. They went on to suggest that these negative/positive effects co-exist and cancel each other out. They also noted that it has been suggested that individuals in the upper and lower strata of society have the highest proportion of involvement in criminal offenses and that the middle strata had the lowest. They suggested that this would imply a u-shaped relationship between socioeconomic status and delinquency. There is evidence of a negative of a negative and significant relationship between market wages and participation in crime(Williams and Sickles 2002). The presence of traditionally low-paying service-sector employment influence delinquency by weakening families and attachment processes(Bellair and Roscigno 2004).
Tatum (1996), in her study, pointed out that she did not find support for the hypothesis that communities characterized by high rates of black adult and black juvenile unemployment, low black median income, a high percentage of black families below the poverty line, and a high percentage of black males not working, will have higher rates of black juvenile arrests. She suggested that the main factor is the percentage of the black population and that affects the rate of black juvenile arrests. In other words, if you have a higher percentage of blacks in a particular area, this will have an affect on the rate of black juveniles arrested because there are simply more blacks in the population. Wright et al (1997) noted that their study, based on a national sample of 1775 youths exploring the relationship of labor market work on delinquency revealed that working while in school, as measured by hours employed each week, increased delinquent involvement among high risk males. They suggested that these findings caution that unless carried out carefully in conjunction with other treatment modalities, delinquency prevention programs based on employment are likely to be ineffective if not criminogenic.

**Drugs**

The strength of the relationship between drug usage and crime is open for discussion, but the literature suggests that the use of drugs can reduce ones inhibitions and make the individual freer to commit crimes. In addition, it is suggested that individuals may commit crimes in a revenue producing effort in order to purchase drugs. Gandossy et al. (1980) found that a select review of the literature on criminal behavior patterns of addicts revealed that addicts frequently take part in income-generating crimes. This becomes apparent when an analysis is made of the charges against drug users,
convictions of addicts in prison, arrest records of penal populations, and observations of street addicts. Some researchers have suggested that the tendency to commit violent crimes has become more prevalent among contemporary addicts, compared with addicts of the 1950s (Chambers, 1974; Stevens and Ellis, 1975). Other research suggests that deviant attitudes and deviant peers are related to crime and drug use (Baron, 2004). Watson (2004) notes that research over the last 20 years has established a relationship between substance abuse and juvenile delinquency.

Innes (1988) noted that in a 1986 study that he did focusing on state prison inmates, that 35 percent reported that they were under the influence of drugs at the time that they committed their current offense, as compared to 32 percent in the 1979 survey. It was also noted that the greater the offenders' use of major drugs (heroin, methadone, cocaine, PCP, or LSD), the more prior convictions the inmate reported.

An area that needs greater attention is the trafficking of drugs in American society. The Bush administration’s top drug policy official said on June 19, 1991, that Americans spent more than $40 billion on cocaine, heroin, marijuana, and other illicit drugs (Johnston, 1991). Clearly, the sale of drugs is big business in this country. In addition, there is a tremendous amount of violence involved in the drug traffic process. Drug-related murders that stem from the entrepreneurial side of drugs are daily occurrences in most large urban areas. Much of the literature describes the fears of residents in urban areas have because of crimes committed by drug users who are high and irrational. In addition, the literature focuses on drug users’ attempts to gain revenue to support their addictive habits.
A greater fear held by urban residents involves the violence related to drug traffickers. Nadelmann (1988) noted:

The drug/crime link is the violent, intimidating, and corrupting behavior of the drug traffickers. Illegal markets tend to bred violence - not only because they attract criminal minded individuals, but also because the participants of the market have no resort to legal institutions to resolve their disputes. Most law enforcement officials agree that the dramatic increase in urban murder rates during the past few years can be explained almost entirely by the rise in drug dealer killings.

In this environment, we have the juvenile offenders who follow suit and interact in urban areas just as their adult counterparts. The juvenile offender has become part of a drug violence that permeates urban areas. In Detroit there were 258 cocaine-related juvenile arrests in 1980 and 647 in 1987. In New York City the arrests increased from 349 to 1,052. In Washington the figures were 315 and 1,894; and in Los Angeles there were 41 cocaine-related juvenile arrests in 1980 and 1,719 in 1987 (Ward, 1989). Selling crack cocaine is extremely lucrative, and when individuals feel that their territory is being invaded, they respond with violence.

The involvement of the young in drug trafficking was described in an Associated Press article (1989):

As the crack problem grows ever larger, its victims have become ever younger. The latest two in New York - an 11 year old alleged to be a drug
courier and a 10 year old crack dealer - left officials wondering if they are losing the drug fight.

“Crack and drugs are so pervasive that of course it trickles down into lower grades” said a spokesman for the United Federation of Teachers. “You have young kids used everyday as drug runners.”

The involvement of juveniles in drug related violence is becoming more prevalent. A Gannett News Service (1989) article noted: “In the past week a 16 year old was shot at a suburban Maryland high school, 13 people were shot and 3 killed on Valentines Day, and a 15 year old was arrested with a sawed-off shot gun.”

In the mid-eighties, drug related violence escalated in Detroit and in other large urban areas. Drug related arrests in most of the U.S.A.’s top 50 cities increased from 1983-1987. During this period, Atlanta showed an increase of +40.3 percent; Cleveland, +54.6 percent; Los Angeles, +47.4 percent; Miami, +147.7 percent; New York, +68 percent; and Detroit, +54.8 percent (Greenberg et al., 1989).

In 1980 the rate of drug abuse arrests for white and black youth was approximately the same. Between 1980 and 1989 the drug abuse arrest rates for persons under 18 increased by 17 percent. However, drug abuse arrests declined for whites dropping by 33 percent. In contrast, drug arrest rates for blacks remained relatively constant through 1984. There was a dramatic increase between 1984 and 1989 with the rate of drug abuse arrests for black youth increasing by 200 percent. This meant that the 1989 black rate had climbed to nearly 5 times the white rate (Snyder, 1992).
Our urban areas appear to be becoming war zones where gunfire is a daily occurrence. Most black youths either know someone or are related to someone who has been killed by a handgun. Homicide by the use of a handgun is becoming an epidemic in the black urban population. This is a problem where no end is in sight. In Detroit in a 9-year period covering 1980-1988, the all cause mortality rate for children (1-18 years of age) increased almost 50 percent for the urban population. In 1980 the mortality was 49.48 per 100,000 population and this figure in 1988 rose to 73.20 per 100,000. By the same token, neither white males nor white females in the urban population nor any gender-or-race specific suburban group showed any significant change in all-causes of morality during the 9-year period. The black urban male showed a consistent and highly significant increase in all-cause mortality over the period with an increase of 74 percent from a low of 68.5 per 100,000 in 1980 to 119.2 per 100,000 in 1988. Although not as striking, black urban females showed a 50 percent increase in the all-cause mortality rate over the interval. The rate increased from 29.9 per 100,000 in 1980 to 44.7 per 100,000 in 1988. The increase in homicides, specifically firearm related homicides, in the urban population accounted for the increase in overall mortality rates. This increase in homicide rates was significant for the 10-14 year old males and the 15-18 year old male and female portions of the black urban populations (Ropp et al., 1992).

Blumstein (1995) pointed out that the predominant change in homicide is linked to dramatic growth in youth homicides beginning in the mid 1980s and attributed that growth to the recruitment of young people into illicit drug markets. Because those markets are illegal, the participants must arm themselves for self-protection, and the resulting "arms
race” among young people results in more frequently resorting to guns as a major escalation of the violence that has often characterized encounters among teenage males.

An interesting finding centers around what appears to be a shift in terms of teen drug use in America. Joseph Califano, Jr., President of the National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University presented some interesting findings to the U.S. Conference of Mayors in Washington. He notes that we have a situation where eighth graders (in small towns) are using drugs at much higher rates, whether it is crack, methamphetamines, alcohol, or tobacco. Researchers analyzed data for federal, state, and local sources including the Department of Health and Human Services, the National Institute of Justice and local police. This study showed that rural eighth graders in the past month were: twice as likely to have used amphetamines, including methamphetamines, than those in large metropolitan populations (5.1% of rural teens versus 2.4% of urban teens); 83% more likely to have used crack; 50% more likely to have used cocaine; 34% more likely to have smoked marijuana; 29% more likely to have drunk alcohol, and 70% more likely to have been intoxicated (Villalva 2000).

INCIDENCE OF ARRESTS IN DETROIT

This section will focus on arrests for violent crimes as well as for narcotics law violations in Detroit. With regard to arrests for violent crimes, the focus will be on homicide, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. Arrests for violation of narcotics law will encompass all forms of violations, such as possession or selling of heroin, marijuana, or cocaine. For the most part, this discussion will view narcotics law violations as a joining
together of sales and usage, rather than breaking the violations down into separate categories. There is no breakdown in reporting arrests for the various forms of drug law violations in Michigan; instead, everything is lumped under the framework of narcotics law violations. Thus a correlation was made between narcotics law violations arrests and arrests for violent crimes.

In order to put the data in perspective, the percentage of black and percentage of white in the population, as well as the racial breakdown of the total population are reported. These figures are based on the 1990 and 2000 census data and are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1
Population Census—1990-2000 for Detroit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Juvenile</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>307,154</td>
<td>47,132</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>262,134</td>
<td>84.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Population</td>
<td>Black Population</td>
<td>Lot Size</td>
<td>Median Home Value</td>
<td>Median Income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>284,132</td>
<td>23,134</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>261,115</td>
<td>92.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Arrests

Table 2 represents data on the numbers for blacks and whites arrested for the various categories of crimes. The numbers are compared for blacks and whites for 1993 and 2003. Fluctuations took place during the period and this is indicated in the table. Table 3 focuses on a correlation of crimes against the person with arrests for narcotic law violations.

Detroit

For crimes involving murder the number of arrests for black juveniles decreased from 73 in 1993 to 6 in 1998. This downward trend continued and the murder arrests was down to 2 in 2003. For whites there also was a downward trend. In 1993 there were 8 arrests for murder and 5 in 1998. This downward trend continued to a low of 1 in 2003.

The number of arrests of blacks for forcible rape decreased from 38 in 1993 to 28 in 1998. The arrest level dropped to 7 in 2003. The number of arrests for whites for forcible rape was 3 in 1993 and rose slightly in 1998 to 5 and then dropped to 0 in 2003. Black arrests for robbery were 382 in 1993 and decreased to 138 in 1998. This figure dropped to 41 in 2003. For whites, the number of arrests was 10 in 1993 and dropped to 0 in 1998 and rose to 16 in 2003. The number of arrests for blacks for aggravated assault in 1993 was 271 and this decreased to 171 in 1998. A downward movement was in evidence in 2003 with the number of arrests for aggravated assault dropping to 11. For whites the number was 32 in 1993 and dropped to 13 in 1998 and was 12 in 2003. For narcotic law violations for blacks, the figure was 236 in 1993 and dropped to 156 in 1998. This decrease continued and
Table 2

Number and Percentage of Violent Crime Arrests and Drug Laws Violations by Race for Detroit—1993-2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Juvenile Total*</th>
<th>Black Total</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>White Total</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>86.3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>92.1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>96.2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agg. Assault</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>88.6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Narcotic Law</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>96.2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agg. Assault</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>291</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>97.3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>96.2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>94.6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>262</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>98.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agg. Assault</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>91.1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8.9</td>
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<tr>
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<td>264</td>
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<td>98.5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
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<td>0.0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rape</td>
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<td>53</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>91.0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agg. Assault</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>93.5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>169</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>98.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>97.1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>30</td>
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<td>86.9</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>212</td>
<td>201</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>4.7</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agg. Assault</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>91.5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>164</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>97.6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>83.3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Robbery</td>
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</tr>
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<td>70.6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>65.6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>31.1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>158</td>
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<td>43.0</td>
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<td>Narcotic Law</td>
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<td>64</td>
<td>94.1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 (Continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Juvenile Total*</th>
<th>Black Total</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>White Total</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>92.9</td>
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<td>411.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>33</td>
<td>89.2</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>9.7</td>
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<td>2.3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agg. Assault</td>
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<td>98.0</td>
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<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rape</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robbery</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>19</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>100.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
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<td>33.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
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<td>90.7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>54.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>242</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>68.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Juvenile total includes all races.
Table 3
Correlation Between Arrests for Narcotic Law Violations and Arrests for Crimes Against the Person, by Race from 1993 to 2003 in Detroit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Murder Arrests</th>
<th>Rape Arrests</th>
<th>Robbery Arrests</th>
<th>Aggravated Assault</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>.702*</td>
<td>.888**</td>
<td>.388</td>
<td>.816*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p<.05  ** p<.01

was 77 in 2003. For whites the number of arrests in 1993 was 8 and dropped to 2 in 1998 and made a tremendous increase to 165 in 2003

Population Issues

When there is a decline in arrest levels, it is important to look at a number of issues. A key fact is population. A decline in arrests can mean that there are fewer individuals committing crimes because there are fewer people. However, a decline in population may not be as large as the arrest decline and this was the issue in Detroit for white juveniles

In the above discussion, particular years were identified and were cited in terms of their fluctuations. To amply on the data, averages will be given for time periods and they will blocked off and compared. The changes will be explained as they relate to changes in the 1990 and 2000 censuses. In 1990 the juvenile population was 307,154 and there was a decline to 284,132 in 2000 which represents a 9.2% decline. The black population was
262,134 and this figure dropped to 261,115 in 2000 or less than 1%. The white population was 47,132 in 1990 and dropped to 23,134 or by nearly 49.4%. In viewing periods of time as they relate to arrests there have been some interesting changes. The arrest rates have dropped well beyond population changes for blacks; but this was not the case for whites.

The average number of arrests for blacks for murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault and narcotic law violations for the period 1993-1996 was: murder-52, rape-48, robbery-261, aggravated assault-270, and narcotic law violations-236. The average number of arrests for 2002 and 2003 was: murder-3 or a 94% reduction, rape-7 a 85% reduction, robbery-27 a 90% reduction, aggravated assault-91 a 7.5% reduction, and narcotic law violations-46 an 80% reduction. There has been a big change in the arrest rates for black, pointing to a reduction in crime.

The average number of arrests for whites for the time period 1993-1996 was: murder-3, rape-3, robbery-11, aggravated assault-28, and narcotic law violations-16. The average number of arrests for 2002 and 2003 was: murder 1 or a 66% reduction, rape-0 a 100% reduction, robbery-10 a 9% reduction, aggravated assault-16 a 57% reduction, and narcotic law violations-83 a 93% increase. The data relative to murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault with regard to arrests shows some fluctuations. The numbers for murder and rape are so small that it is difficult to draw any conclusions. What stands out is the huge increase in narcotic laws violations for 2003 for white juveniles.
Relationship Between Drug Arrests and
Arrests for Violent Crimes

In the literature and various newspapers there have been numerous articles concerning the relationship between drugs and violent crimes. Upon examination of this issue, the Spearman (rho) was used in this paper in correlating narcotics arrests with arrests of crimes of violence in each of the four cities studied. Correlation were done for the population (black and white) for Detroit (Table 3). There were significant correlations when murder, robbery, and aggravated assault when correlated with narcotic law violations for blacks. There were correlations for murder and robbery for whites. Arrests for violent crimes and narcotics law violations showed a precipitation downward trend for blacks. Blacks represented the highest percentage of arrests for violent crimes and narcotic law violations; however, this was not true for narcotic laws violations in 2003. Drugs and violent crime have been a part of the literature focusing on the urban scene in the last decade. The data from this study for blacks suggests a strong relationship between drug law violations and all of the violent crimes correlated. There was an across the board decline. The same was true for whites for murder and robbery.

Conclusion

This paper has presented a review of selected literature related to the problem of black offenders—particularly those arrested for violent crimes. The review included a research on the possible relationship between the general development of crime and such factors as poor educational opportunities, poverty, and usage and selling of drugs.
The literature review was followed by a presentation of information on the number of total arrests in Detroit. Data on arrests for narcotic law violations and arrests for violent crimes were examined to assess the possible relationship between the two types of criminal behavior. For violent crimes, the number of arrests for the total population had a precipitous downward trend from the early 1990’s to 2003 for black and white juveniles, except for the narcotic law violations for white juveniles.

The problem of the black and white juvenile offender must be addressed by both the public and the private sectors, using multiple strategies; providing equal high quality educational opportunities, reducing poverty, and controlling the usage and sale of narcotics. Prevention must be the approach as we begin the 21st century.
REFERENCES


Central Records Division of the Crime Reporting Section, Michigan Department of State Police.


abstract

The lecture is based on the observation that social work - despite of the confrontation with various professional, socio-political and managerial demands for modernization – has not been able to generate an independent notion of professionalism.

The current discourse on professionalism in social work is dominated by the premises of New Public Management: instruments of private markets like competition, benchmarking, contracting out are applied. Furthermore the seeming crisis of the public budget induces a political demand for more efficiency and effectiveness of social work. Promising this, case management is rapidly elaborated in theory and systematically implemented in practice: it unites economic, political, managerial with professional demands. Consequently within the Enabling State and Third Way agenda case management is presented as a professionalization strategy of social work.

The background of the analyses is a theoretical perspective on social service delivery, granting privilege to the demand side and focussing on the citizen status of the users. Thus Social Work has to ensure that persons are able to participate in democratic processes in institutional as well as in everyday life. However the concept of social service delivery may also be connected to the paradigms of the Enabling State or Third Way: As people-processing and people-changing institution case management contains the “production” of profilings, integration plans, the organization and coordination of assistance and so on - and it is coupled to massive control mechanisms and sanctions. This form of consultation may contradict a social work ethos as the consulting process is not based on principles like voluntariness, confidence and result-openness which are subordinated to the euphemistic principle of emphasizing the notion of responsibilities.

By referring to the theoretical background of governmentality studies this lecture argues that social work is fundamentally *gouvérnemental*, but that there are possibilities of opposition and criticism. So firstly the lecture works on the question, to what extent case management
can be identified as a concrete governmental technique and secondly, which effects the guiding principle case management has on social work professionalism. This has to take into consideration that there is an ambivalence in the service paradigm: processes of co-production in social service theories may analytically refer to both kinds of „products“ like consultation, information, assistance and qualification as well as to control, coercion and deterrence.

Summarized - on the background of this ambivalence - the lecture seeks to analyze, how different professionalization strategies effect Social Work professionalism, its acting principles and ethos and how the concept of social service delivery can be strengthened by developing a substantial notion of professionalism.
Title:
RAISEing the Bar: Lessons Learned from Integrating GISci Technology into Rural Schools

Presentation Type:
Paper

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Abstract and full paper:

Abstract:

During the 2004-05 academic year ten Oklahoma State University graduate students worked with math, science, and social studies teachers to introduce GIScience technologies (geographic information systems, the Global Positioning System, and remote sensing) within 6-12th grade classrooms in three rural Oklahoma schools. Supported by the National Science Foundation's Graduate Fellows in K-12 Education (GK-12) program, the Rural Alliance for Improving Science Education (RAISE) is a partnership between Oklahoma State University and the three rural school districts. This presentation describes the objectives, organization, and implementation of RAISE over the course of its first year. The unique challenges and opportunities of introducing GISci technology into public school classrooms will be discussed along with lessons learned, activities designed, and the impact our program has upon graduate students, teachers, and 6-12th grade students.
Lessons Learned from Integrating GISci Technology in Rural Schools

Joel W. Helmer
Thomas A. Wikle

Background

Science and social science teachers in rural communities face unique challenges. Small teaching staffs mean that faculty sometimes must provide instruction in subjects outside their training. Compared to urban areas, rural areas often have relatively low high school graduation rates and fewer college-bound students. New federal initiatives such as “No Child Left Behind” mandates improved student performance without additional funding. Operating within an environment of limited resources and new forms of accountability, teachers look for ways to make science and social science instruction relevant, engaging and effective.

In an effort to address some of the problems facing rural schools in Oklahoma, faculty and local teachers submitted a proposal to the National Science Foundation’s Graduate Fellows in K-12 Education (GK-12) program. NSF’s GK-12 Program was developed in 1999 to enhance science technology, engineering and math (STEM) education by creating opportunities for graduate students to interact with K-12 teachers and students in classroom settings. In addition to impacting student learning, GK-12 is intended to improve communication and team building skills among graduate students while providing an opportunity to learn about and teach within K-12 schools. GK-12 also provides professional opportunities to teachers to improve their skills, and enhances
the relationship between higher education institutions and school districts. In October of 2003 Oklahoma State University’s proposal was selected from among 26 nationwide to receive funding.

The Rural Alliance for Improving Science Education (RAISE) pairs ten OSU graduate students with 6-12th grade science and social science teachers to develop exercises, lesson plans and other activities involving applications of geographic information science (GISci) technology. GISci is an umbrella term for three related technologies: 1) geographic information systems (GIS) used to collect, store and analyze spatial information, 2) the Global Positioning System (GPS) that provides opportunities to navigate or collect geographic information in the field, and 2) remote sensing technologies that offer capabilities for the analysis of data collected by sensors attached to aircraft or satellites. GISci technologies offer an opportunity to introduce inquiry based learning (see Bednarz 2000) and have been used in K-12 settings since the early 1990s (see Tinker 1992, Brown Burley and Jon Bryan 1996, and Carlstrom and Quinlan 1997, Keiper 1999). An important benefit of GISci technologies is that they promote active learning where the student is a participant in the learning process rather than a passive receptacle of information (Meyers and Thomas 1993).

Organization of RAISE

Compared to its use in higher education, GISci is not widely integrated into K-12 schools curricula. Therefore, RAISE provides an unparalleled opportunity to explore possibilities for integrating GISci in K-12 settings through a partnership involving higher education and school districts. The specific goals of RAISE are to: 1) improve the
science learning environment by making science more engaging, exciting and fun, 2) enhance students’ observation skills to help them better understand relationships between science and society, 3) improve science literacy as demonstrated by standardized test scores, and 4) increase the number of college-bound students from rural areas (especially from underrepresented groups). This paper describes the organization of RAISE along with a discussion of unique challenges faced by OSU graduate students (called RAISE scientists) and teachers over the last year as they’ve introduced GISci lesson plans and activities into 6-12th grade science and social science classrooms.

RAISE is being implemented within rural areas and small towns with low average incomes and large numbers of students who are not ordinarily college-bound, many of them Native Americans. Leadership for RAISE is provided by a Steering Committee of three OSU faculty members and three teachers. Teachers on the Steering Committee also serve in the role of “District Coordinator” within their respective school districts, facilitating interaction among scientists, students, and teachers in their district. By helping to address the day-to-day interaction of teachers and scientists, District Coordinators have proven to be the key to successful project implementation in partner schools.

Another important element for project success has been successful recruiting of high quality graduate scientists to serve as scientists. Information about RAISE was distributed among graduate advisors in OSU graduate programs. The initial applicant pool was narrowed for interviews conducted by the Steering Committee. The ten graduate students (scientists) selected for the program included five from Geography, three from Zoology, one from Environmental Science and one from Plant and Soil
Science. Most had experience with at least one GISci area. The ten scientists who were selected participated in a graduate seminar during the summer of 2004 to evaluate GISci software and lesson plans.

To prepare both teachers and scientists the Steering Committee sponsored an intensive week-long summer workshop at OSU several weeks prior to the school year. For scientists this week focused on introducing them to the challenges and opportunities of working in 6-12th grade classrooms while also equipping them with skills necessary to work effectively. They attended seminars that dealt with topics such as pedagogy, writing effective lesson plans, working with culturally diverse and disabled students, and on how to develop lessons involving inquiry based learning. Teachers were introduced to GISci technologies by working through various lesson plans and completing hands-on field activities with the guidance of scientists. They also participated in GISci lectures and presentations by OSU faculty members. During the final day teachers and students were paired based upon similar interests and positive relationships developed during the week.

During their first few weeks in the schools scientists observed their teacher's classroom to become familiar with their teaching style. Considerable time was spent outside of class discussing approaches for addressing learning outcomes specified in state and national science education standards. Some scientists worked with their teacher to develop innovative projects to address a local environmental problem while others adapted lessons and activities available via the Internet. During the Spring 2005 semester scientist/teacher teams began to refine lesson plans and share activities with teams located in other school districts. In this way scientist/teacher teams serve as reviewers for
curricula developed at other sites. Materials will be posted to the RAISE website for national dissemination, review and refinement during the first semester of the project’s third and final year.

The beginning of our second year provides a moment for reflection concerning the introduction of GISci activities within rural Oklahoma schools. Although we believe that the outcome of our experiment has been overwhelmingly positive, there have been barriers and challenges to the integration of GISci lesson plans, exercises and activities within our partner schools. These issues are summarized in the eight “lessons learned” that follow.

Lesson 1: *Schools offer limited technical support for maintaining GISci software and campus-wide networking capabilities.* We found that all schools within our three partner districts had computer equipment that was adequate to run GISci software. However, technical support was another issue. School districts were hard-pressed to provide network or support technicians who could provide teachers and students with daily assistance with hardware and software. Although one district had a full-time network technician he was unfamiliar with the requirements of GIS software. Including this person in the summer workshop might have alleviated some problems. There is also intense competition between teachers for computer laboratory space and time. In some instances increased demand for computers by our participants was viewed negatively by other faculty because of the large amounts of time needed in the lab. As a result of problems encountered in the first few weeks of the school semester, scientists focused on introducing students to GPS receivers that could be used independently of
computer labs. We have also found that utilizing internet-based GIS mapping is effective in avoiding unstable networks and lack of technical support (see Baker 2005).

Lesson 2: **GISci can be intimidating to teachers.** Most teachers can use prepackaged GISci modules but few have time to prepare their own exercises or activities. Training is extremely important to enable teachers to feel comfortable with the technology. The training we provided to science and social science teachers during the summer workshop focused initially on introductory sessions demonstrating the benefits of using GISci in their instruction. This was followed by more in-depth use of GISci and one-on-one instruction. In the future we plan to offer workshops where RAISE teachers train other teachers or new scientists, a learning environment that should be extremely beneficial. Beyond the initial training they receive, ongoing support and training is also crucial for teachers struggling to integrate GISci within their curriculum.

Lesson 3: **GISci exercises should focus on problems instead of training students how to use software.** It is important that GISci technologies be viewed as tools for problem solving with an emphasis on their capability for exploring rich spatial datasets through zooming, panning, measuring, querying, and calculating simple statistics. Although time is required for students to become familiar with software, these skills can be taught in conjunction with integrated lessons.

Lesson 4: **Teachers must be willing, and administration supportive, of utilizing new teaching techniques and technologies.** Teachers who have rigid and often ingrained teaching styles often find it difficult to integrate GISci activities. Since lessons often involve fieldwork or computer laboratory components, teachers must be willing to interact with students in various settings. Administrators must be willing to
accommodate and support teachers who are trying to improve student learning through these activities.

Lesson 5: **Students often lack basic computer skills.** Working with students with a wide range of computer skills creates unique challenges. Some students complete lessons quickly, while others struggle with relatively basic concepts. Although this is common in any type of instruction, it is particularly the case with GISci technology since students can become "lost" within certain software programs. Significant one-on-one time is needed to assist students. It is also important to make activities challenging, particularly in classes with high student/teacher ratios. This issue can also be addressed by preparing an additional or advanced activity for students who complete assignments quickly.

Lesson 6: **Use of local datasets for examining local environments is most productive.** Students respond more enthusiastically when GISci technologies are used to teach or analyze local issues. RAISE scientists created datasets with U.S. Geological Survey TIGER data for the region surrounding their teacher’s school that could be used to display roads, highways, rivers and other points of interest. This data was superimposed over digital orthophotos that showed the locations of buildings, fields, and wooded areas. The use of local data was found to authenticate learning while demonstrating that it is unnecessary to travel to remote locations.

Lesson 7: **The traditional 45-55 minute instructional period makes integration challenging.** Since many lessons must be conducted outside the home classroom or even the school building (nearly always the case with GPS) there is often insufficient time to complete an activity. Multi-period lessons require saving projects and therefore
increasing logistical complexities by requiring access to secure folders. One-day projects are often preferable.

Lesson 8: **Student assessment is vital to success.** Students not held accountable for their work are not as attentive in completing activities. Teachers not familiar with using technology also may have difficulty assessing student progress towards and/or comprehension of targeted skills or objectives. We found that students also enjoy seeing a hard copy of completed maps.

**Conclusion**

The success of implementing RAISE over the last year has reinforced our belief that GISci offers a powerful tool for teaching science and social science in K-12 classrooms. By enabling students to collect, analyze, and display data, GISci promotes active learning and the integration of diverse types of information. However, our experience demonstrates that successful implementation of GISci technologies within K-12 education requires three elements: 1) dedication on the part of teachers to training using GISci equipment and software, 2) a willingness to integrate GISci activities into the curricula, and 3) a commitment on the part of school administrators to provide support for hardware and networking. As with other types of instruction tied to computer technology, acquiring hardware and software is a relatively minor investment factored against the time needed to use it effectively.
References


Why German-US Relations still Matter – One Year after the War in Iraq

This paper is based on research about transatlantic tensions with a focus on German-US relations. Three phases were identified: the pre-Bush, the Bush and the post-9/11-Bush phase.

1. The so-called pre-Bush phase dealt with the long-term stabilization in the Balkans and a common European security and defense policy. The following question was addressed: Does the US want Germany to play a stronger role in the European Union and/or NATO?

2. The so-called Bush-phase lasted from Presidential Elections of George Bush in November 2000 to September 11, 2001, including the first two visits of Bush to Europe in Summer 2001. Main case studies were missile defense and NATO enlargement.

3. The so-called post-9/11-Bush phase started on September 11, 2001, which arguably changed parameters defining transatlantic relations. By autumn 2001, “NATO for-ever-transformed” became the major focus and case study of this research project.
More than one year after the Iraq war, one unfortunate impact of troubled German-US relations seems to have concerned the European theatre itself. What do I mean? Strong German-US relations contribute to intra-European stability. Without them, France started complaining about the too strong British influence in the transatlantic theatre, suggesting, EU could formulate its own common policy on Iraq, which would then isolate Great Britain. On the other side, after Schröder did not succeed in London by the end of September 2002, to get Tony Blair to help him restore US-German relations, Schröder’s focus shifted across the Rhine, as to get France to join ranks to counter US-UK policy on Iraq.

So, where do transatlantic and intra-European relations stand in early 2005? Where do they stand more than three years after September 11, 2001? Where are we – the Atlantic community – now, given the re-election of President George W. Bush in November 2004?

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1. Title of the submission
How do perceived discrimination, ethnic identity, and religious commitment affect the psychological well-being of Muslim immigrants in the United States?

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6. Abstract
Recent statistics indicate that the number of Muslims in North America is growing. While this group of immigrants is becoming larger in the United States, there is still little psychological research done on them. Our study contributed to the current research on immigrant populations within the U.S., and focused on exploring the Muslim population in the United States. Previous research on the psychological well-being of various groups of immigrants and refugees had found that perceived discrimination and psychological well-being are negatively correlated, that ethnic identity and psychological well-being are negatively correlated, and that religious commitment and psychological well-being are positively correlated. This study investigated perceived discrimination, religious commitment, and ethnic identity, and their relationship to the psychological well-being of Muslims living in the United States. We had a sample of 266 participants, between 15 and 84 years of age. 161 of the participants were male and 105 were female. 218 of the participants were Muslim, 43 were non-Muslim, and 5 didn't specify a religion. We plan to run correlations between all variables in the Muslim sample. We anticipate that we will support the current research on immigrant populations. Since the United States is becoming a more multicultural society, the findings will be clinically significant for serving the Muslim immigrant population.
a. Title of Submission:
   Trust, commitment, and dependence within the global Air Cargo supply chain.

b. Topic Area of the Submission: Communication, International Relations

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Abstract

Supply chains concern the flow of materials from suppliers through manufacturers to customers and are critical to the overall business success. Indeed, all companies need to excel in getting the right product to the right place at the right time and in many cases global air cargo services play an important role in this process. Furthermore, even though airfreight traffic makes up only about two percent of all tonnage shipped worldwide it represents more than a third of the total value of all international trade. Also, the transportation of goods like computers, auto parts, and perishable items has become one of the most effective ways to reach world markets.

This paper will review the current global Air Cargo system and discuss the post 9/11 operations of several Air Cargo companies. Different types of carriers will be defined and communication issues surrounding the management of Air Cargo systems will be addressed. Given the current business climate it is critical for supply chain managers to establish and sustain an effective network of business relationships. To assist in this endeavor this work will present research on trust and relationships between supplier and shipper, security standards for international air cargo, and the concept of dependence in international supply chains. Finally, this paper will provide communication strategies for shippers to turn the recent challenges associated with 9/11 into a global competitive advantage.
TITLE OF PRESENTATION: Using Trade books in content areas to help extend and enrich the curriculum

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ABSTRACT: This workshop will demonstrate how trade books, rich in narrative and informational content, has the potential to enlarge the reader’s personal interactions with a subject and can provide a valuable complement to most textbooks.
Title of the submission:

Flogging a dead horse? Neo Marxism and indigenous mining negotiations.

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ABSTRACT

Flogging a dead horse? Neo Marxism and indigenous mining negotiations.

Mining in remote regions of Australia often represents one of the few opportunities for Indigenous Australians to participate in the broader capitalist economy. And despite the ideal of ‘equality of influence’ for all in democratic capitalist societies, Indigenous Australians have historically been marginalised, both economically and politically, in mineral development processes in Australia. The Australian state structures the interaction between Indigenous people and mining companies through general legislation and policies, and in marked contrast to the experience of Indigenous peoples in other settler societies, when the British Crown acquired sovereignty and beneficial ownership of the land in Australia, it also assumed ownership of all mineral resources. Thus the state plays a crucial role in the mineral development process in Australia, one that is deserving of critical scrutiny. The research that informs this paper is based on qualitative data from a case study of a mineral negotiation process involving Indigenous people from the Gulf of Carpentaria in Northern Australia.

This paper aims to reaffirm the utility of a neo Marxist approach for theorising the role of the state in western democracies. While there has been a noted tendency to consign Marxist theorising to the history books, with many intellectuals arguing it is an exercise in ‘flogging a dead horse’, this paper contends that neo Marxist theorising of the state is still an important theoretical tool for analysis of the structured inequalities that remain a key feature of contemporary democratic capitalist societies. Recent neo Marxist approaches do not privilege class as the only, or primary site of inequality. Rather, they acknowledge that race, ethnicity and gender are also crucial bases of structured inequality which are inscribed in the forms and functions of the state. Thus this approach offers contemporary scholars critical insights for analysing race and ethnicity in democratic capitalist systems.
SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONS ON GENDER IN MONTERREY TV AUDIENCES

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Social constructions on gender in Monterrey TV audiences

Abstract
This document explores the relationship between television’s exposure and the way as Monterrey metropolitan area (Mexico) inhabitants construct their reality. Specifically, asks about the influence of television on social construction on gender constructions. The independents variables are quantity, type of program and origin of program on television exposure. The dependent variables are a) stereotypes of males and females, b) representation and females’ vulnerability. As control variables are taken sex, family arrangements of the respondents, socioeconomic level and age. The theoretical framework is supported in the cultivation analysis approach. It sustains that television system of messages is a mainstream tool influencing strongly the social construction of the reality, mainly between heavy viewers. This is a strong current in television and media analysis in the USA, lacking of evidence in Latin America. There is one research questions: Is there a relationship between television exposure in the Monterrey metropolitan area and the social construction that their inhabitants sustain about the females social distribution, vulnerability and stereotypes? A phone interview was run in the Monterrey metropolitan area in summer 2004. Evidence shows that television exposure impact is weak and other social influences are better predictors of social constructions, like education, sex or age of the respondents. As a preliminary conclusion, is stated that evidence support cultural studies approach saying that audiences negotiate or even resist the television’s message, but not support cultivation analysis theoretical approach.
Introduction

Within mass media studies, the social construction of reality perspective has been called the cultivation hypothesis (Potter and Chang, 1990, p. 313) or cultivation process theory (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan and Signorielli, 1986). According to its traditional approach, television is a telling-stories system cultivating the values reflected in its messages (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan and Signorielli, 1986, p. 18; Morgan and Shanahan, 1997). Television is an efficient tool mainstreaming how things are, how they should be and why (Gerbner, 1993, 1996); in short, TV is considered “the central arm of the mainstream” (Gerbner and Gross, 1976, p. 175).

According to Morgan and Shanahan (1997) cultivation process theory is trying to show some consequences of a cultural industry celebrating consumption, individualism, power and status quo. Originally, this theoretical approach was conceived as a research strategy separated in three kinds of analysis. The first one, called institutional process analysis, asks for the systematic pressures and the economical (and political) specifications affecting the media system, including how messages are selected, produced and distributed. The second one, called messages system analysis, recollected data of the unbalanced media contents in violence stereotypes, gender roles, minority people, occupations and related matters. The third one, called cultivation analysis, explores how television contributes to the audiences conceptions about real world (Morgan and Shanahan, 1997, p. 3). In spite of this broad design, there are not frequent holistic analyses including the three phases of the whole strategy; more specifically, the evidence is accumulated in the strategies 2 and 3.

A typical hypothesis in this approach considers television exposure as the independent variable and the cultivation (an estimation or belief about something in real
life) as the dependent variable (Potter and Chang, 1990). There is a relative preeminence of studies considering violence as the dependent variable (Gosselin, DeGuise & Paquete, 1997; Huerta-Wong, 1999; Sander, 1997), but also studies examining family beliefs (Fudge Albada, 2001; Olson & Douglas, 1997), gender relations (Holbert, Shah & Kwak, 2003), political orientations (Grosswiler, 1997; Morgan & Shanahan, 1991), alien issues (Sparks, Nelson and Campbell, 1997), vulnerable people orientations (Sotirovic, 2003), environmental issues (Shanahan, Morgan & Stenbjerre, 1997), and professional stereotypes (Chory Assad & Tamborin, 2003; Valkenburg & Patiwaël, 2000). Systematically, data supports the hypothesis stating the relationship between TV consumption and conservative opinions, beliefs and attitudes.

Morgan and Shanahan (1991) found that politically reprised Argentineans stated that people had to be obedient with the political system and be quiet with their political opinion in a common environment. Watching television was negatively associated with showing political attitudes, a typical expression of the liberal movements. Grosswiler (1997) tested the exposure to different media and the political position derived of common sense sentences, and found that to watch television was positively associated with a conservative political position; meanwhile to read newspapers was associated with a liberal one. Consistently, heavy viewers show a tendency to think about poverty as an individuals’ matter, not a social issue (Grosswiler, 1997; Morgan y Shanahan, 1991; Sotirovic, 2003).

The hypothesis stating that television exposure is a factor influencing the manners reality is perceived has been tested through a plethora of data collection techniques and audiences including household surveys (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, ), phone surveys (Sparks, Nelson & Campbell, 1997; Sotirovic, 2003), surveys on teenagers
Beyond data collection techniques, its proponents have specially focused in how to measure the variable of television exposure. The classic approach is that global content on television is uniform (Gerbner, Morgan y Shanahan, 1997). This is the reason why an item could be simply validated as an exposure measure, for example, “please tell how many hours you watch television in a common day”. Typically, this kind of data could be analyzed with T-test or ANOVA procedures, obtaining categories in the independent variable as light and heavy viewers, or light, medium and heavy viewers.

More sophisticated indexes have been constructed to measure the independent variable. Some studies have tested recall capacity in respect to what the viewer watched the day, the afternoon or the week before (Shrum, 1997), others have asked for the frequency to exposure to a specific type of programming (Huessmann, Lagerspetz & Eron, 1984) or specific program watched each week, some weeks, the majority of the weeks or never (Reeves as quoted by Potter, 1991).

Other measures for television exposure variable include the sum of hours of “TV viewed on an average weekday and an average weekend day” (Hawkings, Pingree, & Adler, as quoted by Potter and Chang, 1990, p. ); the average of two measures, “amount of television watched yesterday (a weekday) and amount of television usually watched on an average weekday (Rubin, Perse, & Taylor, as quoted by Potter and Chang, 1990); or the average of the hours spent watching television “before noon”, between noon and 6 PM”, “between 6 and 10 PM” and “after 10 PM” (Mares, 1996).

As the television exposure measure, also statistical analyses have increasingly become more sophisticated. Beyond total exposure, more evidence is consistently showing
that is not global exposure, but exposure to specific types of television what explains the cultivation process. Holbert, Shah and Kwak (2003) found that the exposure to liberal drama programs/sitcoms was positive and strongly related with a sympathetic perspective about women’s rights. Also they found that the exposure to conservative drama programs/sitcoms was negative and strongly related to the same perspective.

Sparks, Nelson and Campbell (1997) tested the TV viewers’ beliefs in paranormal phenomena, finding that general TV exposure does not work as a predictor of these beliefs, but supportive program exposure does.

Potter and Chang (1990) tested in college students 5 types of measuring television exposure: 1) total exposure, 2) exposure to program types, 3) exposure to type controlling for total exposure, 4) proportional exposure among program types, and 5) weighted proportions (proportion for each viewing type multiplied by the total number of hours of weekly television viewed). Their results indicated that the less successful way to operationalize the television exposure was the total hours of exposure. The best way was the proportional exposure measurement. Generally, all the alternative ways to operationalize were better predictors of cultivation measurements than the total hours dedicated to watch TV. The authors disclaimed risks in the way to operationalize alternatively that could limit multiple regression analysis results. This paper and Morgan and Shanahan’s (1997) suggest that because it is difficult to analyze separately TV and other social influences, the best way to test the variables in a multivariate analysis is partial correlation.

While Morgan and Shanahan (1997) stated that the cultivation process analysis has been supported also by international literature, the evidence indeed lacks in other regions, specifically Latin America. Even though Morgan and Shanahan (1991) reported that a
study conducted in Argentina revealed a similar pattern by audiences being influenced by the television’s lesson, other theoretical perspectives suggest that culture plays a role in how TV influence the viewers’ construction of reality.

One example can be observed in studies testing the relationship between television, stereotypes and gender. There is a growing corpus of evidence showing the unbalanced treatment to gender roles in television contents. Hardwood and Anderson (2002) found that prime time television is mainly composed of males’ characters. If appear, females are consistently represented in traditional roles (Barner, 1999; Elasmar, Hasegawa and Brain, 1999). The unbalances include educational children shows (Barner, 1999). On the world of television, strength and power are represented as male characteristics and grace is represented as a female one. Masculinity is represented as hyper-masculinity, or coldness and cynical attitudes (Scharrer, 2001). Even though in Mexico the evidence is scarce about stereotypes issues, a few studies show that *telenovelas* (Latino soap operas) tend to show sex stereotypical roles (Quintero Ulloa and López Islas, 1999).

However, the evidence is not clear in showing how genders expose and appropriate television messages. In Mexico, boys exposed to Pokemon, an *anime* cartoon where male characters were stronger than female, assumed girls did not have to control power symbols (Cerda Cristerna, 1998). However, other studies did not support the male power hypothesis in relation with the television system (Huerta Wong, 2003).

While studies in industrialized nations as Germany (Rogge and Jensen, 1992) or Britain (Morley, 1992) found that the bread-winner role influences the domestic power relationships, studies conducted in Colombia (Muñoz, 1992), Venezuela (Barrios, 1992), Chile (Fuenzalida, 1992), Mexico (Huerta-Wong, 2003), or even China and India (Lull, 1997) showed the relative power of the housewives in managing the remote control, with
particular emphasis in watching *telenovelas*. This perspective is consistent with the principles of cultivation process, stating that less powerful groups are indeed negotiating or refusing mainstreaming ideas, including a male-centered perspective.

In addition, gender studies suggest that traditional roles of gender relations are not itself oppressive in Latin America. In a survey conducted in Mexico, Carmona (2003) measured gender attitudes as a 35 item scale related to the male and female responsibility to care for children, domestic work and economic roles. Her findings show females assumed more traditional roles than males. There was some balance between genders in their perspectives about issues as children care or even domestic/not domestic work. However, respondents (especially females) stated that the bread-winner role is a male job. More than gender, education was the main predictor variable.

As summarizing, while there is a plenty of evidence supporting the hypothesis that television exposure influences social construction of reality among viewers. The lesson of television about gender is that gender relationships are traditional and male-centered. However, the evidence also suggests that the mainstreaming lessons of television are not uniform but especially concentrated in some types of programming and specific shows. Cultivation evidence is scarce in Latin America, and there is no antecedents talking about what is happening at this respect in Mexico, even though other theoretical approaches and fields suggest that culture seems to play a role in the relationship between television and viewers.

There are stated a research question as follows:

RQ1. How television exposure is associated to social constructions of gender issues, as stereotypes, females’ representation and females’ vulnerability?
Method\textsuperscript{1}

Variables

**Independent variable**

Television exposure has three components. The first one is the quantity of exposure, computed as the average of the sum of hours watched in an average weekday and on weekends, using a similar daily scale as Mares (1996). The second one is the exposure type, or the frequency of hours spent in watching the main types of programming transmitted by open Mexican TV on a weekly basis. The third one is the origin of the television program, or the frequency of hours spent in watching the main types of programming depending if the show has a Mexican or imported origin.

**Dependent variables**

**DV 1.** Stereotypes, or the attitudes toward the moral/body strengths, intelligence, fidelity, and work moral of males and females.

**DV 2.** Representation, or the mean of four representations measured in percentages: females, females as family leaders, married females on the job market, and single-mothers. Cultivation analyses showed the sub representation of specific populations by TV viewers, potentially influencing their presence and status.

**DV 3.** An important part of females’ under representation is the idea of females as victims. According to the second-order cultivation analysis, this is a cognitive level of viewers’ appropriation. A typical variable in this theoretical perspective is the females’

\textsuperscript{1} Although only the guidelines about the instrument and the variables are shown here, a complete operationalization and scales can be requested for free by e-mail to the author at jehuerta@itesm.mx
vulnerability index, or the difference between the estimations of females as violence perpetrators and females as victims. (Gerbner, 1997).

**Control variables**

Sex, education and age were used as control variables. Education is measured as completed education degrees (elementary, junior high, high school, bachelor and graduate).

**Population, sample and procedure**

This paper reports a phone survey conducted in the summer 2004 in exploring the relationship between television exposure and social construction of family and gender relationships in Monterrey, Mexico. The study was supported by funds of the Tecnologico de Monterrey’s Audiovisual Media and Globalization in North America Research Program.

A multiple-stage process was followed to select a random sample. The relative anarchy of the telephone companies and people contracting telephone lines made especially difficult to get the final respondents, but an effort was conducted in such sense. The exact population is unknown, but it is estimated to be near to 543 thousand household with their telephone listed in the local phone book. While there are two companies in the metropolitan area of Monterrey, just Telmex offer their clients a phone book. As a consequence, the population is not composed of the total phone users in Monterrey, just Telmex’s clients. The white pages book consists of 1223 pages, each of 4 columns with 111 phone numbers as average. Each name was considered as an entry and each phone number as a household. The total, at least, included approximately 543 thousand households as the population. Random sample procedures were established in choosing page numbers, columns, and the final phone number where each questionnaire was administered. A list containing 500
phone numbers was used as the original sample, but after discarding businesses and non-existent phone numbers, the final sample was composed of 420 phone numbers.

In gathering data participated Tecnologico de Monterrey’s Audiovisual Media and Globalization in North America Research Program’s research assistants. They were trained in a couple of sessions and all their field work was supervised in any moment. Pilot tests were run until any research assistant easily got all the process.
Results

The total number of filled questionnaires was 401. Despite cautions as calling in different hours, the majority (62%) of respondents were females (Chart 1.1). Age appeared negatively skewed, and the average age was 39 years, with a mode of 18 years (Chart 1.2). Years of school was a bimodal variable, marking junior high (n=91, 22.7%) and bachelor (n=91, 22.7%) completed as modes (Chart 1.3).

People in Monterrey reported to be heavy viewers (m=3.6, sd=2.1), a finding consistent with a similar study conducted in 1999 (Huerta et al, 2000). Domestic programming (m=5.6, sd=6.4) was preferred, remarkably \textit{telenovelas} (x=3.08, s=5.1). Local news programs (m=3.79, sd=3.4) are also watched more frequently than national news (m=2.95, sd=3) (Chart 2).

Cronbach’s Alpha internal consistency tests were running by testing the measure of stereotypes. This measure ask for the respondents’ opinion (measured in a scale 1-10) toward strength, fidelity, health, intelligence, and work capacity between males and females. The result (.737) shows internal consistency good enough to work with it, considering the sample size. A similar test was running by testing the 4-item scale on representation of females living in Mexico, females as family leaders, family on the job market, and single-mothers. The result (.725) shows internal consistency also good enough to use the scale.

The partial correlation coefficients were computed to determine the degree of relationship for television exposure and stereotypes, and representation of genders on respondents. As independent variables were introduced global exposure, types and origin of
television. As dependent variables were introduced males’ assessment, females’ assessment ( stereotypes), females’ representation and females’ vulnerability index. Sex, education and age worked as control variables.

There was no result any association between watch television and females’ representation. Associated with this result, as the literature suggests, neither females’ vulnerability index was statistically significant (see Table 3). The findings indicate that watch television is associated with a positive males’ assessment (R=.207, p>.01), more than a positive females’ assessment. Also Mexican but not American programming is related to the males/females assessments.

Table 1.1. Sex of respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (n)</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.2. Age of respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>Mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>39.34</td>
<td>37.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown

Table 1.3. Escolaridad de la muestra.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uncompleted degree 4 1.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary 72 18.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High School 91 22.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community College 57 14.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School 76 19.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor 91 22.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate 10 2.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 401 100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Television exposure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Table 3. Partial correlations controlling for sex, education and age.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent var.</th>
<th>Females’ vulnerability index</th>
<th>Females’ representation</th>
<th>Males’ assessment</th>
<th>Females' assessment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Telenovelas</td>
<td>-.015</td>
<td>.020</td>
<td>.091</td>
<td>.044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican movies</td>
<td>.041</td>
<td>-.037</td>
<td>.075</td>
<td>.130(**)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American movies</td>
<td>.096</td>
<td>.020</td>
<td>.085</td>
<td>.089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican comedy</td>
<td>.024</td>
<td>-.020</td>
<td>.131(**)</td>
<td>.080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American sitcoms</td>
<td>.029</td>
<td>-.079</td>
<td>.062</td>
<td>.021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National news</td>
<td>-.019</td>
<td>-.040</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local news</td>
<td>.059</td>
<td>-.036</td>
<td>.151(**)</td>
<td>.109(*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican programming</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>-.002</td>
<td>.133(**)</td>
<td>.101(*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American programming</td>
<td>.091</td>
<td>-.024</td>
<td>.098</td>
<td>.081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily exposure</td>
<td>-.019</td>
<td>-.024</td>
<td>.207(**)</td>
<td>.107(*)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Correlation is significant at 0.05 level
** Correlation is significant at 0.01 level

n 401 401 401 401
References


The Acculturation of Muslim Egyptians in the U.S.

Dr. Mona Ibrahim
Lisa Peterson
Amanda Phillips

Abstract

This study explored the acculturation of 64 Muslim Egyptian adult immigrants and visitors in the U.S. Results indicated that two dimensional models of acculturation, which suggest that the acquisition of a new culture and the maintenance of one’s original culture are not two mutually exclusive options, describe the acculturation of this group accurately. Egyptian Muslims in the U.S. clearly believe it is both important and possible to develop ties to the U.S. culture while maintaining ties with the Egyptian culture. Our data also suggested that it is important to assess ethnic identification and acculturation attitudes separately and not to assume that they are interchangeable constructs.

Suggestions for future research are discussed.

Introduction

While the acculturation of several groups of immigrants and visitors to the U.S. have been the subjects of many research investigations, the Arabic-speaking Muslim immigrant and visitor population in the U.S. has not been very well studied. In an attempt to fill part of the gap in research with respect to this group, this study focused on exploring the acculturation of Muslim Egyptian adult immigrants and visitors in the U.S.

Hutnik (1986) proposed a model of acculturation based on four strategies for the individuals’ ethnic identification: Assimilative (i.e., the individual identifies only with the host culture), Acculturative (i.e., the individual identifies with both cultures), Marginal (i.e., the individual chooses to identify with neither culture), and Dissociative (i.e., the
individual identifies only with the first-culture). This study explored whether the two-dimensional ethnic identification model of acculturation applies to this group. Specifically, the study aims to answer the following questions:

1. Which acculturation option best describes Muslim Egyptians’ acculturation in terms of their ethnic identification?

2. Do Muslim Egyptians in the U.S. identify independently with Arabic and American ethnic groups?

The best-known two-dimensional acculturation model is the one proposed by J. W. Berry (Berry, 1984, 1986, 1992, 1997). According to Berry et al. (1989), immigrants living in the host society must decide on two basic questions for themselves: (1) "Is it considered to be of value to maintain one's identity and characteristics?" and (2) "Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with the other groups in the host society?" (e.g., Berry et al., 1989; Berry, 1990). Even though Berry’s model is based on a different aspect of acculturation (attitudes) than Hutnik’s model (ethnic identification), both models basically report the same four profiles of acculturation: assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization. Yet, while Berry and his colleagues have generally found that integration, or biculturalism, involves favoring both contact with the first-culture and with the host culture, some studies that used ethnic identity measures of acculturation have given different results. These inconsistent results have supported suggestions that the degree of identification with minority and majority ethnic groups may be relatively independent of the acculturation attitudes people have (Hutnik, 1986; Noels et al., 1996). Consequently, another aim of this study is to research the following questions:
(3) Which acculturation option best describes Arab Muslims’ acculturation in terms of their acculturation attitudes?

(4) Do the different acculturation profiles observed using Hutnik’s two-dimensional model of ethnic identification correspond to the acculturation profiles observed using Berry’s acculturation attitudes model?

Methods

Participants

A sample of 64 Muslim Egyptian adult immigrants and visitors in the U.S. was studied. The sample was recruited mainly from North Dakota (26%), Michigan (19%), Texas (14%), and Connecticut (8%), South Carolina (6%), in addition to eight other states (27%) within the U.S. Roughly one fourth of the immigrant sample had been in the U.S. for 20-35 years, another fourth for 8-19 years, another fourth for 4-7 years, with the remaining one fourth reporting that they have been in the U.S. for 1-3 years. The majority of the immigrants (44%) are U.S. citizens, with 23% reporting that they are permanent residents and 33% on temporary visa. It was very difficult to recruit random participants because of the tensions following the events of September 11, 2001. Because of that most participants were recruited through the personal acquaintances of the primary investigator.

The sample had roughly equal numbers of males and females. The average age was 43 for males and 40 for females. 94% of the participants were married. The highest degree attained by the majority (65%) of the sample was a graduate or a professional degree. About 50% of the sample were unemployed or worked part-time, with the remaining 50% working 40 or more hours per week.
Procedure

A packet of questionnaires was used to solicit the responses of participants. It was translated into Arabic and then back translated to English and compared for meaningfulness by two research assistants. The participants were given a choice of answering the questionnaires in Arabic or English. Questionnaire packets were mailed to participants and returned in self-addressed stamped envelopes. Each participant was paid $10.

Measures

Two measures were used in this study. The internal consistency reliability (Cronbach alpha) of the measures for our sample were calculated when appropriate, and are reported below. Four-point Likert scales (ex. 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=agree, 4=strongly agree) were used, rather than five-point Likert scales, in order to force a choice from the participants. The investigators were concerned that given the nature of the research topic and given the sensitive time it is conducted in, most participants may opt for the neutral answers, rather than expressing their actual opinions. Thus the decision was made to eliminate the fifth, or neutral, choice. Average scale scores, and subscale scores when relevant, were computed and used in the analyses of this study’s data.

Ethnic Identification Scale (Alpha=.89). Ethnic identity was assessed separately along two bipolar scales, with the first scale measuring identification with the host (American) culture and the second scale measuring identification with the native (Egyptian) culture. A 16-item scale modified from Phinney's Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992) was used, with half of the items designed to assess identification with
Egypt and the other half assessing identification with the U.S. The measure includes items (on a 4-point Likert scale with 1=strongly disagree, 4=strongly agree) to tap 2 components or subscales of ethnic identity: 1) The Interest subscale, which measures whether a person has spent time learning about the culture and history of an ethnic group, and 2) The Commitment subscale, which measures positive feelings and a sense of pride and belonging toward an ethnic group. An example of items from the Interest subscale is: “I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group.” An example of items from the Commitment subscale is: “I have a strong sense of belonging to America.”

Acculturation Attitudes Scale. Acculturation attitudes were assessed using three statements related to three different acculturation domains: 1) culture and society, 2) language, and 3) marriage. For each domain, the participants were given four statements to choose from, each expressing one of four different acculturation attitudes: assimilation, integration, separation, or marginalization. The participants were asked to circle the statement that is closest to their personal attitude. This technique for assessing acculturation attitudes was adopted from that developed by Berry and colleagues (1989). An example of a separation statement from this scale is: “Because we live in America, we must be careful to emphasize our distinct cultural identity and to protect it from gradually getting lost, by restricting our association with American society.”

Results

(1) Which acculturation option best describes Egyptian Muslims' acculturation in terms of their ethnic identification?

Frequency analysis of the responses to the ethnic identification scale revealed that 49% of the immigrants in our sample identified more with the Egyptian culture than
with the U.S. culture (separation), while 39% identified equally strongly with both Egypt and the U.S. (integration), 6% identified mostly with the American culture (assimilation), and 6% did not identify strongly with either culture (marginalization).

(2) Do Muslim Egyptians in the U.S. identify independently with Arabic and American ethnic groups?

The correlation coefficient of the relationship between identification with Egypt and identification with America is \( r = -.15 \) (\( p=.23, \ n=64 \)). Similarly, factor analyses yielded 2 independent factors. This means that our data supports the two-dimensional models of acculturation.

(3) Which acculturation option best describes Arab Muslims' acculturation in terms of their acculturation attitudes?

Frequency analysis of the responses to each of the three acculturation attitudes domains were performed. In the culture domain, 75% of the immigrants in our sample indicated that they believe it is equally important to maintain or acquire the cultures of both Egypt and the U.S. (integration), 22% indicated that they believe it is neither important to maintain their Egyptian culture, nor is it a good idea to acquire the U.S. culture (marginalization), while the remaining 3% indicated that they think it important to maintain the Egyptian culture, but there is no value in acquiring the U.S. culture (separation).

In the language domain, 94% of respondents indicated that they believe it is equally important to maintain or acquire the languages of both Egypt and the U.S. (integration), 5% indicated that they think it important to maintain the Arabic language, but there is no value in acquiring the English language (separation), while the remaining
1% reported that they think it important to acquire the English language, but there is no value in maintaining the Arabic language (assimilation).

In the marriage domain, 73% of the immigrants in our sample indicated that they believe it is an equally good idea for their children to marry an Egyptian or an American who is a Muslim (integration), 19% indicated that they think it important that their children marry Egyptians, but it is not a good idea that they marry Americans (separation), 5% indicated that they believe that marriage between their children and either Egyptians or Americans is not a good idea, as it will not be a happy, successful one in either case (marginalization), and 3% indicated that they think it a better if their children marry Americans than if they marry Egyptians (assimilation).

In general, across all domains, it was clear that the dominant acculturation attitude among our sample was the integration attitude.

(4) Do the different acculturation profiles observed using Hutnik’s two-dimensional model of ethnic identification correspond to the acculturation profiles observed using Berry’s acculturation attitudes model?

For the culture domain, 66% of our sample were categorized, based on responses to the acculturation attitudes scale, into an acculturation category that did not match the ethnic identification category that their responses to the ethnic identification scale placed them in. For the language domain, the percentage of participants whose attitudes did not match their identifications was 61%. And, for the marriage domain the percentage was 48%.

As can be noted in the data reported for questions 1 and 3 above, it seems that while most Muslim Egyptian immigrants think and believe that integration is important
and valuable (an “integration” attitude, they tend to feel that they belong more to the Egyptian culture (a “separation” identification). This may be explained by the fact that over one third of the participants in our sample reported that they feel unaccepted in the U.S. society and that they have been treated unfairly because of their ethnic background. In other words, the immigrants may have the desire to be integrated, but they may be forced into a “separation” identification because of the perceptions and actions of the members of the host society in which they live.

Discussion

In light of recent, post September 11 of 2001, events, it is not surprising to see a high percentage of Muslim Egyptian immigrants showing a “separation” ethnic identity. Perhaps identifying with one’s original culture and ethnic group in these difficult times is an attempt be the immigrants to find a supportive group that can help them provide meaning and sort out feelings about the events of the word. Dissociation may also be a psychologically protective strategy that helps preserve the immigrants’ self-esteem and sense of worth at a time when the host society may be questioning their worth and value as members of the U.S. society.

Our data lent support to the two dimensional models of acculturation. This means the despite the current tensions that Muslim immigrants in the U.S. face, they do not feel that they have to choose between two mutually exclusive options. They do not feel that to identify with American culture constitutes a betrayal of their original ethnic group, nor do they believe that to have pride in their Egyptian heritage is to not belong or identify with the U.S. culture. Furthermore, the data on acculturation attitudes indicates that Muslim Egyptian immigrants clearly believe that it is both important and possible to
relate and connect to U.S. society. Integration between the two cultures is possible once the social and political climates facilitate its development.

Our findings on the mismatch that exists between feelings (identifications) and beliefs (attitudes) highlight the importance of heeding warnings against assuming that the two are interchangeable (Hutnik, 1986; Noels et al., 1996). It would be a methodological error in research on acculturation to assume that measuring either variable would be sufficient as an index of both identification and attitudes. The two constructs are independent and should be treated as such in future research studies.

Further research is currently underway in order to cross-validate the results of this study on another, larger, sample of Muslim Egyptian immigrants. Future research will also attempt to follow the immigrants in our sample in order to obtain longitudinal data on acculturation. Future plans also include testing the generalisability of our findings in describing the acculturation of other groups of Muslim and Arab immigrants to the U.S., such as non-Egyptian Muslims, and Christian Egyptian groups.
References


The Psychological Well-Being of Muslims in the U.S.

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Abstract

While the psychological well-being of many immigrant groups in the U.S. has been extensively researched, the Muslim population in the U.S. has not been very well studied. In an attempt to fill part of this gap, this study focused on exploring the psychological well-being of first-generation Muslim adult immigrants in the U.S. The life satisfaction, self-esteem, sociocultural adaptation, and psychological distress of 182 Muslim adult immigrants in the U.S. were measured using a set of questionnaires. Our sample consisted of 74 females and 104 males. The mean age of the sample was 36 years. The participants had lived in the U.S. for an average of 14 years. 70% of the participants had earned at least a college degree. About 54% of the participants are U.S. citizens and about 59% are married. The Muslim immigrants in our sample mostly came from non-Arabic speaking countries (74%). Despite the stressors that Muslims in the U.S. are experiencing today because of the political tensions, this population seems to be psychologically healthy. They have high levels of self-esteem, low levels of psychological distress, and moderate levels of life satisfaction. The mean scores on life satisfaction, self-esteem, and psychological distress (all measured on a scale of 1 to 4 where 1 indicates a low level of the construct and 4 indicates a high level) were 2.8, 3.4, and 1.6 respectively. In terms of percentages, 82 percent of the respondents in our sample obtained a mean score of 3 or more on self-esteem and 80 percent of the participants had a mean score of 2 or less on psychological distress. Life satisfaction was not as high as the other measures of psychological well-being for this sample, with only 43% of the respondents indicating that they agree or strongly agree that their life is satisfactory. Possible factors, such as religious commitment and educational level, that help buffer this population against psychological distress and low self esteem despite having lives that they do not perceive as highly satisfactory are explored. Implications for health care, social services workers, and agencies that offer services for immigrants are discussed.
In the Tradition of Apprentice and Master
Reports on Issues Related to Teaching
Panel session

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In the tradition of apprentice and master, the relationship developed between a mentor and student cannot be denied with regards to its importance in the development of the skills necessary for the chosen pursuit. Before moving into the realm of professionalism in art, one with a passion for the subject usually begins in a group play setting such as Montessori, Waldorf, or most often kindergarten. Only later does the interest of the student develop into the sensibility where they question “art for its own sake” many times under the tutelage of a master.

The early years of art and play stimulate a creative fire that can last for a lifetime. If one looks at the many preschool systems in place that stimulate creativity, there is open encouragement and much investigation of materials. It is these forays into new experiences, failures, and explorations that contribute to the child’s understanding that anything and everything they create will be hung on the refrigerator, exhibited for all to see. It is not expected of a four-year-old to produce accurate renderings of human form, nor have a deep conceptual rooting in art history. This is where the system of art making is at its purist, albeit rudimentary, form.

With cutbacks in funding there is not much money left for the art in primary schools, as budgets have been stripped to what is considered essential. When the student progresses through the youthful hierarchy of art education, coloring between the lines becomes more important. Often grade school art is relegated to a series of predetermined craft projects where written instructions are handed out, and the students are expect to spend their time silently on the project. Rather than a creative exploration into the media, art production becomes an exercise in dexterity and following instructions. While true that one achieves freedom through technique, it is unfair for a student to be criticized for not following wrote procedure, breaking boundaries and experimenting with materials.

As the student advances in age, gone are the undying encouragements to pick up a medium and look for a mode of expression. At this stage boys and girls are already beginning to be put into categories and separated from the play aspects of the creative process. Imagine a popular Thanksgiving-turkey art project where the instructor distributes a list of tasks that include the tracing of ones hand, the gluing of googlie eyes in the biologically correct place, and proper placement and length of pipe-cleaner legs. Again fathom the great chastisement a student receives from both peers and instructor
when he, because of his lack of dexterity, has accidentally cut off a paper finger-feather, has chosen to put on more than two eyes, and has legs that do not match in length. His creation, a breed of animal different than the other twenty-four classmates, is met with sarcasm, rather than praise.

When the separation of play and art occurs, there is much more at stake than rendering skill or the ability to color. Early experiences with art often set up a negative relationship with the idea of art as a mode of expression that requires facility to participate. The spoken word does not breakdown or cease from being used when a youth’s speech is grammatically incorrect. He or she will continue to speak, and through general use, teacher review, and peer input, improvement is well marked. Because the negative feedback regarding a child’s art can be so painful, he or she may stop expressing himself or herself through art completely. Children, when they have been criticized, may consider themselves “not creative” or use the excuse “I can’t draw”. Because the aversion produced by the negative feedback is so powerful, they no longer consider creating in a pictorial rather than verbal way.

These early experiences discourage many from pursuing the arts, and those that are praised for their skill and appreciated by their teachers (often for their physical facility and ability) are then groomed for more advanced levels of art education. That is, play no longer has an association with art, and art is looked upon more as an academic endeavor in high school. From this point, criticism, rather than encouragement, is the rule. Art is affiliated with competition, as fairs and school contests are the norm. At best this can be healthy, as it rewards hard work and prepares the artist for the judgments of a world that tries to understand what he or she is expressing. At worst, for those that do not receive accolades, the creative endeavor will cease.

If by chance the individual who is practicing the artistic discipline continues to the next level in college, they will be exposed to myriad experiences ranging from life skills, cultural events and dorm residency to seething art gallery parties, mingling, and networking. It seems that the greater emphasis in the university setting has become the aura surrounding the art rather than the studio process itself.

As many things are in life, the collegiate and post-collegiate “art world” is filled with superficiality and hostility. The university/institution would be better served if it considered
grooming fine artists by creating a nurturing environment, full of exploration and play, for the artists to mature. Dale Carnegie, the well-known author and businessman, states, that when you are free and “lavish in your praise” (248) individuals will be more likely to give of themselves, a necessity for the review and critique process.

The strategy to facilitate involvement in the review, and conjure engagement in an artists’ peer dialog is not a well-documented one. The term “critique” is very close to critical, which in itself has connotations in the most negative sense. It has become popular to say constructive criticism is an asset to artists. When commentary is critical it is neither constructive nor objective in most cases. “In matters of any kind we usually listen to, and take not of, not only the opinions of those who are acquainted both in theory and in practice with the matter at hand, i.e., the so-called specialists. Only for art and literature is an honorable exception made. It’s precisely in this sphere that any fellow can pronounce with a kluge Grimasse, loudly with all weighty authority, ‘Now this is beautiful, but that’s no good at all’” (Kandinski, 35).

To encourage play in the more advanced setting of the university it is important to be conscious of language, as it can, at times, be more powerful than that of the visual. The Stroop test demonstrates a cognitive dissonance that appears when color and language are confounded. When a word list of color names was written in non-corresponding ink (“red” written in green), the duration of time that was needed to successfully identify the color of the type was considerably longer than when the ink color and color name were identical (“red” written in red). Therefore, the words that one uses to discuss work are essential to the success or failure of the dialog as Kandinski further notes, “…how can it (the artist) not heed the audacious ignoramus who proclaims his vulgar ‘truths’ with such authority and inspiration?” (35). Listening to the constant bombardment of subjective comments and negative remarks discourages many artists from taking further risks in their practice.

For example, say a student shows a large photograph in the review setting. Typically, his or her classmates first direct comments at the student, as peer feedback is essential. Then the instructor will often chime in when necessary. The role of the facilitator cannot be merely one of laying back, they need to be active in directing the critique. It must not fall into the category of merely subjective likes and dislikes. Viola Spolin notes in Improvisation for the Theater that it is important for the review facilitator to encourage
and make the students feel secure, and that “evaluation must be on what was actually communicated, not what was ‘filled in’ by either the (artist) or the audience and not any personal interpretation of how something should be done” (27).

In this particular case, Spolin notes the failures of assumption, as it is important to talk about what was presented rather than what one would like to see.

Moving back to the photographic example we can also look to linguistics as a key to unraveling the critical system. “Furthermore, it is difficult (if not impossible) to give a plausible account of the meaning of but in terms of conventional implicature, pragmatic presupposition, or felicity conditions” (Iten, 1). When a student presents a piece and his peers are asked to comment we often hear...

“I like what you’ve done here, but your color balancing is off.”
“You have great compositional skill, but your focus is wrong.”
“You have a wonderful eye for this subject, yet I’m not feeling a relationship.”

All of these statements are similar in that they are qualified, the words but, yet, however have no place in the review setting. It is important to keep the room a constructive one that will free the artist to pursue even more risks, as they will no longer be fishing for approval, if there is no criticism. Each of these statements could be made in the same way, constructing and building the person’s confidence rather than hurting it.

“I like what you’ve done here, and this print could be even more amazing if your color balancing improves a bit.”

“You have great compositional skill, and when you tighten up this focus, it’s really going to pop.”

“You have a wonderful eye for this subject, and when the relationship you have with her is clearer, it’s going to really work.”

Spolin notes that, “This group (of encouraging reviewers) helps in solving problems, removes the burden of anxiety and guilt from the player. Fear of judgments (one’s own as well as those from others) slowly leaves the players (read artists) as good/bad,
right/wrong reveal themselves to be the very chains that bind us, and they soon disappear from everyone’s vocabulary and thinking.” Here we can see the resurgence of play in the review where “…they trust the scheme and take a further step into the environment” (26). It is therefore essential that the sense of play and encouragement be a device to further encourage risk taking in art, as Bates alludes, it’s the only way one can make order of chaos (13).

Moving on to practical critique structures from the theoretical one must ask, what methods can be employed to improve the present system of critique? How can it become more play like? Below are a few exercises where the focus may be best directed back to the students in a play environment to extract the essentials of the artwork:

**Explain what you see:** Each student that is called upon will speak only about what he or she sees without judgment, thereby opening a dialog about what is exhibited in the work, rather than subjective likes and dislikes.

**Press Release:** The student pretends that he or she is a very well know gallery owner, and has many of the exhibiting artist’s works for sale. What would he or she say about the work to get people to buy it?

**What would ***** say:** This game is collaboration between two students and the person exhibiting. Student one picks an artist that is well-known. then student two talks about the work as if he or she were that artist. The review continues with many students assuming the personality of other well-known artists and making statements about the exhibitor’s work.

In summation, education in the arts has a significant tradition of master/apprentice relationships. Because of the current state of transmissive education, where one instructor is responsible for 15-20 students at a time - for only one semester at a time, individual mentorship is rare. In the stead of mentorship, it is essential for the art teacher, desirous of a competent graduating class, to pursue a course of action where group support, play, and objectivity are paramount to wrote instruction, criticism, and subjective judgment. For maintaining the standard art education, that of a vocational program, will only lead to “Timidity, self-distrust, and conformity...” (Bestor, 149).
References:


Iten, Corinne. Linguistic meaning, truth conditions, and a cognitive alternative: the case of but. Ottawa: Carleton University, 2003.

LIL’ RED RIDIN’ THRU ‘DA HOOD:
A PILOT STUDY OF THE USE OF THEATER IN NUTRITION EDUCATION
FOR LOW-INCOME AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN

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LIL’ RED RIDIN’ THRU ‘DA HOOD: A PILOT STUDY OF THE USE OF THEATER IN NUTRITION EDUCATION FOR LOW-INCOME AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN

by

CAREE J. JACKSON, MS

(Under the Direction of Rebecca M. Mullis, PhD, RD, LD)

ABSTRACT

In recent years, childhood overweight has become a major public health concern in the United States. Poor dietary patterns and lack of physical activity are major contributors to the problem of overweight. Because overweight children are more likely to become overweight adults, many diet related diseases follow overweight children into adulthood. Data reveal African-American children are at a higher risk for overweight than their Caucasian counterparts. Thus, early intervention is critically needed in this population to reduce rising rates of childhood overweight.

One potential way of successfully communicating nutrition messages in school-based settings is via theater productions. To date, limited research has been conducted in the use of theater to communicate nutrition messages to children, especially, low-income African-American children. In this study we sought to determine if a culturally appropriate theater production is an effective way of conveying messages about healthy eating and physical activity to low-income African-American children in school-based settings. Overall acceptance of the use of theater in nutrition education suggests that theater is a viable medium for introducing health for this target population.

INDEX WORDS: nutrition education, theater, African-American children, overweight
Statement of the Problem

Rising rates of childhood obesity, especially among children is a major public health concern in the United States. Teaching children about the importance of good nutritional and physical activity habits is particularly important because overweight children are more likely to become obese adults. Showing that a culturally appropriate nutrition theater production is an effective means for disseminating health knowledge and influencing the behavior of children may lead to assistance in decreasing the number of overweight children as well as adults in the population.

Purpose and Hypotheses

The purpose of this project is to pilot test a culturally appropriate theater production, Lil’ Red Ridin’ Thru ‘Da Hood, in order to determine if theater is an effective way of conveying messages about healthy eating and physical activity to low-income African-American children in school-based settings.

We hypothesized that viewing a nutrition theater production designed specifically for low-income African American children and completing related school-to-home educational materials will:

1) increase student knowledge about the importance of making healthy food choices and increasing physical activity (PA).

2) influence student intentions and behaviors related to making healthier food choices and increasing PA.
Background

Childhood Overweight: A Major Public Health Concern

In recent years, obesity has been a major contributor to the declining health status of many Americans (Kumanyika, 2001). Unfortunately, obesity has also become more prevalent among our youth (Styne, 2001). Childhood overweight is a major public health concern in the United States (Styne, 2001). Data from the 1999-2000 National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES) reports that roughly 15% of youth ages 6-19 are overweight (Ogden, CL, Flegal KM, Carroll MD, Johnson CL, 2002). Furthermore, obesity disproportionately affects members of minority populations in the US (Crawford PB, Story M, Wang MC, Ritchie LD, Sabry ZI, 2001). NHANES (1988-99) data reveal that Mexican-American boys, ages 6-11, have the highest percentage of overweight at 17.7%; and followed closely by Non-Hispanic black girls, ages 6-11, at 17.1% (Crawford et al, 2001). Overweight children are more likely to become overweight adults. Subsequently, many diet related diseases follow these children into adulthood (Styne, 2001). Thus, early intervention is critically needed to reduce rising rates of childhood obesity (Fitzgibbon ML, Stolley MR, Dyer AR, VanHorn L, KauferChristoffel K, 2002).

Although genetics plays an important role in the development of obesity, many environmental factors have also served to increase the number of overweight children in the population (Styne, 2001). Poor dietary patterns and lack of physical activity are major contributors to this public health concern (Crawford et al, 2001). Less than 1% of our children consume meals with adequate nutrients (Perry et al, 2002). Moreover, children are less likely to encounter intense physical activity at school, and when students are
away from school, they spend nearly 25% of their time watching television (Cowley & Robinson, 2000, 2001).

Increased intake of fruits and vegetables and increased physical activity have been shown to reduce the risks for many of the nation’s leading chronic diseases, including, coronary heart disease and cancer (Johnson, 2000). African Americans have experienced an increase in the incidence of diet-related chronic diseases, as compared to Caucasians (Suminski, Mattern, & Devor, 2002). Also, many African Americans demonstrate low levels of physical activity (Resnicow et al, 2000). Thus, effective strategies for educating African-Americans about the importance of increasing fruit and vegetable consumption and physical activity to prevent chronic disease must be implemented and sustained. Influencing children to make healthier food choices has a direct effect upon the food choices made by their parents (Steckler & Linnan, 2002). The question then becomes, how do we effectively educate at risk populations, specifically children, effectively?

The Use of the Arts to Educate Children

Many innovative forms of the arts are currently being utilized to educate children. Various art forms such as dance, art, poetry, music and creative drama have improved student motivation for learning and increased achievement in reading, writing, and math (Milner, 2001).

Childhood memories of elementary school experiences with the arts are often recalled during adulthood (Peyton, 1991). For example, Chorpenning, a famed director of children’s theater, discovered that a student who attended theater experiences at the Goodman Theater as a child could not only recall a scene from a play he viewed during childhood, but he had also unconsciously recalled specific lines from the play during a
prior conversation (23). She further states, “Our audiences do not only experience our plays; they may also have the urge to live out what they see! This urge may spring into action immediately or bury itself in their deep subconscious, a buried memory to emerge during adulthood” (Chorpenning, 23).

**Preliminary Studies**

Presently, theater is used to educate children in a variety of subject areas including health education, drug education, environmental education, and nutrition education (Perry et al, 2002). To date, however, few studies have been conducted to test the effectiveness of using theater to communicate nutrition messages (Perry et al, 2002). In a study conducted by the University of Minnesota, researchers evaluated a theater production about eating behavior of children entitled, “All’s Well That Eats Well.” The play was produced in twenty elementary schools in Twin Cities, Minnesota during the winter of 2000 by the National Theater for Children (Perry et al, 2002). Messages in the play were reinforced via follow-up classroom activities as well as take home activities (Perry et al, 2002). Pretest and posttest questionnaires were given to participants who viewed the play and evaluated it for significant differences in food knowledge, food choices, and food recall (Perry et al, 2002). Findings produced statistically significant effects on improved food knowledge and food choices related to increasing fruit and vegetable consumption in students in grades 1-6 (Perry et al, 2002). The implications are that theater productions can be a cost effective way to deliver nutrition messages to children and can yield at least short-term effects on children’s food knowledge and behavior (Perry et al, 2002).
A similar study in communicating nutrition messages to children via theater has been conducted at Tufts University (Singer, 2000). The National Theater for Children produced the nutrition theater production, “The Prince of the Pyramid,” in New Jersey schools during the fall of 1999 (Singer, 2000). The study design included the use of pretest and posttest evaluations as well as classroom workbooks used to lead kids through activities that reinforce the messages in the play (Singer, 2000). Although results from the intervention have yet to be published, researchers suggest that viewing the play actually motivates the students to complete the curriculum activities, making both components integral parts of the intervention (Singer, 2000). There is limited data, however, about the use of theater to communicate nutrition messages to low income African American children.

**Theoretical Basis of Intervention**

The use of nutrition theater to educate children is grounded in Bandura’s Social Cognitive Theory (Perry et al, 2002).  

![Figure 1.0](Pajares, 2000)
Social Cognitive Theory recognizes the individual as the self-determining factor in his/her reaction to external stimuli (Bandura, 1986). This theory further recognizes that exposure to new ideas alone, will not result in behavioral changes (Bandura, 1986). In order for an individual to initiate behavioral changes, changes in their social norms must occur (Bandura, 1986). Greater acceptability of changes in social norms can be accomplished if individuals model behaviors of others around them (Bandura, 1986). This study attempts to alter social norms through behavioral modeling in a play production using culturally appropriate characters. The messages conveyed by the characters in the play will be reinforced through the completion of school-to-home activities.

**Project Objectives**

1) To develop a culturally appropriate nutrition theater production for low-income African American children that will educate students about the importance of healthy foods and physical activity.

2) To develop classroom activities consistent with Georgia Quality Control Curriculum objectives.

3) To provide school-to-home education materials and activities that will engage parents and students in the discussion and action of making healthy food choices and increasing physical activity.

4) To evaluate the effectiveness of the theater production by measuring student and teacher attitudes toward the production and evaluating students’ reported changes in food knowledge, food choices, intentions, and behaviors related to healthy food selection and increasing physical activity.
**Innovative Aspects of Project**

Three of the unique and innovative aspects of the Lil’ Red Ridin’ Thru ‘Da ‘Hood project are:

1) The use of theater, dance and hip-hop music to capture the attention of kids, while delivering important messages about good nutrition and physical activity.

2) The play was written to specifically address the barriers that low-income children may encounter when trying to adopt a healthy lifestyle.

3) The use of an integrated approach of classroom instruction that is reinforced with school-to-home activities to engage parents in the project as well as children.

**Methods**

*Lil’ Red Ridin’ Thru ‘Da Hood* was performed for students in grades 3 and 4 during the spring of 2004. The population sample was drawn from a sample of four inner city elementary schools that were selected on the basis of having 90% participation in the free and reduced school lunch program and a high enrollment of African American students. In February of 2004, all participants (N=298) enrolled in the study were administered a pretest that was read aloud by a University of Georgia (UGA) staff member. The test took approximately 15 minutes to complete.

One week after taking the pretest, students attending intervention schools viewed *Lil’ Red Ridin’ Thru ‘Da Hood*. Members of the UGA Black Theatrical Ensemble performed the play for a duration of approximately 30 minutes. The play performance at both intervention schools took place on the same day. One audience viewed the play in the morning (beginning of school day), and the second performance took place in the
afternoon (near the end of the school day). During the three weeks following the play performance, participants were asked to complete school-to-home activities. Teachers and parents were asked to assist students in the completion of the school-to-home activities. The school-to-home activities are worksheets that emphasize the nutrition and physical activity messages conveyed in the play. The activities were designed to take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete.

One week after taking the pretest, students attending control schools participated in reading a reader’s theater play with the assistance of a UGA staff member. Reader’s Theater is a simple and effective means to present literary works in dramatic form. Students are actively involved in reading a short script aloud without a stage or props. The strategy helps students blend the performance arts and reading. Reader’s Theater improves fluency and comprehension among students. Students read a reader’s theater play entitled, “The True Story of the Three Little Pigs,” story by Jon Scieszka and Reader’s Theater script by Bridget Scofinsky. This particular reader’s theater script was chosen because it was an adaptation of the familiar children’s story, The Three Little Pigs, just as Lil’ Red Ridin’ Thru ‘Da Hood was a variation of the well-known childhood story, Little Red Riding Hood. “The True Story of the Three Little Pigs,” however, contained no references to improving nutrition or increasing physical activity. The duration of the play is 15 minutes.

In March of 2004, after a period of three weeks, all participants were administered a posttest that was read aloud by a UGA staff member. In addition, teachers completed a paper and pencil evaluation form about the play and intervention. Figure 2.0 summarizes the implementation phase of the study design.
Summary of Evaluation Methods

Study findings were evaluated using Pretest/Posttest measures from an adaptation of a previously validated instrument. Using the pencil and paper format, Pretests/Posttests for students measured 1) student knowledge of the importance of healthy food choices and physical activity choices, 2) student intentions to increase healthy food consumption and physical activity, and 3) changes in behavior related to healthy food selection and increased physical activity. In addition, teachers completed a Teacher Evaluation Form to assess their opinions about the overall effectiveness of the intervention.
Results

See Appendix A to refer to food choices items (Q5-Q14) and physical activity choices (Q44-Q53).

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<th>Table 1.0</th>
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<td>ACTIVE VS. SEDENTARY ACTIVITIES</td>
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Summary of Results

One hundred percent of students reported that they enjoyed the play. One hundred percent of teachers gave the show a rating of "Excellent" and reported that the play effectively conveyed health and nutrition messages for this population. Significant findings included a major impact upon students’ food choices as well as significant changes in students’ physical activity choices. Additionally, students reported an increase of ½ serving of fruits and vegetables. Our data indicated that students are already knowledgeable about healthy foods and activities. Other reported changes related to student knowledge, intentions, and behaviors were not statistically significant.

Conclusion and Future Research

Our research demonstrates that theater serves as an engaging catalyst to get students interested in nutrition and physical fitness. Theater alone, however, will not produce behavioral changes. Further research on how to reinforce nutrition messages introduced by theater productions must be conducted. Our results and the work of others indicate that substantial knowledge about healthy eating and physical activity does not directly influence behavior. Engaging interventions must also occur after the theater production in order to maintain children’s interest in healthy behaviors. Conclusively, both student and teacher acceptance of the use of a culturally appropriate theater production in nutrition education for low-income African American children makes this innovative educational approach a viable medium for introducing nutrition education messages in school based settings.
References


Appendix A: Pretest/Posttest

ID #_______________________
School_____________________
Date_______________________

Start Here

Section A: Please put an X in the box that describes you best.

1. Are you a…?
   □ 1 Boy             □ 2 Girl

2. What grade are you in?
   □ 1 3rd             □ 2 4th

3. How old are you?
   □ 7                   □ 8               □ 9             □ 10       □ 11

4. Which of the following best describes you?
   □ 1 American Indian or Native American
   □ 2 Asian
   □ 3 Black or African American
   □ 4 Hispanic or Latino
   □ 5 Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
   □ 6 White, non-Hispanic, non-Latino
   □ 7 Other

Section B: For each pair of foods, which food would you choose to eat?

5. □ 1 Low-fat Milk
    OR
    □ 2 Soda

6. □ 1 Potato Chips
    OR
    □ 2 Pretzels
Section C: For each pair of foods, which of the following is better for your health?

15.  
- 1 Low-fat Milk
- 1 Potato Chips

OR

- 2 Soda
- 2 Pretzels
Section D: Did you eat this food yesterday?

25. Carrot Sticks?  □ 1 YES  □ 2 NO
26. Broccoli?  □ 1 YES  □ 2 NO
27. 100% Juice?  □ 1 YES  □ 2 NO
28. Pretzels?  □ 1 YES  □ 2 NO
29. Fruit Salad or mixed fruit?  □ 1 YES  □ 2 NO
30. Banana?  □ 1 YES  □ 2 NO
31. Orange?  □ 1 YES  □ 2 NO
32. Cereal?  □ 1 YES  □ 2 NO
33. Apple?  □ 1 YES  □ 2 NO
34. Yogurt?  □ 1 YES  □ 2 NO
35. Grapes?  □ 1 YES  □ 2 NO
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<td>36.</td>
<td>Pears?</td>
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<td>37.</td>
<td>Tomatoes?</td>
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<td>38.</td>
<td>Unbuttered popcorn?</td>
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**Section E:**

39. How many servings of fruits, fruit juices, or vegetables do you usually eat each day?
   - 1
   - 2
   - 3
   - 4
   - 5
   - 6 or more

40. How many servings of fruits and vegetables do you think a person should eat a day for good health?
   - 1
   - 2
   - 3
   - 4
   - 5
   - 6 or more

41. Do you plan to eat more fruits in the next few weeks?
   - 1 YES
   - 2 NO

42. Do you plan to eat more vegetables in the next few weeks?
   - 1 YES
   - 2 NO

43. Do you plan to eat fewer high-fat snacks like potato chips and candy in the next few weeks?
   - 1 YES
   - 2 NO

**Section F: Which activity would you choose to do?**

44. Playing video games
   - 1
   - 2 Playing tag

45. Watching TV
   - 1
   - 2 Dodgeball
**Section F: (Continued)**
Which activity would you choose to do?

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<td>1 Jump Rope</td>
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<td>2 Playing cards</td>
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<td>48.</td>
<td>1 Dancing</td>
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<td>2 Reading</td>
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<td>50.</td>
<td>1 Writing</td>
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<td>2 Riding my bike</td>
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<td>52.</td>
<td>1 Swimming</td>
<td>OR</td>
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<td>2 Talking on the phone</td>
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**Section G: Which activity is better for your health?**

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<td>54.</td>
<td>1 Playing video games</td>
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<td>2 Playing tag</td>
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Section H: Did you do this activity yesterday?

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Section I:

71. How often are you physically active?

☐ 1 Everyday  ☐ 2 4 to 6 days  ☐ 3 2 to 3 days  ☐ 4 1 day  ☐ 5 Not at all

72. How often should a kid be physically active for good health?

☐ 1 Everyday  ☐ 2 4 to 6 days  ☐ 3 2 to 3 days  ☐ 4 1 day  ☐ 5 Not at all

73. Do you plan to be more physically active in the next few weeks?

☐ 1 YES  ☐ 2 NO

GREAT WORK!!

Thank You!!!
Section J: The following questions ask about the nutrition play that you saw and the activities that you did in school and at home. Please put an X in the box that you choose.

74. Did you attend the play about eating healthy and exercising with Lil’ Red, Big Boy Gran’ma Jackson?
   ☐ 1 YES ☐ 2 NO

75. Did you enjoy the play about Lil’ Red, Big Boy Gran’ma Jackson?
   ☐ 1 YES ☐ 2 NO

76. Which of the characters in the play became sick from eating unhealthy foods?
   ☐ 1 Lil’ Red ☐ 2 Gran’ma Jackson ☐ 3 Big Boy

77. How did Lil’ Red and Big Boy end up ridin’ thru ‘da hood?
   ☐ 1 In Aunt Candy’s candy apple red Escalade
   ☐ 2 On the Bus
   ☐ 3 On their bikes
   ☐ 4 In Gran’ma Jackson’s car

78. Which of the following is NOT one of the four ways to do “What’s Best 4 Me!” that you learned about in class?
   ☐ 1 Eat 5 fruits and vegetables a day
   ☐ 2 Eat a variety of foods
   ☐ 3 Eat candy and potato chips everyday
   ☐ 4 Choose low fat foods
   ☐ 5 Move and Groove by doing heart thumpin’ exercise everyday

79. Choose the “Go High” Food?
   ☐ 1 Hot wings
   ☐ 2 Cheeseburger
   ☐ 3 French Fries
   ☐ 4 Apples
   ☐ 5 Honey bun
Section J: (Continued) The following questions ask about the nutrition play that you saw and the activities that you did in school and at home. Please put an X in the box that you choose.

80. Choose the “Go Low” Food?

☐ 1 Baked Potato  
☐ 2 Fruit salad  
☐ 3 Unbuttered Popcorn  
☐ 4 Candy bar  
☐ 5 Grapes

81. Please write down the favorite fruit or vegetable of your parent or other adult that you asked about at home.

________________________________________________________________________

OR

☐ Please check here if you did not talk to your parent or other adult about their favorite vegetable.

82. Please write down one fruit or vegetable that you asked your parent or other adult to buy for your home.

________________________________________________________________________

OR

☐ Please check here if you did not ask your parent or other adult to buy your favorite fruit or vegetable for your home.

Great Job!!!

Thank You!!!
1. **Title of the submission:**
   China’s Labor Disputes Resolution Mechanism: Institutionalized Step by Step

2. **Name of the author:** Kang Yi

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   Hong Kong Baptist University

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China’s Labor Disputes Resolution Mechanism: Institutionalized Step by Step

by Yi Kang

Abstract

Labor disputes increase at an exponential rate accompanying China’s drastic changes in industrial relation. The state has responded by designing various institutions to handle labor dispute issues. Mediation, arbitration and litigation integrate the legal proceedings of the government’s institutional arrangement for labor disputes resolution. The earlier popularity of enterprise-level mediation has suffered a steep decline ever since the enterprise reform and direct access to local-level arbitration was permitted. However, there is an increasing tendency to reject an arbitral judgment and to appeal to the courts in these years. How and why has the dominance shifted from one institution to another within this mechanism? How is the mechanism utilized and evaluated? What are workers’ responses to government’s institutional arrangements? These are the questions to be answered. This study seeks to explore how the Chinese government has institutionalized the labor disputes resolution mechanism, and how these institutions have influenced workers attitudes and actions in protecting their own rights and interests by examining the case of labor disputes resolution mechanism in Shanghai. What are the factors affecting the functioning and limitation of each institution within the labor disputes resolution mechanism and causing the shift of importance from one to another? To what extent are these institutions effective? How do these institutions shape workers’ attitudes and actions, or in a more general way, how do they affect workers legal and rights consciousness development? By answering these questions, the study tries to find out how institutional arrangements set structural parameters in shaping social actors’ cognition and action, and how the actors’ attitudes and strategies in return affect the institutional development.
1. Title of the submission. Tracking the sex workers along the roads of Lahore city and exploring the unsympathetic social behaviors in social GIS aspects

2. Name(s) of the author(s): Syed Hussain Moqaddus Kazmi

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6. Abstract and/or full paper. Attached
Tracking the sex workers along the roads of Lahore city and exploring the unsympathetic social behaviors in social GIS aspects

Abstract:
Fornication exists in every country. However, its moral values are different in different countries. The country like Pakistan, fornication is well organized in elite class but the sex workers standing on road side are living in more miserable condition than higher class sex workers are. There are many pull and push factors, which force these, sex workers to hunt the clients to earn to run their living expenses. The people have very unsympathetic behaviour towards them without knowing ground realities that compel these sex workers to fall in this evil. There is no any rehabilitation institution for these workers. The flaws in jurisdiction also increasing the roadside sex workers. It is also feared that these sex workers have the maximum potential to carry epidemic disease like AIDS/HIV. In addition, this disease can explode any time the country, but we still have taken negligible precautionary measures. Roadside sex workers are living full risky life concerning health, security and brutal adultery treatments. They have to hide their profession from their relative family members and neighbors. Therefore, they have to cover a long distance in the city to hunt their clients. For the first time GIS tools are used for social GIS analysis for this ignited issue to get ground realities of the sever problem.

Key words
Roadside Sex Workers, GPS, Proximity Analysis, Pull and Push Factors, AIDS/HIV, Red area

Introduction
Sex is a bitter or sweet reality that cannot be overlooked. Its legal efforts are the security for the survival of human being. Pakistan is announced as Islamic country and has a specific law that prohibits prostitution. Under the Suppression of Prostitution Ordinance 1961, running a brothel, enticing or leading a woman or a girl to prostitution and forcing a woman or a girl to have a sexual intercourse with any man are punishable crimes.(The Constitution of Pakistan-Chapter-2). However, this law found only in the books and its violation can be observed in all over the Pakistan. In each city of Pakistan, we found the red areas of sex workers near bus stand or railways stations. Before partition, royal families visited these areas and the elite class learns literature and etiquettes in these brothels. Therefore, many sex workers also become fame in the field of poetry. (Montgomery 1860). The civilization and typical culture portrayed by Lakhnao, Delhi and Lahore cities of sub-continent India have deep impact of these red light areas. But these areas do not only fulfill the sexual requirement of common people to elite class, but they also perform dance and singing in wedding ceremonies or in folk fun fairs which is a part and parcel of sub-continent India. The renowned poets of sub-continent also regularly visited these areas to recharge their emotions and intuition of their poetry. (Saeed, 1984).

In July 16, 1977, General Zia ul Haq dissolved the elected democratic government, and began to prolong his regime in the name of Islam. In this scenario, he also banned the red areas in all over the country, in the name of Islamic reforms. However, due to ban on this kind of work in particular and specified area, this interdict spread swiftly within the cities. In this way, Lahore city become one of the sufferers among the most prominent cities of Pakistan. Then this kind of work...
again alienated into different classes of sex workers from high class “call girls” to lower class sex workers (or in local word “gashtees”).

The Lahore city, is rich cultured and historic city of multiple races has one of the sever problems of sex workers. It is mega city with a dense population of 7.5 million located at 74-20' E longitude to 31-34 AND latitude. About 3000 sex workers are standing along the roadside, who can be distinguished, some step forward or backward from any bus stop with showy dress and masking face with third class costumes and perfume giving alluring looks. They usually appear after sunset and disappear or picked up by different category of clients after 11 O clocks at night. There are very rare chances to find any sex workers after midnight. Though, these road side sex workers are available 24 hours on the road but the peak timing of these workers started from sunset. In some cases, sex workers also play a lucrative role for corrupt police personnel to trap the client of sex workers to fleece a mass amount of money in the name of Islamic “Hudood Laws” which has a severe punishment like stone to death. About 5% of these sex workers are eunuchs and 8% are boy who indulge in sex entertainment.

The research on sex workers is being done by many scholars but mostly they confine there precious work on only marked red areas of the Lahore city. Many NGOs with collaboration on international donors like UNICEF, Action Aid, and HIV/AIDS Agencies are also working only on areas for their health and environment. Though the road side sex workers are being pointed out time to time in news papers who only depict them, as a sever evil that is collapsing the Islamic ethics and society but such feature do not explore the bitterness of ground reality.

The Problem
The main purpose of this research is to explore the status of road side sex worker and unsympathetic attitude of common people against them and to investigate the push and pull factors that force them to stand along the roads to sell their bodies for sex entertainment. Also seeking the probability of HIV/AIDS delivery as a carrier agent.

Objectives

The objective of the research was as follows:
- Tracking and mark the most probable location of sex workers on the road of Lahore city with GIS tools like GPS.
- Revealing the family background and family size of the sex workers including dependent and independent family members.
- Finding the fascinating factors that pull sex worker on the road.
- To make a proximity analysis to find the distance between the location of job and the home where they dwell.
- Seek out the root causes of this problem and find out the psycho-social and geographic factors by spatial social GIS analysis.

Methodology
The main research tools were semi-structured questionnaire and interview schedule with sex workers and some of their clients. GIS tools were also use like GPS receiver to mark the sex worker’s hot spots and then all these hot spots were transferred on digital map of Lahore city.
to perform spatial social and proximity analysis. After acquisition of primary data, it was compiled to explore the root causes and ground reality involving in sex business, that reinforce sex worker to come on the road. The population of this research was sex workers and sample was selected randomly from roadside sex workers, as has been described earlier. No doubt, it was a difficult task and it took one and half year to accomplish this research work. Total 280 respondent were interviewed, excluding clientage of the these sex workers. The delimitation of the study is the hypocritical nature and behavior of common people.

**Tacking the Sex workers on Road**

Roadside sex workers are available almost from 7 a.m to maximum 12 p.m in summer and 8 a.m to 11 p.m in winter season, where these sex workers are available almost in all roads but the most prominent roads and hot spots which were marked with GPS, are Mall road, Wahdat road, Canal road, Ferozpur road, Multan road, Circular road and Jail road(Figure 1) where the business of sex workers is at the peak from 7 pm to midnight. These sex workers are standing near bus stops or those locations where they can be distinguished easily from other commuters. They usually hunt the sex clients by waving their eyes and body movement to allure them for sex. They deal the persons according to their status and age. Their clientage includes all type of men pertaining to different type of professions like labours, students, businesspersons, caretakers, according to their pocket. They take decision in a short time to reject or select a person. If a client is pedestrian then auto rickshaw driver also came near to them to get double fair. The experience sex workers usually select those clients who have cars or at least motorbike. The deal is made according to the time and number of persons. In our sample, only 5% sex workers offer abode also. Otherwise, it is responsibility of client to arrange a secure space, which may be a flat in a plaza, hotel or any vacant house of concerning client. The rate is negotiable and it can be trusted or mistrusted by number of persons who are not narrated at the spot. Usually students do not give the exact number of clients. However, the person above 30 has nice behaviour with sex workers. Police and other security personnel have also links with some sex workers, who hunt the sex clients with the help of these sex workers and then make empty, the pocket of clients by threatening them in the name of Islamic law of Hudood. Among these sex workers, 65% respondent usually worried about police behaviour that if they captured by the police then they will be brutally raped freely and without any wages by whole police station at any time of the week or days. Such victims in roadside or call girl type sex workers at once change their location to get rid of these “Guards of Law”. The average earning of sex worker of 20-25 years of age is 20 to 50 US$/day. Teenagers and upto 30 years old sex workers have higher rates while above 30 years old sex workers attain 5 to 20 US$ per day depending upon their body physic and fitness. The minimum rate is 1.5US$ per hour. The most old women become supplier of young sex workers and get commission usually with half percentage.
Tracking the Sex Workers along Road Side in Lahore City

Figure 1 Family Background and Marital Status of Sex workers
Most of the sex workers belong to lower middle and lower class. They live below the poverty line. At least 45 million people out of the country's 140 million population live in abject poverty. (Ministry of Finance, 2003) Average family size of sex workers is 5-7 family members. 45% among married sex workers claim that their husband is unemployed and 21% say that their husband is drug addicted and the remaining 24% said that their husband is a labour and has no permanent job, to meet the family expenses. 88% of the sex workers claim, that they are still unmarried, and do this job due to large family size and dependent. The remaining 12% of unmarried sex workers do this job as a part time. They work in different private organizations, factories, restaurants, or shops like beauty parlors, boutiques, departmental stores family clinics, maternity centers, marriage bureaus, guest houses and after the end of job timing they pick the client to raise their earning. Divorced and separated sex workers are also active in this field. Married women are also active in this job, but they pretend as unmarried for inexperienced clients while habitual sex hunter can easily discriminate between married and unmarried women by some different physical features of sex workers.

![Marital Status of Sex Workers](image)

*Figure 2*

If we observe the education level of these sex workers mostly, they are illiterate or having education upto elementary level. Only 3% are graduate. And one out of total respondent has a master level degree from reputable university. The illiterate and primary level of education of these sex workers is high as 24% and 35% respectively. Mostly, the part time roadside sex workers have upto higher secondary level of education.
Milestone Sex Abuse that lead sex workers into this profession

It’s a very bitter truth that in our society, child abuse have in significant number, but mostly these incidents are concealed due to future of daughter because if any child abuse case happened to any small child then this stigma only goes towards female side and male remain innocent and worthy. When it was investigated that what was the milestone sexual related factors that forced the sex worker to adopt this profession, 20 % of total respondent admitted that first time, they were abused by relatives or neighbors that lead forced them to adopt this profession due to permanent stigma of “Gashti” (prostitute). Out of total sexual abuse, 34 %ere abused at the age of between, less than 8 to 12 (Figure 5). And this figure is very important because the news about children sex abuse are few and far between but from the above source, the ratio can stunned us by such horrible results that are usually put out of sight due to disgrace for the victim. A separate research may be conducted to reveal this reality. Mothers of sex workers also play an important role to compel their daughter to get this profession. In the same way, poor, drug addicted or unemployed husband also encourage this profession.(Figure 4). Some sex workers eloped with her boy friend who sells her to the pimps after some months, and then she was forcibly made prostitute. Such type of cases were observed 19% of the total respondent that is also not ignorable.
Milestone Factors that forced sex workers to adopt this profession

Figure 4

Sexual Abuse Factor for sex profession

Figure 5
Pull and Push Factors of Roadside Sex workers

There are many pull and push factors that forced sex workers to stand on the road. According to International Human Rights Monitoring (IHRM) group, as many as 44 percent women resort to the sex trade due to poverty, 32 percent by deception, 18 percent due to coercing, 4 percent due to surroundings (born to sex workers) and only 2 percent are involved in the sex trade at their own will. But these facts depict roughly all type of sex workers. The road side sex workers have some different. No doubt, poverty is a major factor but other factors cannot be neglected. No sex workers who start their business can take risk to start from their own Muhallah (zone like Union Council) or neighboring street or suburb. Because they live in lower middle class areas where all neighbors are very concerned to each other. Women as well as men particularly old age are in search of suspicious and thrilling stories. May be we find only few men in any union council that can be declared innocent or abstinent but we are so hypocrite about reality that when ever we find any sex workers in our neighborhood, all the people protest against them in the name of honour, filthy environment. So the sex workers have to evacuate their homes that are usually taken on rent. Then they can only live their under the auspice of Police. Otherwise, they have to go from there. If the sex workers give monthly (A type of bribery that is given to the police to save the whore’s residence). This observation can be seen on posh areas of Lahore city where elite class live and has no business concern about the type of work of their neighbors. However, road side sex workers do not want to reveal themselves as a prostitution but show themselves, as a factory workers or any kind of job where night shift is in practice. Therefore, including poverty, the common people’s unsympathetic and hatred behaviour push them to come on the road. There is also supplier or women pimps called in local language “Naika”, “Dalala”, or “aunties”, who get orders of clients and send sex workers along with them or to provide brothel in his own house without any external threat. But they charge half or some times 60 percent of total amount fixed for sex entertainment. So, the sex workers feel unease and try to get rid of such pimps and Naikas to get full money. Hence, they themselves pull towards the road to hunt client with their own efforts. Sometimes, when a woman becomes a sex worker, then she persuades or allures their other female friends to come on roads to earn some money and enjoyment. Most of the unmarried sex workers do not want to register themselves as prostitute to pimps or Naikas, because they want to remain concealed themselves and stand on the road to hunt clients by their own labors.

Role of Cellular Phone

After 2002, due to easy and low-priced availability of cellular phones, the business of sex workers boosts up 100 percent as compared to previous years. Now, 91 percent have mobile phone that is mostly gifted by the client. The cellular phone is very effective to sex workers to fix the time a place for mating. The phone number of sex workers passes through client friend of same category to contact them. But, in spite of presence of cellular phone, the clients abruptly change sex workers to taste different prostitutes. A client less than 25 and above 40 have contact with the same sex worker, not more than more than one year but the clients between 25 to39 continuously change the sex workers to avoid monotonous service of a particular sex worker. In this way, though, the cellular phone has great importance in their business, but ultimately, they have to come on road again to find new clients.
Proximity Analysis of Sex Workers

Proximity is a measure of the distance between features. It is most commonly measured in units of length but can be measured in other units such as travel time or noise level (Aronoff, 1995). But, here we will investigate the traveling distance from the dwelling of a sex workers to road and then to client abode. A road side sex worker travel from home to road an average of 5 to 15 kilometer and then almost same distance from road to client abode. This traveling becomes at least 20 to maximum 60 kilometer to return safe at home within the city. Here both client and sex workers covered the same distance to conceal his type of work from their friends and relatives. A sex hunter picks the sex worker far away from his home or known

![Figure 5: The distance covered by a sex worker](image)

places and sex worker prefer the same mode of business. In this way both client and sex host save their so-called honour. When ever the sex workers are exposed as a prostitute, they have to leave the area. So, they do not live more than a year in fixed place due to leakage of their kind of profession. They also change their residence remain to keep themselves hide from police also. Therefore, about 92% of total respondents live on rental home.
**Psychosocial and Geographic Aspects**

Why a sex worker is forced to sell her body for earning? In more developed countries, this has become an organized industry and hundred thousands of websites are available for cyber sex, porno, matching, dates etc. But in a third, world country like Pakistan has some other values and demands of society. It is believed that the grimmest hatred and a grievous sin in the society. It is not considered as a type of work but a condemned crime that is culpable, stone to death. It is not a luxurious entertainment at all but it is done just to carry the basic needs of the sex workers and their family. There is no honour of lower cast in Pakistan. The women of the lower cast usually sexually abused and the poor workers have no any power even to report the police. If media reveals any rape case report, then, sometime the action is taken against the perpetrator, but due to lot of flaws in jurisdiction system of Pakistan, such cases are usually neutralized in the favour of criminals or presented in such way that 90 percent criminals of adultery cases, being released from lot of haziness in the law. It is also seen that the influential personalities threat the victims and the case is dismissed or roll back. In this way, the ultimate guilty or stigma is pasted on the forehead of innocent women. Moreover, the domestic workers, who are mostly raped by the elders of the houses, where they work, but due to lack of equal law implementation, social difference and discriminations, most of the low cast girls do not bother to report the police to avoid further chaos. The low cast girls are also raped by middle class neighbors, which become the first step for those girls to lead them towards prostitution. Electronic media also fascinate the world of glamour and a girl eloped with
prince of their dreams and then these girls are soled to pimps who further uses them for their own earnings. In this stage, the woman can not go back, again at there previous parents home, because their parents never accept them again and tried to hide this incident. On the other hand, the male remain innocent and there is not practical law that can hurt him.( Rauf, 1988). If such case is noticed by the police then the FIR is written in such a way that the female side is proved culprit and sentenced to jail. In Pakistani Jail even rape case is adversely victimized the women and the culpable proved blameless again. Once a woman is blamed as prostitution or brutally raped, then she is never able to get dignity or any kind of honour in the society. She always become suspicious and hatred by others. In these circumstances, it is very difficult for her to escape from her hateful profession. The higher-class sex workers have affiliation with organized groups of pimps who have special perch in posh areas in collaboration of local police station. There is no any kind of security or registration for these sex workers in the law and it is strictly prohibited. The upper class sex workers have very fewer problems because they have relationship with highly influential personalities. But the roadside sex workers are helpless in all perspectives. Even if they are murdered, no one will peruse their case due to blemish risk of illegal relationship to her. There is no rule and regulation or NGO’s working for these sex workers. They are striving for their own survival in the most risky environment. Consequently, they have to hide their profession from their neighbors and other common people so only 24% of total respondents admit that their parents or family knows their kind of profession.

Hidden Threats
Although in our sampling only 8 sex workers out of 280, admit that they suffered, one two time, from hepatitis but the remaining strongly did not acknowledge any type of disease, they have. Whereas, their pale and withering faces in highly masking of cheap cosmetics depicting an other story of hidden dangerous reality. Only 3% forced their clients to use condom and only 0.5% client use condom or take any other precautionary measures. There is no restriction of client or sex worker in their activities. Some sex workers reveal that some of their co-workers died due to unknown disease. 68% of sex workers are familiar with the name of AIDS/HIV. But 72% among these do not give importance to this disease because their basic need is to earn some money to run the expenses of the their family for the current day without any saving. Officially it is announced only 246 people, 215 men and 31 women, found to have contracted AIDS in Pakistan.(GOP, Ministry of Health 2004) but they also explore that there are more than 90,000 unregistered HIV and AIDS patients in Pakistan.

In the same way, according to the National AIDS Control Programme, there are currently 235 registered cases of HIV and 1,785 reported cases of AIDS in Pakistan. Government officials’ claim 70,000 to 80,000 unregistered HIV and AIDS patients live in the country. Though no one can make authentic claims about the number of unregistered AIDS patients in Pakistan, they have some indications that there has been an increase in the recent past. Pakistan has a narrow window of opportunity to prevent a generalized HIV/AIDS epidemic. While the HIV/AIDS burden is still low. However, Pakistan’s many competing needs (including provision of basic social services and debt servicing and drug control expenditures) have made resource mobilization for HIV/AIDS difficult.(UNAID).
What is role of roadside sex workers in spreading HIV in the Lahore city, it is quite difficult to probe the actual situation. The symptoms of HIV or the most fertile carrier of HIV positive are the road side workers who have no any kind of check or intentionally heedless. But it may proved a dormant time bomb of HIV that can explode at any time to demolish our shallow ethical society and ruin our culture like the countries in Africa continent where this HIV monster is engulfing more than 30 percent of population like Botswana. In our society, if a person got HIV positive, he is treated a curse of God and sever hate him/her and even to touch him/her. The people think that an HIV positive person got this disease, only due to illegal relationship with other humanbeing. They don’t bother to know the reality and other causes of this disease. Therefore, if a person is diagnosed as HIV positive in him/her, then he/she never share his/she disease to his/she family or relative or friends due to enmity reaction from them. In this way, a person embraces death very shortly due to agonizing mental torture by carrying this disease. There are many scheme like “Nizam –e-Zakat” an official department to distribute a fix amount to destitute like old, divorced, poor students, needy families but this amount is so small that no one can live with this amount in an honorable way. So, these sex workers have to take support of fornication business.

Conclusion
No doubt, sex business in a society like Pakistan is the most condemned work, but we cannot close over eyes from the ground realities. Our hypocritical and hatred behavior against the deprived and forced sex workers never let them adjust or mix up in the society. Poverty with male dominant society, pull the women to sell their body not for enjoyment but to earn for her and their family. Even employed in different organization and shops do this job as part time. The discrimination in society based on cast and class, also make a push factors for women to adopt this filthy profession. The cause of unemployment and insecure future, continuous increasing inflation rate and surge of prices of basic needs also add the factors to adopt this kind of activity. The roads of city are full of this depressed class of sex workers who are deliberately ignored the facts that are deteriorating moral values of society. Also, unfriendly behaviour of common people against sex workers and HIV patients is add an explosive spread of this disease. One of the most risk still stand in roadside sex workers due to not giving them importance by different welfare organizations. Hence, they are the easiest carrier of different diseases including hepatitis to AIDS/HIV, and other epidemic diseases. Once a sex worker is declared as a prostitute, then she never been able to mix up as an honored women in the society. No one marry with her and no will like to help her. Even jurisdiction system do no favour her and she have to remain in this heap of rubbish zone. Although, roadside sex workers take very precautionary measures to hide themselves, in their dwelling vicinity and due to that fact, they have to cover a long distance from her residence, but even then, they are exposed in the neighbors. Consequently, they have to change their dwellings after between six months to one year. If a law is enforced to eliminate any evil in the society, then it is exploited by the law enforcing agencies and a new door of corruption is open for their lavish life. Cellular phone boosted the sex business but it can’t able to prohibit sex workers to come on the roads for new clients. The rates of sex workers are negotiable and from 1.5 US$ to 15 US$ for one hour to one night according to status of the client. One of the significant factor that
forced the sex workers to start this profession is sexual abuse in early age or forced by her mother or husband also.

Suggestions
♦ It is need to make amendments in Hudood Ordinance and promulgation of strict laws for adultery and rape that should equally treated to male and female.
♦ The awareness about epidemics like Hepatitis and AIDS/HIV should be familiarized upto lower class.
♦ Strive for the friendly behaviour for the AIDS/HIV patients.
♦ Roadside workers should be helped like other destitute to get rid of this filthy, risky and most hatred profession and government should take steps in collaboration with NGO’s to enhance their living standard of these sex workers and also earning to develop home industry.
♦ Use of condom and other precautionary measures should be forced to adopt by road sex workers with the help of female volunteers of NGO’s in a very friendly environment.
♦ Roadside sex workers should also be treated as if drug addicted and ethically and sick and psycho patients who have to keep in their mind the wrong justification of this profession, and their must be centers for honourable revival of these sex workers.
♦ A separate research should be organized in higher level to mitigate the child sex abuse that forced the women to adopt this profession.
♦ The system of “Zakat” should be reorganized in such a way, that every needy person meets his or her at least basic needs. However, from Zakat fund the money should be distributed according to family size of the needy persons. At government level many technical institute can be established to make these sex workers, valuable citizen of the country. The distribution of Zakat funds should also need to make it transparent also.
♦ The religious scholar can play a positive role for those sex workers who are single or divorced by arranging marriage for them.
♦ The law enforcement agencies should be varying careful to discriminate between sex workers and victim. The sex workers should be pursued for any alternative practical jobs.
♦ The problem of prostitution should be considered from its ethical root level that force a sex worker to sell their body and this issue should be settled amicably.
♦ A model work for rehabilitation of roadside sex workers equipped with GIS tools should be implemented in a small area of sex workers population that can be applied to other region of country.
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International Relations

(Paper session)

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ABSTRACT

Kosovo is an autonomous region of Serbia and mostly populated by Albanians. Due to lack of investment by the Serbian government, Kosovo is most underdeveloped region of Yugoslavia. Kosovars rejected to be part of Yugoslavia and intended to leave. Although Kosovo was granted an enlarged autonomy status which was equal with republics by 1974 constitution to solve ethnic problems in Kosovo, it was not enough for Kosovars. Although Tito gave enlarged autonomy to Kosovo, he didn’t give the republic status due to the existence of an Albanian state as a neighbour of Yugoslavia. If Kosova gains republic status, at the same time it would gain self-determination right and leave Yugoslavia.

Kosovars are giving struggle for independence almost since 1960’s. Nevertheles, after Tito died and Serbia changed Kosovo’s constitution in order to restrict autonomy of Kosovo, Kosovars intensified their struggle for independence. After diplomatic efforts for independence and creation a parallel state in Kosovo, Albanians created Kosovo Liberation Army and applied military tools for independence. As a result of Serbia’s military response to the Kosovar Albanians, NATO intervened Serbia. After dissolution of Yugoslavia and NATO’s intervention, Kosovo is depended to the New Yugoslavia Federation which is constituted Montenegro and Serbia.

At the present, there is a temporary governance in Kosovo run by international organisations, and the negotiations about the future of Kosovo still continues. One of the options about the future of Kosovo is to give Kosovo its independence. However, in international arena, some international actors constructing a link between Kosovo and Chechnya, even Taiwan, and claim that in the case of Kosovo’s independence, the Chechnya and the Taiwan will have right to gain independence.

In this context, the purpose of this paper is to examine whether Kosovo’s and Chechnya’ independence processes and progresses are similar or same. I explore whether Kosovo and Chechnya have right for independence or not. In this study I will use international law perspective.
OSCE AND SECURITY IN THE CAUCASUS : A Comparison With Balkans

International Relations

(Paper session )

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OSCE AND SECURITY IN THE CAUCASUS : A Comparison With Balkans

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ABSTRACT

The OSCE is one of the main organizations which is responsible to create and protect peace and security in Europe. Although at the beginning, the OSCE was responsible for peace and security in Europe, the OSCE has changed and improved its mission to cover peripheral regions, by 1990s. When multinational states, like Socialist Federal Yugoslavia Republic and United Soviet Socialist Republic are dissolved, OSCE saw that its mission is not enough to deal with such a kind of conflicts which appeared in the Balkans and Caucasus, hence, the OSCE decided to enlarge its region and sent its Missions to the Caucasus (Baku, Georgia, Chechnya and Yerevan), Balkans and even to the Central Asia. The OSCE succeed its mission in the Balkans but failed in the Caucasus.

In this context, the purpose of this paper is to examine and compare the functions and achievements of the OSCE in Caucasus and Balkans, and its role in the stabilization and democratization of the two regions. Since we reached the conclusion that OSCE failed to complete its mission in the Caucasus, but succeed in the Balkans, we explore its reasons and make some recommendations to create peace and security in the Caucasus.
Title of Submission: Constituent Factors of Death Anxiety: A Comparison among Adults in the Pre- and Post-Retirement Age.

Topic Area of Submission: Psychology

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Constituent Factors of Death Anxiety: A Comparison among Adults in the Pre- and Post-Retirement Age.

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ABSTRACT

Death anxiety refers to the fear and apprehension of one’s own death. Man’s awareness of his own death produces anxiety that can only be dealt with by recognizing one’s own individuality. Death can be seen as part of the life process, or can be viewed as a dramatic, painful, torturing experience both for the person and his family. All human drama is, to a great extent, a story of how human beings cope with the terror of death, and how they overcome death anxiety through a great variety of conscious efforts and unconscious defense mechanisms. How we view death and how we cope with death anxiety can profoundly affect every aspect of our lives - either positively or negatively.

Fear of dying involves not only physiological but psychological factors, too. Perception of death may be considered as a correlate of number of personal and environmental variables. Research findings do suggest that death anxiety is a complex construct that interrelates in a variety of ways that are not completely understood with a host of demographic and personality variables. It has also been found that religious belief and age have an influence on death anxiety. This paper proposes to examine the prevalence of death anxiety among the adult population. It is an attempt to examine various factors of death anxiety as perceived by adults in the pre and post retirement age.

The final sample in this study is of 84 adults in the age group 40-65 years with 42 adults in the pre-retirement age (40-58) and the remaining 42 adults in the post–retirement age (59-65). As a result of Factor Analysis, four factors emerged, which were labeled as - Nervousness, Apprehension, Aversion and Worry. The findings of the study reveal the prevalence of death anxiety among the 84 participants even though t-test result shows no significant differences found between the means of two groups.

Keywords: Death Anxiety, nervousness, apprehension, worry, aversion

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INTRODUCTION

Death anxiety is defined as anxiety caused by conscious and unconscious fear of death and dying (Harmon-Jones et al., 1997). It measures the extent to which an individual fears his or her own death. Death anxiety (thanatophobia) is also defined as a feeling of dread, apprehension, or solicitude when one thinks of what happens after death, the process of dying, or ceasing to be. According to Belsky, J (1999) death anxiety is "the thoughts, fears, and emotions about that final event of living that we experience under more normal conditions of life". It is a state of non-being, the termination of biological and social life. The notion of death is a highly personal issue with its meaning varying from individual to individual. Everyone must at some point see death as a part of life. Therefore accepting one's death, one's mortality, is something everyone must face sometime during his or her lifetime.

The importance of death anxiety research rests on the idea that all humans will eventually die. Therefore, how people deal with the recognition of their death is a subject of considerable relevance to everyone. The subject of death anxiety and how the individual manages it is worthy of serious scientific investigation. Fear and anxiety are among the most frequently used words to characterize orientations toward death throughout the life span. Research investigations in general assume that death universally elicits anxiety. Where manifest fear is not present, defensive denial is inferred (Goldings et al., 1966; Jeffres et al., 1961). Conscious fear of death is thought to occur only when there is a serious breakdown of the individual’s defenses, as in extreme psychopathology (Kastenbaum and Costa, 1977).

Theories of Death Anxiety

Freud’s Concept of Death Instinct

Freud has termed life instincts as Eros and Thanatos as death instincts in “Beyond the Pleasure Principle”. Freud's notion of the death instinct was clearly linked to the constancy principle and was also associated with what he termed the Nirvana principle, which postulates that an organism strives to discharge internal tension and to seek a state of rest (Gabbard, 2000). Freud viewed it as a tendency of all organisms and their component selves to return to an inanimate state

Terror Management Theory

Terror management theory (TMT) is a theory based on existentialism which explains how fear of death underlies much of what we do. It was proposed by Jeff Greenberg et al (Greenberg et al., 1986; Solomon et al., 1991). TMT assumes that death-related anxiety is our most fundamental source of anxiety. Like other species, human beings have a basic self-preservation drive. Combining this drive with the realization that we will die creates in us a paralyzing terror of death. In order to ward off this anxiety, according to terror management theorists, we create and participate in culture.
Greenberg et al (2000) showed that people use two types of defense strategies against thoughts of death: proximal defenses and distal defenses. They make use of these two defense strategies under different circumstances, and in a different temporal order. When their mortality was made salient and these death-relevant thoughts remained in their immediate conscious awareness, people attempted to deny their vulnerability to death, thus suppressing or blocking out death-related thoughts. This denial of vulnerability operated as a proximal defense. People whose mortality had been made salient but for whom death-relevant thoughts were not in immediate conscious awareness used distal defenses. The distal defense consisted of affirming a cultural worldview. Because of the death denying function of the cultural worldview, the encounter with a different world view may pose a threat to the validity of our beliefs and the defense from death awareness that they provide. As a result, one may be motivated to reject the threatening worldview and defend one’s beliefs (Florian et al., 2001).

The defensive management of terror of death seems to be achieved by two psychological mechanisms. The first mechanism consists of cognitive and behavioral efforts aimed at validating one’s cultural world view. The second mechanism consists of cognitive and behavioral efforts aimed at increasing self-esteem by living up to those standards of value prescribed by the culture (Taubman-Ben-Ari et al., 2002).

**Meaning Management Model**

How we view death and how we cope with death anxiety can profoundly affect every aspect of our lives - either positively or negatively. This model (Wong, 2002) proposes that meaning management is more adaptive than terror management in dealing with death anxiety. Death is the only certainty in life. All living organisms die; there is no exception. However, human beings alone are burdened with the cognitive capacity to be aware of their own inevitable mortality and to fear what may come afterwards. Furthermore, their capacity to reflect on the meaning of life and death creates additional existential anxiety. According to Goodman (1981), "The existential fear of death, the fear of not existing, is the hardest to conquer. Most defensive structures, such as the denial of reality, rationalization, insulation erected to ward off religiously conditioned separation-abandonment fears, do not lend themselves readily as protective barriers against the existential fear of death".

The meaning management model emphasizes that human beings are born with the innate need for meaning, but it may lie dormant because of our preoccupation with the business of living and death and suffering awaken in us the urgent need to search for meaning and purpose for life and death. We can discover and create meaning in every situation, even in the face of death. It helps deepen one’s faith and spirituality and also enables to achieve a better understanding of the meaning and purpose of life. It helps construct a useful psychological and spiritual model that offers the best protection against the fear of death and dying. It motivates us to embrace life - to engage in the business of living, regardless of our physical condition and present circumstances.
Comprehensive model of death anxiety (Tomer, 1996).

This model postulates three immediate antecedents of death anxiety: past-related regret, future-related regret, and meaningfulness of death. *Past-related regret* refers to a person's unfulfilled aspirations that should have been achieved but were not. *Future-related regret* refers to the anticipation that, as a result of premature death, one cannot achieve important goals in the future. *Meaningfulness of death* refers to one's concept of death and ability to make sense of it. These three antecedents are related to death salience in a complex way, mediated by coping mechanisms and their effects on one's beliefs about self and the world. The coping mechanisms include like life review, life planning, identification with culture, and self-transcending processes.

**Stages of death and dying**

Dying is a process, the end point of which is death. In this sense dying is a terminal part of living. The coping responses during this particular segment of life are shaped by previous experiences with death, as well as by cultural attitudes and beliefs. Kubler-Ross (1969) postulates five stages that many dying patients pass through from the time they first become aware of their fatal prognosis to their actual death:

1. **Denial**
   On being told that one is dying, there is an initial reaction of shock. The patient may appear dazed at first and may then refuse to believe the diagnosis or deny that anything is wrong. Some patients never pass beyond this stage and may go from doctor to doctor until they find one who supports their position.

2. **Anger**
   Patients become frustrated, irritable and angry that they are sick. A common response is, “Why me?” They may become angry at God, their fate, a friend, or a family member.

3. **Bargaining**
   The patient may attempt to negotiate with physicians, friends or even God, that in return for a cure, the person will fulfill one or many promises, such as giving to charity or reaffirm an earlier faith in God.

4. **Depression**
   The patient shows clinical signs of depression - withdrawal, psychomotor retardation, sleep disturbances, hopelessness and possibly suicidal ideation. The depression may be a reaction to the effects of the illness on his or her life or it may be in anticipation of the approaching death.

5. **Acceptance**
   The patient realizes that death is inevitable and accepts the universality of the experience. Under ideal circumstances, the patient is courageous and is able to talk about his or her death as he or she faces the unknown. People with strong religious beliefs and those who are convinced of a life after death can find comfort in this stage.
Factors related to death anxiety

Many researchers have used age, gender, and religiosity as variables in looking at differences in death anxiety. Study by Bengtson, Cuellar, and Ragan, 1977; Pollak, 1980 Aday, 1985 found that religious belief and age have an influence on death anxiety scores.

Age and Death Anxiety

Age has been investigated as a factor influencing death anxiety in several studies with consistent results. In some studies on adult attitudes toward death, researchers found that older subjects had a greater fear of death than younger ones. Justin (1988) points out that most teenagers have never discussed dying with their families. Also young people are characterized as believing death is far off for them, they feel "immortal," while older people supposedly are closer to death and therefore, must face and deal with this reality. Study of Cox, 1993, says that before the twentieth-century, the highest death rates were found in the first 10 years of life; today, in industrialized nations, death rates are the highest for people beyond the age of 50. This means that most people are living at least 20 to 30 years longer than their ancestors, and they will have more time to ponder their demise.

However, a number of studies provide evidence that in a significant number of cases elderly people experience less death anxiety than younger people. As people age, they experience the loss of friends and families because of death. They learn to cope with the thought of their own death. These findings suggest that older people have resolved the question of death while young people have not resolved the question of death. Death to older people is not as anxiety provoking as it is to young people. It may be that the cognitive awareness of death and death phenomenon creates a feeling of acceptance of death and this is viewed as routine phenomenon. Study of Bengtson, Cuellar, and Ragan's (1977) on death attitudes and social categories of people between the ages of 45 and 74, found death anxiety to be the highest among those in the middle-age range (45-54). These respondents expressed the greatest fear of death, while those older (55+) reported low death anxiety. The ethnographic evidence suggests that the crisis of middle age heightens this groups awareness of finitude whereas the elderly have resolved their death concerns. However, Bengtson, Cuellar, and Ragan (1977) did not examine death attitudes of younger people, specifically, between the ages of 18-25.

Quinn and Reznikoff (1985) explored the relationship between death anxiety and sense of purposefulness in life and perceptions of time. The research showed that people with high death anxiety had a lowered sense of purposefulness to their lives, but an increased sensitivity to "time moving on." It suggests that people less oriented toward the future would have somewhat less death anxiety. An older adult’s decreased awareness of the future may, in fact, be a healthy way to respond to death, helping to lower anxiety.
Gender and Death Anxiety

Recent and past studies on death anxiety and sex differences have concluded that females have higher means on fear of death scales than males. Males usually fear punishment in the hereafter, while females usually fear self-annihilation. The explanation for this phenomenon lies in the notion that death does not have the same meaning to both genders. Death to females signifies an end to interpersonal relationships, while to males it signifies an end to accomplishments. Females are usually thought of as placing more importance on interpersonal relationships, while males place more importance on careers and personal accomplishments (Cox, 1993). Robbins (1989), in her study of gender and death anxiety, found that females reported significantly higher death anxiety than did males.

Environment and Death Anxiety

Studies have also attempted to measure the impact of environment on death anxiety. Goebel and Boeck (1987) examined the effects of different types of dwellings with regard to death anxiety. They found that ego integrity was a significant additional factor affecting the impact of living environment on death anxiety. Specifically they found that low ego integrity people living in a nursing home reported higher death anxiety than low integrity people living in an apartment complex. In contrast, no difference in death anxiety was reported in high ego integrity individuals living in either environment. The authors concluded that high ego integrity individuals have a greater sense of control within themselves that help them deal with external factors, such as are imposed in a nursing home environment or with increasing dependence on others due to aging in general. Similar situations in people with low ego integrity would result in a sense of less control over their environment and situation.

Another study (Duff and Hong, 1995), related to both the concept of living environment and age, examined death anxiety among people living in six different retirement communities. Contrary to the expectation that people living in homes with a higher average age would have a higher death anxiety than those living in "younger" homes, this study supported Goebel and Boeck’s (1987) finding that there is no relationship between living environment and death anxiety. Low ego integrity people do not have a sense of control within themselves, which may cause them to experience greater stress, especially as it relates to an issue as uncontrollable as death. The result would be a higher level of death anxiety.

Religiosity and Death Anxiety

Research suggests that high degrees of religiosity (such as orthodoxy, or ritualism, or devotionalism), is associated with lower levels of fear of death (Powell and Thorson, 1991). Leming (1979) proposes that the role of religion is often that of relieving anxiety and fears about the unknowns and uncertainties of life. Death, to Leming, is perhaps the main source of religious belief since it is something that produces feelings of apprehension or fear in everyone. Taking a symbolic integrationist perspective, any
meaning of death must be socially constructed. Christianity in the West has an enormous influence on people's death attitudes. Religion's role in society is often viewed as giving humans solidarity as well as controlling behavior (Leming, 1977). Christianity teaches that people should live a good moral life and in return God will give them eternal life. This belief in afterlife is one of the central tenets of Christianity. People often modify their behavior in order for them to feel that they are worthy of this afterlife.

Malinowski (1948) also suggests that hope for a life after death is the only thing that makes the fear of death manageable. Religious belief reduces the fear of death for many people by offering hope of eternal life; it is this hope that makes life worth living. Leming (1979) in his study on death anxiety and religion, cites Homans who believes that religion, specifically Christianity, arouses a sense of anxiety concerning death and then alleviates the anxiety it creates. Religious belief is often seen manifesting itself in people's behavior. Also religious belief is negatively correlated with death anxiety. Researchers have observed that people scoring high on a religiosity questionnaire (such as Glock and Stark's Dimensions of Religious Commitment), indicating they are highly religiously motivated, have lower death anxiety than those who do not score high. Likewise people who report little or no religious belief, using a religiosity questionnaire, have lower death anxiety than those reporting a low-commitment--often referred to as the lukewarm.

Leming (1979) also cites ten studies that demonstrate that religious factors such as religious commitment, orthodoxy, practice, and devotionalism are significantly related to the reduction of fear of death or death anxiety (Bond, 1994). Research study was conducted to explore various psychosocial correlates associated with how Chinese react to death and dying. A total of 282 Chinese participated in this study using the death anxiety scale. It was found that that younger Chinese as compared with older participants were having higher death anxiety level and women as compared with men tended to be more death anxious. Past research has not looked at death anxiety and age or gender using religiosity as a variable. The findings also explain why inconsistencies are often observed in death anxiety research. If religious belief has such an immense influence on a person's death anxiety level (especially older females), then it would need to be controlled for in future death anxiety research. Leming (1979) proposes that the role of religion is often that of relieving anxiety and fears about the unknowns and uncertainties of life.

Religion is a prime source of strength and sustenance to many people when they are dealing with death. Different religious theories explain the inevitability and even necessity of death from different perspectives. According to the Gita, soul is not destructible but immortal. It says that death of the body is certain and irrelevant but eternal Self or the universal Self is immortal, therefore there should be no grief over what is inevitable, even necessary. It further explains that the Self instead of dying, merely goes on to take a new body and start the process all over again, therefore it is pointless to worry about the discarding of the present body (Srimadbhagavadgita, ch. 2, verse 11, 22, 23; Kamath, 1993). In The Bible also, death has been viewed in a positive manner. It says “Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from now on…….that they may rest from their
labors, and their works follow them (Revelations, ch. 14, verse 13)”. This verse captures well the Christian views about death that there is no life after death; one has to rejoice death as it is means of entering into God’s kingdom depending on their deeds on earth. Spirituality and religiosity have been reported to play significant role in managing death anxiety and enhancing sense of well being, as mentioned by various researchers. Alvarado et al (1995) report that persons with lower death anxiety had greater strength of conviction and greater belief in afterlife.

Duff and Hong (1995) also examined the effects of religiosity on death anxiety. According to them, death anxiety is lower in communities with a higher rate of attendance to religious services. The retirement community with the highest frequency of attendance of religious services scored significantly lower in death anxiety when compared to the other communities. When all of the retirement communities were taken into account, attendance of religious services was again supported and found to be the strongest predictor of death anxiety. It is worth noting that simply attending religious services was more predictive of death anxiety than the importance of religion to the individual. Another study, done by Powell and Thorson (1991), investigating death and religion found that death anxiety was much lower in participants with high intrinsic religious motivation. People with genuine religious convictions were found to have lower death anxiety than those simply going through the motions.

**RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

1. To see the prevalence of death anxiety among the adult population (40-65 yrs) in India
2. To identify the constituent factors of death anxiety among adults in the age group 40-65 years.
3. To examine the difference in death anxiety levels among adults in the pre and post-retirement age.
4. To investigate the relative importance of the constituent factors of death anxiety among the adults in the pre and post retirement age.

**RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

**The Study**

An exploratory investigation to identify the constituent factors of Death Anxiety amongst the adult population and to examine the difference in death anxiety levels and the relative importance of significant constituent factors amongst adults in the pre and post retirement age.
The Sample

The final sample is of 84 adults in the age group 40-65 years with 42 adults in the pre-retirement age (40-58) and the remaining 42 adults in the post–retirement age (59-65). The data is collected on random basis. The extraneous or additional variables of sex, status and educational background are controlled by randomization and elimination.

Tools for Data Collection

Data is collected with the use of standardized Death Anxiety Scale developed by Upinder Dhar, Savita Mehta and Santosh Dhar and published in 1998. The scale consists of ten items and scoring is done by Yes/No. The Scale is having high reliability as well as validity.

Tools for Data Analysis

After tabulation, the data was subjected to factor analysis by Principal Component Method using Varimax Rotation. To determine the inter correlation between factors and their correlation with the total score of the scale, Pearson’s Coefficients of Correlation was calculated. The statistical tools of mean, standard deviation and t-test were used to see the significant difference between the means of death anxiety scores (including factor-wise scores) of the two groups.

RESULTS

- As a result of Factor Analysis, four factors emerged, which were labeled as - Nervousness, Apprehension, Aversion and Worry.

- Factor 1 (Nervousness) is constituted of 3 items (7, 8, 6) on tenseness, destiny and dread with a total factor load of 2.055. The factor had 18.3 percent of variance. Nervousness refers to the quality, state or character of being fearful and timid.

- Factor 2 (Apprehension) is constituted of 3 items (1, 10, 4) on dislike (for old age), fright and terror with a total factor load of 1.8257. The factor had 14 percent of variance. Apprehension refers to an anxiety or fear that something bad or unpleasant will happen.

- Factor 3 (Aversion) is constituted of 2 items (2, 5) on suspicion and escapism with a total factor load of 1.4106. The factor had 12.8 percent of variance. Aversion refers to strong dislike or disinclination.

- Factor 4 (Worry) is constituted of 2 items (3, 9) on panic and fear (of the unknown) with a total factor load of 1.388. The factor had 11.7 percent of variance. Worry refers to being anxious about somebody or something.
• The correlation of all the four factors with the total Death Anxiety score is significant showing that all these factors significantly contribute towards death anxiety. Correlation between nervousness and apprehension, nervousness and aversion and nervousness with worry are significant showing close similarity between these factors.

• Among the participants in the pre retirement age (40-58 yrs), the total mean anxiety is 6.42 where nervousness (M=2.16) was found to be the highest followed by apprehension (M=1.64), worry (M=1.35) and aversion (M=1.19)

• Among the participants in the post retirement age (59-65yrs), the total mean anxiety is 6.57 where nervousness (M=2.16) was found to be the highest followed by apprehension (M=1.70), worry (M=1.50) and aversion (M=1.40).

DISCUSSION

The results of t-test (Figure 6) indicate that there are no significant differences between the means of the four dimensions of death anxiety in terms of age group. The correlation table (Figure 2) shows that age is not significantly correlated with any of the four dimensions of death anxiety and all the four dimensions are significantly and positively correlated with total death anxiety score. However, among the four dimension of death anxiety only nervousness factor is having significant correlation with the other three dimensions of death anxiety - apprehension, worry and aversion.

The findings do suggest that death anxiety is a complex construct that interrelates in a variety of ways that are not completely understood with a host of demographic and personality variables. Pollak (1980) and Aday (1985) also point out that researchers often examine death anxiety on separate dimensions based upon the assumption that death anxiety is a multidimensional construct. The findings reveal that there is no significant difference in the death anxiety levels of the two groups under study. The initial theories held that as people got older and closer to death, they would have more anxiety about death (Belsky, 1999). It is often assumed that young people put off the thought of death, while older people presumably are nearer to the time of their own death and therefore think about death more often. It is plausible to believe that older people would be more preoccupied with death and think about it more often than younger people. Younger people have not developed the cognitive awareness of death that can only come with age. Therefore it is reasonable to expect older people to have higher levels of death anxiety than younger people.

The results of this study can be explained on the basis of Erikson’s psychosocial theory. According to him, people progress through a series of crises as they age and that in the later stages of life “ego integrity” is attained. When a person reaches late adulthood he engages in a life review. If a person finds meaning or purpose in his life, he has integrity. Contrary to this, if a person sees his life as a series of missed opportunities he does not attain ego integrity (Belsky, 1999). Thus, older adults who find ego integrity should have
lower death anxiety. In another study by Stevens et al (1980), it was found that adults above the age of 60 had significantly lower scores than younger adults (Stevens, Cooper, and Thomas, 1980). In another study, examining the relationship between death anxiety and age, Rasmussen (1996) suggested that the differences in death anxiety might be due to a third variable, psychosocial maturity. Rasmussen’s and Erikson’s theories are related because both refer to psychosocial development. A person with high psychosocial maturity would have less death anxiety, and both age and psychosocial maturity were inversely related to death anxiety. If one can equate psychosocial maturity with ego integrity, her findings could be considered to support Erikson’s studies. Rasmussen (1996) concluded that psychosocial maturity was a stronger predictor of death anxiety than age alone.

Hickson, Housely, and Boyle (1988) examined the relationship of "locus of control" to life satisfaction and death anxiety. The authors concluded that an older adults’ sense of control affects life satisfaction, which in turn affects death anxiety. They found an inverse relationship between life satisfaction and death anxiety. Frankl (1969) contends that people can face pain, guilt, despair and death in their confrontation, challenge their despair and thus triumph. It also postulates that a distinctly human characteristic is the struggle for a sense of significance and purpose in life. Study of Yalom, 1980 shows that death anxiety is inversely proportional to life satisfaction when an individual is living authentically, anxiety and fear of death decrease (Richard, 2000).

Moreover, some studies have found no age differences in death anxiety scores. Goebel and Boeck’s (1987) study found no relationship between death anxiety and age, but the participants used in this study were over the age of 70. In this limited age sample they found low death anxiety scores across the range of ages. In a way, this study also supports Erikson’s theory because the participants in this study could be viewed to be in the ego integrity stage and experiencing less death anxiety. Since there are no meaningful differences between the people in this study; therefore we may expect to find no significant differences between them. Older adults experience less death anxiety, but age is not a significant factor in determining the degree of death anxiety when examining only late adulthood.

CONCLUSION

Death is still an unknown phenomenon and it is the only certainty in life. All living organisms die; there is no exception. However, human beings alone are burdened with the cognitive capacity to be aware of their own inevitable mortality and to fear what may come afterwards. In this enlightened age, man still reacts to death with fear. Fear and anxiety are among the most frequently used responses to characterize orientations toward death throughout the life span. This is because human beings have a basic self-preservation drive. Combining this drive with the realization that death is inevitable creates in them a paralyzing terror of death. However, awareness of death is a basic human condition which gives significance to living and human suffering can be turned into human achievement by the stand an individual takes in the face of it. It is necessary to think about death if we are to think significantly about life. If we defend ourselves
against the reality of our eventual death, life becomes insipid and meaningless. But if people realize that they are mortal, that they do not have an eternity to complete their projects and that each present moment is crucial, the awareness of death can be the source of zest for life and creativity. It appears that ego integrity, or a personal sense of accomplishment and fulfillment, whether founded in religion or some other measure of fulfillment and accomplishment, is probably the biggest factor in death anxiety.

**IMPLICATIONS**

- The study may be useful for old age counselors and family members to determine the factors responsible for Death Anxiety and develop coping strategies accordingly.

- The study suggests the importance of ‘purposefulness in life’ as a significant factor affecting the anxiety state. Further research work may be done in this direction.

- A review of the literature on aging and death anxiety also shows that little evidence has been gathered comparing or contrasting young people's death anxiety attitudes with older people's attitudes.

- Other factors like gender and religiosity may also be studied as correlates of death anxiety.
REFERENCES:


ANNEXURES
Figure 1: Rotated Factor Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor 1</th>
<th>Factor 2</th>
<th>Factor 3</th>
<th>Factor 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>VAR00007</td>
<td>.79027</td>
<td>.20797</td>
<td>-.09607</td>
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<tr>
<td>VAR00008</td>
<td>.66525</td>
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</tr>
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<td>.11329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAR00010</td>
<td>.18513</td>
<td>.60391</td>
<td>.20516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAR00004</td>
<td>.28964</td>
<td>.55324</td>
<td>-.31298</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2: Table showing the correlation value of the four dimensions of death anxiety with age factor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Nervousness</th>
<th>Apprehension</th>
<th>Aversion</th>
<th>Worry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nervousness</td>
<td>.146</td>
<td>.00</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprehension</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td>.219*</td>
<td>.00</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aversion</td>
<td>-.118</td>
<td>.248*</td>
<td>.127</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worry</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.308**</td>
<td>.043</td>
<td>.193</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Death Anxiety</td>
<td>.036</td>
<td>.750**</td>
<td>.598**</td>
<td>.570**</td>
<td>.537**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*significant at .05 level  
** significant at .01 level
Figure 3. Table showing the value of Mean and SD of various factors and the total DA score for the total sample (84 participants)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nervousness</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprehension</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aversion</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worry</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death anxiety</td>
<td>6.50</td>
<td>2.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nervousness
Apprehension
Aversion
Worry
Total DA
Figure 4: Table showing the Mean and SD of the various factors and total DA score for people in pre retirement age (40-58 yrs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nervousness</td>
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<td>.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprehension</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aversion</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worry</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death anxiety</td>
<td>6.42</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5: Table showing the Mean and SD of the various factors and total DA score for people in post retirement age (40-58 yrs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>1.71</td>
<td>.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aversion</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worry</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death anxiety</td>
<td>6.57</td>
<td>2.28</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Figure 6: Table showing t-value of death anxiety between the two age groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>SEM</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>t-value</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>40-58yrs</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>.96</td>
<td>.148</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>.00 (NS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59-65yrs</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>.159</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprehension</td>
<td>40-58yrs</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>.98</td>
<td>.151</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>.335(NS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59-65yrs</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>.96</td>
<td>.149</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aversion</td>
<td>40-58yrs</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>.119</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>.717(NS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59-65yrs</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>.115</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Worry</td>
<td>40-58yrs</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.101</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>.330(NS)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59-65yrs</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.102</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death Anxiety</td>
<td>40-58yrs</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>6.42</td>
<td>.210</td>
<td>.325</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>.298(NS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59-65yrs</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>6.57</td>
<td>.228</td>
<td>.352</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DEATH ANXIETY SCALE

Name:

Age:   Sex:

Education:

Occupation:

Urban/Rural:     Married/Unmarried:

Here are some statements related to your personality. Please indicate your choice by putting a tick mark on the cell below ‘Yes’ or ‘No’. No answer is right or wrong. Your responses will be kept fully confidential.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>I do not like old age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>I am afraid of taking medicine given by a quack</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>I get panicky on having even mild chest pain.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>I get terrified on seeing a criminal being hanged.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>I cannot see anybody dying</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>I dread suffocating surroundings.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>I get nervous on hearing about someone’s sudden death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>I realize the importance of destiny on seeing an accident.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>I do not want to die a miserable death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>I get frightened on looking into a well</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IMPACTING THE NEWS: HOW GENERAL MOTOR’S $7 MILLION PRODUCT PLACEMENT OF THE PONTIAC G6 AUTOMOBILE ON THE OPRAH WINFREY SHOW PLAYED IN NEWSPAPERS ACROSS THE UNITED STATES

A research paper presented at the 2005 Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

General Motors invested more than $7 million into Oprah Winfrey’s fall season premiere show on Sept. 13, 2004 giving away 276 of its new Pontiac G6 automobiles to the talk show superstar’s audience. This study analyzed United States newspaper coverage using a “before” and “after” scenario, utilizing two seven-day periods surrounding the day of the event. Specifically, this study revealed what brand benefited most from the event and asked, based on the magnitude of event, who was the winner? Concentrating on the Oprah, Pontiac, and G6 brand units of analysis, it was found that frequencies of mentions in newspapers climbed dramatically for all three brands when comparing publication days up through the shows airing and the days following the event. More impressive was the fact that all brands received increased prominence with regard to placement following the event and were discussed in a more evaluative context following the event as opposed to the factual context found prior to the shows airing. Interestingly, Oprah received more increased prominent placement than the brands that actually paid for the product placement. However, it was also found that Oprah’s negative contextual mentions doubled following the event. In sum, all brands benefited in terms of raw publicity and the distinction between what can be considered content, product placement, and blatant advertising has forever been blurred. The impact of this event on future product placement events is discussed.
I. INTRODUCTION

Did the credibility of the Oprah Winfrey brand and arguably the biggest television product giveaway event in history mean proportional positive publicity for the brand names involved? General Motors invested more than $7 million into Oprah Winfrey’s fall season premiere show on Sept. 13, 2004 giving away 276 of its new Pontiac G6 automobiles to the talk show superstar’s audience. This study investigated who benefited most from the event and asked, based on the magnitude of event, who was the winner? Did the G6, the product being placed in the show, win? What type of publicity was garnered by the individual brands involved in the show? What brand benefited the most, in terms of newspaper coverage across the nation, from this extravagant product placement event?

The event

Recently, the popularity of product placement has exploded on the talk-show circuit, led by The Oprah Winfrey Show. The show has been recognized as an effective vehicle for influencing customer behavior. When the immensely popular television talk show host launched a book club, selections that were featured in the broadcast were virtually guaranteed a spot on bestseller lists. Winfrey annually highlights a variety of products on her “Oprah Favorite Things” shows. The most recent installment of “Oprah’s Favorite Things” featured a variety of products worth thousands of dollars and was given to a selected studio audience of teachers. But without a doubt, when Winfrey, the queen of the talk shows (Vranica, 2004) teamed up with General Motors they redefined the traditional product placement concept.

During an internationally broadcasted Oprah Winfrey Show in September, nearly half of the one-hour show focused on the Pontiac G6. A taped segment showing Oprah visiting the automobile’s manufacturing line was inserted in the show; specifically the talk-show host praised
features of the product and each of the surprised 276 audience members received one of the automobiles. Because of the focus on the G6, the product dominated the show.

Overall, General Motor’s investment of more than $7 million equaled what they spent on advertising a single GMC truck during the 2004 summer Olympics. For additional perspective, it is estimated that a 30-second commercial during the syndicated talk show sells for about $70,000 (St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 2004). These comparisons illustrate both the opportunities and fundamental challenges advertisers face in today’s technologically advanced landscape.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Advertising environment

Many advertisers fear the demise of the 30-second television advertising spot and are relying more on product placement to achieve marketing communication objectives. Current product placement is an updated version of the product placement techniques developed in the 1950s. Traditionally, product placement has differed from advertising in the sense that an advertisement in any form is not created around the product; instead, the product is placed in a talk show or elsewhere within existing content. In product placement, the content of the television show normally comes before the product. General Motors and the Oprah Winfrey Show blurred this distinction.

Product placement

Although product placements have existed for several decades, they have attracted researchers’ attention and resources only recently (Pola, Balasubramanian & Klassen, 2000). Once viewed as an inexpensive vehicle to build immediate exposure is now a media channel that rivals traditional advertising outlets. One definition of product placement is “…the inclusion of a
brand name, product, package, signage, or other trademark merchandise within a motion picture, television show, or music video (Loiacono, Taylor & Watson, 2001).” A more accurate term for product placement may be brand placement (Babin & Carder, 1996).

Important to these definitions, principles and this study are three elements that further define key product placement elements: product placement strategies; product placement executions; and the context of the programming vehicle utilized.

According to d’Astous and Seguin (1999), product placement strategies can be classified into three main categories: implicit; integrated explicit; and non-integrated explicit. An implicit product placement strategy is one in which the brand name or product is present in the program without being formally expressed and is passive. Integrated explicit product placements have an active role and are formally introduced in the program demonstrating the benefits of the product. The final product placement strategy, non-integrated explicit, is when the brand or product is formally introduced but is not integrated into the program (ex. “This program (or segment) is (was) sponsored by Pontiac.” Or it may be incorporated in the show’s title: for instance, Pontiac). Once the strategy is established, planning of the execution of the product placement is critical.

There are primarily three product placement executions: screen placement; script placement; and plot placement assuming that the audience can be exposed to the product via both auditory and visual channels (Russell, 1998). After the strategy and execution are selected it is important to consider the context of the program incorporating the brand and product. Regarding context, three categories of television programming have been defined implying different viewer motives: need for entertainment (quiz/variety shows); need to identify oneself with characters (mini-series/dramas); and need for information (information/services magazines.) (d’Astous & Seguin, 1999).
This study involves an integrated explicit plot product placement context because of the significance of the automobile giveaway in a variety themed talk show that best characterizes the syndicated Oprah Winfrey Show.

Theoretical foundations

A variety of theoretical principles help develop an understanding of consumer behavior regarding product placement. Product and sponsor relationships, classic conditioning and the modeling paradigm all help explain key product placement dynamics. Similar to the inherent risks of utilizing an endorser to promote products; selecting a television series, movie, or talk show that matches up with the brand and products being placed is critical to success. Media and public perception can impact the effectiveness of product placement efforts. Several studies have shown the importance of a strong link between the sponsor and the sponsored event or entity. In general, when the link between show and product is strong the impact on the sponsor’s image and the attitudes toward the sponsor are more positive (d’Astous & Bitz, 1995; McDonald, 1991; Meenaghan 1983; Parker, 1991).

The central principle of classic conditioning in persuasion (Gorn, 1982) is the development of a positive “paired-association” between an unconditional stimulus (e.g. a favorable show image) and a conditional stimulus (e.g., the product). It is theoretically easier to establish this association through product placement than solely with the backing of a traditional advertising campaign. Finally, the modeling paradigm (Bandura, 1977) is relevant in that product demonstrations through models (e.g., actors) can facilitate learning, particularly when they experience positive consequences following product use (Balasubramianian, 1994). These
principles provide a foundation for investigating the acceptance of this product placement by the media.

III. RESEARCH QUESTIONS/HYPOTHESES

The literature review of product placement outlined previously led to five hypotheses that guided this research project, which focused on coverage of the Oprah Pontiac G6 car giveaway show in major daily newspapers across the United States.

Hypothesis one intended to simply measure how many times the Oprah, Pontiac and G6 brands were mentioned in the newspapers before and after the show aired. H1: Product placement on the show will result in increased frequencies of mentions in newspapers for Oprah, Pontiac and G6 brands compared to frequencies of mentions before the show.

The second hypothesis was designed to measure whether the Oprah, Pontiac and G6 brands were placed in more prominent pages in the newspapers after the show aired compared to before the show aired. For example, were the mentions of the brands more likely to show up on section fronts or front pages, rather than inside pages after the show aired compared to before the show aired? H2: Product placement on the show will result in more prominent page placement in newspapers for Oprah, Pontiac and G6 brands compared to page placement before the show.

Hypothesis three aimed to measure whether the Oprah, Pontiac and G6 brands were placed in more prominent story placements in the newspapers after the show aired compared to before the show aired. In other words, were the brand mentions more likely to show up in prominent placement positions such as headlines, paired with graphics or pull quotes, or were they more likely to be buried in the body of the story? H3: Product placement on the show will result in more prominent story placement in newspapers for Oprah, Pontiac and G6 brands compared to story placement before the show.
The fourth hypothesis was designed to measure whether mentions of the Oprah, Pontiac and G6 brands in the newspapers had an improved tone after the show aired compared to before the show aired. Were the mentions more factual or evaluative? The assumption here is that an evaluative mention, so long as it was not negative, would provide added value beyond simple frequencies of mentions. H4: Product placement on the show will result in improved tone for the Oprah, Pontiac and G6 brands in newspaper mentions compared to brand mentions before the show aired.

Hypothesis five asked whether mentions of the Oprah, Pontiac and G6 brands in the newspapers were more positive after the show aired compared to before the show aired. This is another value added situation since positive attributes of the products would likely provide readers with positive impressions about the products. H5: Product placement on the show will result in more positive attributes associated with the Oprah, Pontiac and G6 brands compared to before the show aired.

IV. METHODOLOGY

Researchers conducted a quantitative content analysis of newspaper articles from United States newspapers, gathered using the Lexis-Nexus database, published Sept. 9, 2004 through Sept. 20, 2004. This resulted in a yield of 963 mentions of Oprah, Pontiac or G6. Since the car giveaway on the Oprah Winfrey show aired on Sept. 13, 2004, this resulted in seven publication dates before the show aired, seven publication dates after the show aired and one publication date on the day the show aired, for a total of 15 publication dates.

The authors reasoned that coding newspaper mentions of the brands in a time period that encompassed one week before until one week after the show aired would represent an adequate benchmark for publicity levels in the newspapers for the brands before and after the show aired.
Oprah and Pontiac did enjoy some level of publicity in newspapers prior to the car giveaway airdate. In the case of the G6, this particular Oprah Winfrey show was part of a major product launch for the car, so it was expected that there would likely be few mentions of that brand on publication dates before the show; this did prove to be the case.

The unit of analysis was any mention of Oprah, Pontiac or G6 brands published in any part of the newspaper stories archived by Lexis-Nexus. The independent variable was the brand name (Oprah, Pontiac or G6). Dependent variables were page placement (front page/section front or inside page), story placement (text in headline, cutline/pull quote/attached to a graphic or body text), tone (factual/informational or evaluative/analysis) and positive/negative (positive, negative or neutral). Each mention of Oprah, Pontiac and G6 was coded separately. Two coders achieved 100 percent agreement on all variables after three rounds of training.

V. RESULTS

Table I demonstrates that H1 was strongly supported. Frequencies of mentions in newspapers climbed dramatically for all three brands when comparing publication days before the show aired and publication days on the day of the show and after the show aired.

Oprah was mentioned 99 times in the newspapers before the car giveaway show aired and 397 times after the show aired, a 400 percent climb. Pontiac was mentioned 57 times before the show and 286 times after the show, a 500 percent gain. The G6 model car climbed from 20 mentions before the show aired to 77 mentions after the show aired, a 385 percent increase. All three brands together enjoyed a climb from 176 mentions to 760 mentions, a 432 percent increase overall.
TABLE I: BRAND NAMES IN NEWSPAPERS BEFORE AND AFTER THE SHOW

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brand</th>
<th>Before Show</th>
<th>Day of and After Show</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oprah</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pontiac</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>760</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. N=936.

Table II shows strong support for H2. Before the show aired, mentions of Oprah and Pontiac were virtually equally likely to appear on the front page, but frequencies for mentions of Pontiac and Oprah on the front page or section fronts were both very low. There were no mentions of the G6 on front pages or section fronts before the show aired.

A dramatic increase occurred after the show aired. The G6, with 29.9 percent of its mentions on the front page or section fronts, was slightly more likely to show up in that prominent location than Oprah or Pontiac. After the show aired, Oprah’s mentions on front pages and section fronts climbed from 21 to 108, and Pontiac mentions in that location increased from 12 to 71, while the G6 brand showed up 23 times in the prominent page placement.

TABLE II: BRAND NAME BY PAGE PLACEMENT BEFORE/AFTER SHOW

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brand</th>
<th>Front Page/Section Front</th>
<th>Inside Page</th>
<th>Can't Tell</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oprah before</td>
<td>21/21.2%</td>
<td>70/70.7%</td>
<td>8/8.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oprah after</td>
<td>108/27.2%</td>
<td>231/58.2%</td>
<td>58/14.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pontiac before</td>
<td>12/21.1%</td>
<td>28/49.1%</td>
<td>17/29.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pontiac after</td>
<td>71/24.8%</td>
<td>152/53.1%</td>
<td>63/22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G6 before</td>
<td>0/0%</td>
<td>5/25%</td>
<td>15/75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G6 after</td>
<td>23/29.9%</td>
<td>37/48.1%</td>
<td>17/22.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. N= 936; Chi-Square= 65.26; df= 10; p <.001.

H3 was supported, as seen in Table III. Before the airing of the car giveaway show, mentions of Oprah and Pontiac appeared overwhelmingly in the body of newspaper stories, while 15 percent of the G6 mentions appeared in the headline position.

After the show aired, Oprah was most likely to appear in headlines, followed by Pontiac;
only one mention of the G6 was in a headline. However, the G6 was most likely to appear in other prominent story placements such as cutlines, pull quotes or paired with graphics. Although a strong majority of mentions for all three brands remained in the body of newspaper stories after the show aired, Oprah and Pontiac did move into more prominent story placements compared to before the show aired.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BRAND</th>
<th>Headline</th>
<th>Cutline/Pull Quote/with Graphic</th>
<th>Body</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oprah before</td>
<td>1/1%</td>
<td>0/0%</td>
<td>98/99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oprah after</td>
<td>36/9.1%</td>
<td>19/4.8%</td>
<td>342/86.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pontiac before</td>
<td>1/1.8%</td>
<td>0/0%</td>
<td>56/98.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pontiac after</td>
<td>12/4.2%</td>
<td>11/3.8%</td>
<td>263/92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G6 before</td>
<td>3/15%</td>
<td>0/0%</td>
<td>17/85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G6 after</td>
<td>1/1.3%</td>
<td>8/10.4%</td>
<td>68/88.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. N= 936; Chi-Square= 37.28; df= 10; p <.001.

H4 was strongly supported. As Table IV demonstrates, 66.7 percent of Oprah’s mentions in newspapers before the car giveaway show aired were factual or informational. All of the G6 and 91.2 percent of the Pontiac mentions were factual or informational before the show aired.

A marked shift in tone was evident after the show aired. Oprah’s mentions became least likely to be factual or informational and the most likely to be evaluative. The G6 and Pontiac brand mentions became more evaluative than they were before the show aired as well. This suggests that after the show aired newspapers were more likely to include evaluative or analytical statements about the brands. If the evaluations were positive, that would provide added value to the brand names beyond factual or informational reporting, as was generally the case before the show aired.
TABLE IV: BRAND NAME BY TONE BEFORE/AFTER SHOW

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brand</th>
<th>Factual/Informational</th>
<th>Evaluative/Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oprah before</td>
<td>66/66.7%</td>
<td>33/33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oprah after</td>
<td>154/38.8%</td>
<td>243/61.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pontiac before</td>
<td>52/91.2%</td>
<td>5/8.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pontiac after</td>
<td>199/69.6%</td>
<td>87/30.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G6 before</td>
<td>20/100%</td>
<td>0/0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G6 after</td>
<td>45/58.4%</td>
<td>32/41.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. N= 936; Chi-Square= 118.5; df= 5; p <.001.

H5 found strong support for the hypothesis that mentions would become more positive after the show aired. Table V shows that before the car giveaway show aired, newspaper mentions of all three brand names were strongly neutral, with Oprah being most likely to have positive mentions. Negative mentions were almost non-existent.

After the show aired, positive, negative and neutral attributes of the brand mentions changed. The percentage of positive mentions for Oprah, who was still most likely to have positive mentions after the show aired, almost doubled. Interestingly, the percentage of Oprah’s negative mentions also doubled, but the frequencies of these were still very low.

The G6 and Pontiac brands also showed strong increases in positive mentions and small increases in negative mentions, yet the majority of mentions for these two brands remained neutral.

TABLE V: BRAND NAME BY POSITIVE/NEGATIVE BEFORE/AFTER SHOW

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brand</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oprah before</td>
<td>30/30.3%</td>
<td>2/2.0%</td>
<td>67/67.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oprah after</td>
<td>225/56.7%</td>
<td>18/4.5%</td>
<td>154/38.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pontiac before</td>
<td>6/10.5%</td>
<td>0/0%</td>
<td>51/89.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pontiac after</td>
<td>81/28.3%</td>
<td>7/2.4%</td>
<td>198/69.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G6 before</td>
<td>0/0%</td>
<td>0/0%</td>
<td>20/100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G6 after</td>
<td>30/39%</td>
<td>2/2.6%</td>
<td>45/58.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. N= 936; Chi-Square= 115.8; df= 10; p <.001.
VI. CONCLUSIONS

Support for the hypotheses of this study provide numerous points for discussion and can direct significant future research pursuits in product placement.

H1 found that frequencies of each brand name increased after the event. Each brand associated with the product being placed experienced nearly a 400 percent increase in mention frequency. At the most fundamental level, this shows support for the effectiveness of significant events generating publicity. An intriguing item is the fact that the show, and in this instance the endorser, generated an enormous increase of publicity. In general, traditional product placements seldom generate significant publicity much less publicity for the show they are placed within.

Building on the foundation established by the first hypothesis, H2 and H3 were both supported, establishing the impact of the event in terms of placement prominence in the newspapers. Front page placement frequencies increased for all three brands following the event when compared to the pre-event time period. Interestingly, the G6 received the highest percentage of mentions on the front page. Numerous theories can account for this finding but critical to the product placement field is what scenario elevates the product or brand being placed to prominence above the actual content of the show. Clearly all brands benefited, but because of the significance of the G6 giveaway and focus on the product throughout the show, the product became the show resulting in significant front page placement in the newspapers analyzed.

Increased frequencies of each brand inside stories after the event supported H3. Before airing the car giveaway shows the brands only appeared in the body of stories. And although a strong majority of mentions for all three brands remained in the body of newspaper stories after the show aired, all three brands did move into more prominent story placements after the event.
The fact that the show and featured brands received headline placement is remarkable based on traditional definitions of product placement opportunities. But this was no traditional product placement event. Will this be the goal of future product placement events or will increased product awareness by viewers be enough? Will the next prominent product placement event to rival the G6 give-away receive the same level of publicity? H4 and H5 addressed what kind of publicity this event received.

Some strategic communication professionals would argue that there is no such thing as bad publicity. After investing $7 million into a project, it would be easy to assume that positive public awareness and image projection would be a priority for a new product launch. Because of the size of the event, it was predictable that newspapers would latch onto the story. H4 was supported when it was found that not only did the newspapers pick up the story, they also evaluated and analyzed each detail of the event and public reaction toward the show and car giveaway. Mentions of all three brands were increasingly more evaluative following the show than factual stories released prior to the event. Because of the impact of the event and numerous individuals that were impacted by the give-away it seems that future events should invest efforts in not only the basic investment but also in the strategy to create events that impact people and generate stories that increase the amounts of positive publicity.

H5 was supported finding that positive mentions of each brand name increased significantly after the show aired. The car giveaway tie-in with hand-picked deserving individuals that desperately needed transportation coupled with the power of Oprah generated a synergy that resulted in positive newspaper coverage. Interestingly, negative Oprah mentions may have increased due to coverage that highlighted the fact that recipients of the automobiles would have to pay sales tax. The irony being that Oprah paid nothing for the vehicles and
technically was only a media channel to deliver the vehicles to her deserving audience, but she received both the negative and positive publicity based on media perception.

Future research should investigate the evaluative brand mentions following the event in terms of critical analysis of the impact of this on the advertising and television industry. Will similar events become the expected, making it difficult for other marketers to capitalize on the G6 lightning in a bottle? If marketers try to compete and replicate this event will product placement permanently be redefined? Is it possible that because of the positive publicity gained by Oprah following this event, other personalities will soon follow by altering their shows to accommodate product and brand placement events?

In sum, all brands benefited in terms of raw publicity. Additional questions must be asked regarding the objectives of General Motors and future brands that commit significant resources to product placement events. If positive publicity is an objective, what is an acceptable return on investment? It is possible that $7 million is an affordable price tag for launching a new brand but what avenue will other brands pursue to compete with this event? Because this explicit integrated product placement has generated so much attention, it is predictable that all subsequent product placement relationships with talk show personalities will be measured against this Oprah event. The bar has clearly been raised and the distinction between what can be considered content, product placement, and blatant advertising has forever been blurred.
VII. REFERENCES


The Influence of Expectancies on Perceptions of Physiological Arousal:
The Placebo/Nocebo Effect

Topic Area: Psychology
Format: Poster

Authors: King, Kathryn; Chappell, Shae; Crawford, Aaron; Eastman, Cat; Montgomery, Lyn; Mosley, Sheila; Thomas, Kristin; Wright, Natalie; & Lange, Lori

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The Influence of Expectancies on Perceptions of Physiological Arousal: The Placebo/Nocebo Effect

People are often faced with potential health threats (e.g., pollutants), as well as given promises with health-enhancing substances (e.g., oxygen bars, health drinks). How do beliefs and expectations influence the experience of these substances, especially if the chemicals themselves are benign? According to a model proposed by MacGregor & Fleming (1996) cognitive factors (e.g., explanatory frameworks, expectations) directly influence the perception of bodily sensations. Explanatory frameworks are believed to impact perceptions of somatic change through selective monitoring of physical sensations (Goldman, 1999; Pennebaker, 1982). The subjective label assigned to a given stimuli determines the amount of attention allotted and the experience of a sensation (Cioffi, 1991). A recent study (Lange & Fleming, in press) corroborated this model by showing that identical physiological arousal (i.e., two minutes of exercise) was experienced by participants as illness or normal exercise arousal depending on external cues. The current study plans to expand these findings by determining if the same somatic activity can be experienced as illness or health merely by manipulating explanatory frameworks.

Participants (n = 180) were randomly assigned to beverage description type (health, pollutant, or control) and arousal (exercise, no exercise) conditions. Individuals in the experimental groups consumed a supposed chemical additive described as Exothol. Only the control group was correctly informed that the drink was merely carbonated water. Half of the participants in the experimental group were told that Exothol was a new, fast-absorbing health supplement and half were told Exothol was a fast-absorbing pollutant commonly found in well water. Following beverage consumption, participants
rested or jumped across a line for two minutes. A visual acuity test was used to distract participants from the true purpose of the experiment. All participants were asked to complete an arbitrary eye exam before and after beverage consumption. Physiological measures (i.e., heart rate, respiratory rate) were monitored throughout the experiment and participants reported attributions for and intensity of physical symptoms following the two-minute exercise/rest period.

Manipulation checks showed that explanatory framework and arousal manipulations were effective in influencing appropriate symptom attributions and increasing heart and respiratory rate. Further statistical analyses showed that explanatory framework manipulations influenced perceptions of somatic activity. Individuals in the health group reported a greater degree of positive, health-enhancing sensations (e.g., increased vigor, vitality, stamina). Conversely, individuals in the pollutant group reported a greater degree of negative, health-inhibiting symptoms (e.g., headache, dizziness, tightness of chest).

Normal bodily sensations were perceived differently in accordance with expectations of beverage effects. Beverage descriptions influenced attributions of physiological activity, resulting in the activation of expectancies for health/chemical exposure. These findings suggest that people have a general set of expectations for the deleterious effects of pollutants, as well as for the health-enhancing effects of supplements. Further, these expectations serve as a framework for interpreting somatic activity. Even though all participants received the same benign beverage, participants in the experimental groups reported expectation-consistent symptoms as they selectively attended to bodily sensations. These results are intriguing as they demonstrate that
consumption of identical beverage can be experienced as causing illness or health via cognitive mechanisms.

References


Rags to Riches: The Magic of the Dick Whittington Myth

Area: Sociology
Presentation Format: Paper Presentation

By

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Rags to Riches: The Magic of the Dick Whittington Myth

Abstract

This paper examines the story of Dick Whittington, a penniless young man who came to London in 1357, seeking fame and fortune. With the help of his cat, Whittington amassed a fortune, served as Mayor of London four times, and left a legacy of charity and good works that is evident to this day. This paper first surveys the literature on social mobility in the United Kingdom and discusses initiatives by the Labour Party to achieve social mobility in the UK. The paper then considers the historical figure of Dick Whittington, as well as, the development of the myth of his journey from rags to riches. Particular attention is paid to the means by which the myth is transmitted to children every year during the Christmas holidays, in a panto. Lastly, the paper catalogues the continued charity of Dick Whittington through the Mercers Foundation. An appendix takes readers on a walk through the streets and alleys of London to sites associated with a man fondly remembered by the British to this day.
And you poor country lads,
Though born of low degree
See by God's providence
What you in time may be.

Introduction

This ballad published in the 1640s is a wonderful example of the power and influence of the myth of Dick Whittington. Singers, writers, and actors tell his story to people who want to believe in the possibility of upward social mobility. His remembrance by the people of England is extraordinary, as is his effect on British society and culture. The major political parties in the UK agree that social mobility is a key issue and Blair’s Labour government has promised programs to improve the chances of people from different backgrounds of attaining different social and economic positions.

This paper explores the sociological import of a historical as well as a literary figure. Its principle assertion is that the British people constructed reality in the form of a socially utilitarian myth that inculcates people in the value of social mobility. This paper is divided into four sections: social mobility, the historical figure, the myth, and Whittington’s testament today. An appendix contains a description of a walk researched by my wife, Pat, and I. We walked down College Lane, the narrow cobblestone lane that led to Whittington’s house, and listened to the Bow bells. This experience helped us understand his life and inspired this paper.

I. Social Mobility

The legend of Dick Whittington tells us much about the importance of social class and mobility in England. Whether religious motives or social obligation motivated Whittington’s charity is immaterial. People benefit from that charity and his life story, because it reassures the English people that their children can live a better life.

Review of the Literature - The purpose of this review of the literature is to outline the principle positions established by scholars on social mobility. Pitirim Sorokin’s groundbreaking work *Social and Cultural Mobility* (1959), copyrighted in 1927, grew out of the turbulent times after World War I. Sorokin broke with Marxist sociologists, who attached little importance to social mobility, and classical liberals, who ignored the subject (Goldthorpe, 1980: 3). Sorokin defined social mobility as “any transition of an individual or social object of value created or codified by human activity, from one social position to another” and offered valuable distinctions
such as vertical, horizontal, ascending, and descending social mobility (1959: 133). He devoted three chapters of his book to vertical mobility in western countries, offering as evidence a chart labeled percent of “Upstarts Among Monarchs and Presidents” that assigned a political mobility value of 48.3 percent to the US and 5.0 percent to the UK (Sorokin, 1959: 143).

Seymour Lipset helped establish the framework for post World War II research. He argued in *Political Man, The Social Basis of Politics* (1963) that social mobility benefited society, but also accepted the notion that class inequality spurred social change. He asserted that “only the give-and-take of a free society’s internal struggles” offered some assurance that “the products of society will not end up in the hands of a few power-holders” (Lipset, 1963: 439). He contended that sociologists used biased and inaccurate data to arrive at rankings of social mobility among countries and that Americans mistakenly believed that social mobility was high when in fact “total vertical mobility in the United States was not substantially different than most other relatively developed countries” (Lipset, 1963: 268).

**Social Mobility in the UK** - British sociologists and socialists are indebted to the research of D. V. Glass from the London School of Economics on social mobility in Britain during the years immediately after World War II. Glass contended that the phrase equality of opportunity, meaning careers open equally to all, in a society in which those in groups with a strong economic position exploited people in groups with a weak position, was little more than a cruel joke (Goldthorpe, 1980: 23).

Glass’ disciple, John H. Goldthorpe, expressed his devotion to the positive view of mobility, “with a tendency toward greater equality of chances of access, for individuals of all social origins” (Goldthorpe, 1980: 27). He influenced the next generation of sociologists in the UK with his work *Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain* (1980) in which he provided data proving that social mobility remained stable in the UK for the last forty years.

Stephen Aldridge, an economist for Tony Blair’s Labour government, asserted that the economic efficiency of a nation depends on making the best use of the talents of everyone and that people who believe they can improve the quality of their lives demonstrate higher levels of inclusion and social cohesion. Aldridge seconded Lipset’s argument that rates of social mobility between western countries demonstrate a remarkably high degree of similarity over time. He asserted that fluid societies like Sweden and Australia exhibit higher rates of social mobility than less fluid societies like the United States and the United Kingdom (Aldridge, 2001: 4).
Aldridge presented contradictory evidence on social mobility in the UK. Earnings mobility declined over the past twenty years. However, upward mobility increased when the school system educated working class students for technical and professional jobs. More people enjoyed upward mobility because of increased employment in the professional classes. Yet, the rate of growth for this phenomenon diminished over the years (Aldridge, 2001: 3).

Prandy, Lambert, and Unt, researchers at Cardiff University, contended in their study *Long-Run Changes in the Significance of Social Stratification in Britain* (2004) that social mobility in the UK decreased during the last forty years and that previous studies ignored contradictory evidence. Their study presented data indicating that parental background and educational attainment were significant factors in the social mobility of men, while women’s social mobility operated entirely through the educational attainment process (Prandy, et al., 2004: 2). British politicians find such studies useful in their attempts to persuade the voting public that their programs promoting social mobility are the most likely to succeed.

The British counterpart to America’s Horatio Alger is Samuel Smiles, whose book *Self-Help: With Illustrations of Conduct and Perseverance* (1997) emphasized that upward mobility lay not with equality of condition and opportunity, but with qualities of character like determination and perseverance. In line with classical liberal tradition, Smiles argued that “the best institutions can give a man no active help,” and that reform could be effected only through, “individual action, economy, and self-denial; by better habits, rather than by greater rights” (Smiles, 1997: 1).

This review of the literature shows that modern British sociologists believe social mobility takes more than personal effort and persistence. It takes equality of condition and opportunity. In this sense, the Whittington story is a myth built on a false foundation. Even though questions about the premises of the myth and its historical accuracy are worthy of research, they pale in comparison to the fact that the British people cherish the Whittington story so much that it has become part of the national consciousness.

**The Politics of Social Mobility** - The Labour Party adopted social mobility as an issue after World War II and implemented the Beveridge report. Their slogan became “a future, fair to all” (Labour Website, 2004: 1). Tony Blair in *New Britain* (1996) denounced, “class snobbery and economic elitism based on an unequal and antiquated social system” and promised to remove barriers to social mobility so that people could realize their full potential (1965: 161).
The political argument comes down to how much money should be spent on education and what are the effects of that investment. Will Hutton of the Observer argued in a column entitled Education Is Not Enough to Scale Class Barriers (2004) that “education cannot be characterized as an easy win-win that solves class conflict and creates a meritocracy” (2). He cited Aldridge’s study and a new paper by John Goldthorpe, Education, Employers, and Class Mobility (2004), indicating that the values and skills one learns in a middle class family are increasingly more important in finding a job than educational qualifications.

It’s a short step from the argument over social mobility in the UK today to a 15th century cloth merchant. If one asks Britons how they came to believe in social mobility, they invariably mention the Whittington story. Berger and Luckmann in The Social Construction of Reality (1996) defined legitimation “as the process of ‘explaining’ and justifying” (193). The Whittington legend used everyday language and the entertainment of common people to explain why social mobility was integral to a well-functioning society. Even though the seductive myth overshadows the historical figure, much is known about Whittington and how he lived.

II. The Historical Figure

Seest Thou a Man Diligent in his Business?
He shall Stand Before Kings.

Dick Whittington Time Line (Gloucershshire Website, 2004)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1357</td>
<td>Born near Gloucester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1372</td>
<td>Traveled to London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1379</td>
<td>Established business as a mercer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1392</td>
<td>King Richard II bought cloth valued at £3500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1393</td>
<td>Elected Alderman for the Broad Street Ward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1393-1394</td>
<td>Served as Sheriff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1395</td>
<td>Became Master of the Mercer’s Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1401</td>
<td>Gave donation for Westminster Abbey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1423</td>
<td>Died in March</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whittington was born in 1357 in Pauntley, nine miles from Gloucester. He was the third son of Sir William Whittington, Lord of the Manor of Pauntley. Besant and Rice in Sir Richard Whittington: Lord Mayor of London“ (1894) noted, “He came of good old stock and was neither a country clown nor a gutter born lad” (32). His eldest brother inherited the estate upon the death of their father, according to the rules of primogeniture. Younger brothers customarily went into the clergy, military, or trade. According to Morna Daniels, author and researcher for the British Library, Whittington’s father died when Richard was a toddler. He left home at the age of 15
after the death of his mother (Daniels, 2004: 1). He traveled to London, where he found employment at the hospital of St. John’s Clerkenwell until the prior secured an apprenticeship for him as “mercier,” or dealer in luxury cloth.

London city records noted Whittington as subscribing five marks to a city loan in 1379 (Museum of London, 2004: 1). He married Alice Fitzwarren of Dorset, a noblewoman of substance in 1381. He made his living selling luxurious fabrics to the nobility, including King Richard II, who appointed Whittington Lord Mayor of London in June 1397 to fill out the term of a mayor who died (Gloucestershire Website, 2004: 1). Richard II owed Whittington 100 pounds when Parliament deposed the king in 1399.

King Henry IV settled the debts owed by his predecessor and became one of Whittington’s best customers, buying luxurious fabrics. In 1401 the king borrowed money for his daughter’s wedding. Whittington supplied the dress, which cost £215 (Daniels, 2004: 3). Usury laws prevented Whittington from collecting interest on the loans he made to the king, so the King offered him favors such as granting him the license to ship wool from London without paying export duty and appointing him collector of duty on wool.

Whittington loaned money to the next king, Henry V, to finance his wars in France. The story is told that Whittington burned bonds worth £30,000 at a banquet celebrating the English victory at Agincourt in 1415, thus freeing the king from his debt. It seems unlikely that one man could stand such a loss, especially since Henry V repaid his creditors. Perhaps Whittington made some gesture during the riotous celebrations in London upon the king’s return. In any event, Whittington’s reputation for generosity gained another embellishment.

The court of aldermen elected Whittington Lord Mayor in 1398, 1406, and 1419. City records indicate an extraordinary list of accomplishments. Whittington found guardians for orphans, established a prison at Ludgate, legislated fishing in the Thames, established a public market at Leadenhall, and fixed the price of ale. This last act endeared him to the drinking public because he established a very low price. Out of his own funds, he purchased land for his parish church, funded a library, provided for a public water-tap, and founded a refuge for unmarried mothers at St. Thomas’s Hospital in Southwark.

Whittington rebuilt his parish church, St. Michael Paternoster Royal, as a suitable place to bury his wife, who died around 1414. Daniels theorizes that perhaps Whittington’s wife died in childbirth, since the couple was childless (2004: 2). On 5 September 1421, in the ninth year of
the reign of Henry V, Richard Whittington dictated a will that demonstrated remarkable social conscience. He stipulated his burial “in the church of St. Michael Paternoster Royal in London, that is on the north side of the high altar of that church” and left assets estimated at £5,000, the equivalent of £5m today (Florilegium Urbanum, 2004: 1). The executors of the will, John Coventre, John Carpenter, and William Grove, established a trust fund administered by the Mercers’ Guild to carry out Whittington’s wishes. The trust established an almshouse, provided stipends for “poor women of good character” who were over 55 years of age, granted pensions for members of the Mercers’ Company, and made funds available for the relief of persons in conditions of “need, hardship and distress” (CharitiesDirect.com: 2004, 1).

The executors carried out the sentiments expressed in Whittington’s will in drafting the ordinances for an almshouse in 1424. “The strongest desire and greatest preoccupation of a prudent, wise, and devout man should be to plan ahead and make provisions for the state of his soul at the termination of his short life, through acts of compassion and benevolence” (Florilegium Urbanum, 2004: 3). The ordinances required residents to dress in dark brown garments commensurate with their station and to say prayers on behalf of Whittington’s soul. Whittington provided stipends for thirty members of the clergy with the understanding that they also would pray for his soul. He left £100 for the marriage of virgins and a small remittance for the poor, prisoners, and lepers.

Whittington asked his executors to use his great wealth for the benefit of the people and trusted them to use good judgment in funding worthwhile projects. They established Whittington College for priests, a library, and carried out a number of public works, including a public lavatory. John Good Holbrook noted in his article “From Rags to Riches” in the program for the Qdos panto Dick Whittington that gratitude of Londoners for these charities fueled the growth of the myth, but that one must join Whittington at the beginning of his “remarkable journey – to see if the streets of London really were paved with gold (2005).

III. The Myth

The story of Dick Whittington became part of British oral tradition soon after his death, a tale told by a grandparent or a parent to listening children. An unknown playwright presented the first play about Dick Whittington in 1605, however, the script has not survived (Holyoake, 1983: 1). The first extant play about Whittington dates from 1606. Ballads, puppet shows and skits told
the story of Whittington and his cat at fairs and markets. Soon the story was firmly ensconced in popular imagination and culture (Robbins, 2002: 175).

**The Myth Takes Shape** (Clark, et al., 2004:2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1612</td>
<td>Richard Johnson wrote a ballad about Whittington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1668</td>
<td>Samuel Pepys mentions a puppet show of Whittington in Southwark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1814</td>
<td>Harlequin Whittington, a panto, opened in Covent Garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>John Harris published a children’s story, <em>Whittington and the Cat</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Jacques Offenbach produced his operetta, <em>Whittington</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cheap books called clap-books told his story in the 18th and 19th centuries. The London Guild Hall Library has in its collection a small (3”x4”) book published in 1814 designed for children that sold for a penny, entitled *History of Dick Whittington, Lord Mayor of London with the Adventures of His Cat*. The anonymous author described young Whittington upon his arrival in London “as ragged as a colt” (2). The Hockliffe Collection contains a digitalized version of a similar book, *Whittington and His Cat*, on their website (1820).

Andrew Lang’s *The Blue Fairy Book* (1969) is the most popular rendering of the Dick Whittington myth. Lang emphasized Whittington’s humble origins. “Dick Whittington was a very little boy when his father and mother died; so little indeed, that he never knew them, nor the place where he was born” (1969: 208). Whittington traveled to London where he had heard the streets were paved with gold. The young boy found work washing dishes in a kitchen where “he was cruelly beaten by the cross cook” (Anon 1814: 2). When his rich employer sent a ship on a commercial voyage, he invited all his servants to invest in the venture. Dick had only a cat to send on the ship. He looked into Puss’ green eyes and said “You may help to solve my problem” (Museum of London, 2004: 1).

The master of the ship accepted Puss aboard and the ship set sail. Discouraged at the prospect of a life of drudgery and the loss of his cat, Dick ran away. He got as far as Highgate Hill, where he sat down to consider his options. “But while he was there ruminating, Bow bells, of which there were only six, began to ring and he thought their sounds addressed him in this way, ‘Turn again Whittington, Thrice Lord Mayor of London’ ” (Lang 1969: 211).

Whittington returned and soon thereafter the merchant ship sailed back to London. Whittington’s cat rid an African kingdom of rats, and in gratitude, its potentate sent a rich treasure to Whittington. These new riches had a salubrious effect on Whittington. “He in a little time lost the sheepish behavior occasioned by a depression of spirits and grew a sprightly
companion” and married Alice, his employer’s daughter. (Anon 1814: 15). Hugh Cunningham described the joyous marriage in The Life and Times of Dick Whittington: An Historical Romance (1841) “How Dick’s heart beat! And How that of Mistress Alice fluttered!” (327). The tale related that they lived happily, had several children, and sponsored a number of public works for which King Henry V knighted him. The story may seem farfetched, but the power of myth should not be underestimated, especially in the minds of young people.

**Panto** - The inscription “To wake the soul by tender strokes of art” is inscribed just above the proscenium arch in the Richmond Green Theater. These words are particularly apt in regards to the Pantomime, a particularly British form of family theater that, contrary to its name, relies on the spoken word. Panto incorporates song, dance, lavish sets, and buffoonery. Audiences are invited to participate, as they are in melodramas. Companies traditionally perform pantomimes at Christmas based on familiar stories such as Cinderella, Aladdin and Jack and the Beanstalk. Panto has a number of remarkable conventions. Young women often play the leading male character or principal boy. A man always plays the scolding cook or dame. Today’s directors often cast popular television stars in these roles to attract a larger audience.

**Dick Whittington** unlike other pantos is based on a historical character. Playwrights added new characters and situations to enhance the rags to riches message and maintain the appeal of the play to modern audiences. New characters like Idle Jack played the foil to hardworking Whittington. Audiences expressed their hatred of evil King Rat with hisses and boos. The scolding cook reminded audiences of the difficulties faced by Whittington, and at the same time provided numerous opportunities for humor, both high and low.

One modern version of this panto portrayed a gullible Dick Whittington tricked into sweeping the streets of London to find the gold beneath the grime. The actors encourage the audience to inform him of the true nature of the ruse and the audience responds with cries of “No No! Don’t be tricked! (Ardern, 2004, 3). Famous theaters such as Drury Lane and the Lyceum served as venues for the Whittington pantomime in the twentieth century.

The panto Dick Whittington presented at the Richmond Green theater, Richmond UK, by Qdos Entertainment Ltd. From 9 December 2004 to 16 January 2005 featured John Inman, a popular comedian from the long running television series Are You Being Served? as Wanda the Cook. Basil Bush, a red fuzzy fox puppet, played the role of Alderman Foxwarren. Two generations of British children have grown to love this popular television star. Barbette
Langford’s exuberant young dancers added élan and vitality to the production. The excited children, proud parents, and doting grandparents in the attendance testified to the truth of panto expert David Drummond’s observation that “the tale of industrious Dick Whittington and the cat that won him riches still has magic for the children of Britain” (2004).

**The Myth Debunked** - Such is the creative power of myth that people believe what they want to believe. However, in the interest of accuracy, the historical record does note that Whittington came from a well-to-do family and mayor of London four times, not three. There is no record the king ever knighted him. People never called him “sir” during his lifetime.

There is no direct evidence Whittington had a cat. Artists reinterpret reality in an effort to tell a more engaging story. There are two engravings in the British museum by Robert Estracke. One pictures Dick Whittington with a skull and the other with a cat. No one really knows why the engraver added the cat. One story is that the public so loved Whittington and his cat that they demanded that Estracke alter his engraving. Walter Besant and James Rice solve the problem nicely in *Sir Richard Whittington: Lord Mayor of London* (1894). They cite the figure of a cat on the gate of Newgate jail and the existence of a heraldic cat on a carriage at the Mercers’ Guild as evidence that “if Whittington’s executors wished to commemorate the Cat legend, it must have been true” (137).

A statue of Whittington’s cat sits on Highgate Hill, too distant from St. Mary-le-Bow to hear the bells. However, Gregory Holyoake offers a logical explanation. The bell of St. Mary-le-Bow tolled one time at 5 in the morning and 9 at night to delineate the apprentices’ day. Once churches lying further out heard the bells, they rang their own bells, thus echoing the call to rise and curfew to the far reaches of London. (1983:55).

**The Myth Triumphant** - Attempts to demystify the Whittington story have met with little success because it explains a relevant life lesson. Bill Moyers asked Joseph Campbell in *The Power of Myth* (1988), “So we tell stories to try to come to terms with the world, to harmonize our lives with reality?” (2). People of all circumstance living in one of the world’s great financial capitals relate to a story that involves leaving home, an adventure, ordeal, and financial success. They know firsthand that the streets of London are metaphorically paved with gold for those willing to work for it. They find Whittington’s cat irresistible because the cat’s story is a mirror image of its owner. The difference is that Whittington, being human, understood one of life’s great lessons, with great wealth comes great obligation.
IV. The Whittington Legacy Today

The executors of Whittington’s will established an almshouse next to St. Michael Paternoster Royal. Subsequently, the directors of the Mercers’ Company, who assumed direction of the trust, moved it to Highgate in the 1800s and then to West Sussex, in 1960. There are accommodations for sixty elderly women and a few married pensioners laid out as a village within a village. Whittington’s endowment grew so much over the centuries that in 1822 the directors extended its charge to cover paying an allowance to 300 people of very low income. In the twentieth century the fund expanded its grant to include other institutions benefiting the sick and the poor. The fund established a medical day care center for the elderly in Streatham in partnership with St. Thomas’s Hospital in 1986. The key statistics for the Whittington Trust are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whittington Trust Fund</th>
<th>(CharitiesDirect.com, 2004)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total income</td>
<td>£3.6m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admin costs</td>
<td>3.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Employees</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Funds</td>
<td>£51.6m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total investments</td>
<td>£45.8m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusion

Though he is gone and dead, Yet lives he lastingly. Those bells that called him so, Turn again Whittington, Call you back many more, To live so in London

The myth propagated by a ballad written by Richard Johnson in 1612 lives on to this day. (Spraggs, 2004). The promise of fortune still calls people of different origins and social class to London. The British are reserved when discussing social class. Their reticence belies a strong belief that social mobility is the answer to the inequalities of class that have plagued their society. The Whittington myth teaches English children they can make it if they try. Their parents seek to create a society in which the dreams for their children can come true.

The story of Dick Whittington is about class obligation and social mobility. Whittington came from a genteel family, married a woman of wealth, and his riches came from his connection with royalty. Whittington’s charity toward the merchants and townspeople with whom he worked was commensurate with the obligations of someone of his social class. He followed the example of his father, a country squire whose station in life obliged him to look after the welfare of the peasants who worked on his estate. Whittington’s motives are not nearly as important as the fact that needy people benefit from his charity, 600 years after his death.
Appendix, A Whittington Walk

Samuel Johnson advised Boswell, “Sir, if you wish to have just a notion of the magnitude of this city, you must . . . survey the innumerable little lanes and courts” (Boswell 298). Whittington’s world becomes all the more meaningful when one walks the route outlined on the following map. You won’t get lost, because the two churches are parish churches of St. Paul’s and if you look around you can always orient yourself by finding the famous dome of the Cathedral in the distance.

### A Walking Map of Whittington’s London

1. **St. Mary-le-Bow** - The church is a short walk down Cheapside Street from the Bank station Underground Station. This was a market area in the middle ages. The word “cheap” means to barter. The streets took their names from the product sold there, such as Honey and Bread Street. Peddlers still frequent this area. The Mercers’ Guild Hall, headquarters for the Whittington Trust, is a few blocks down Cheapside Street, located in a modern building off Ironmonger Lane. Continue along Cheapside Street until you came to Bow Lane, formerly called Hosiery Lane. Rick Steves graphically described this Bow Lane in his book *London 2004* (2004).
“When Shakespeare bought tights and pointy shoes here, the shops were wood, the streets were dirt, and the bathroom was a ditch down the middle of the road” (90).

St. Mary-le-Bow, dating from 1097, is situated a few paces down the narrow lane. The name of the church comes from the arches of its vaulted crypt that look like bows. Richard Jones related the church’s history in Frommer’s Memorable Walks in London (2003). The roof blew off in 1091 and in 1271 the tower fell, killing 20 people. In 1284 the friends of a murder victim killed a local goldsmith in the church. In 1331 a church balcony collapsed, injuring Queen Phillipa, and in 1666 the Great Fire burned the church to the ground (Jones, 2003: 16).

Christopher Wren considered St. Mary-le-Bow one of his finest buildings. It was the most expensive of the 87 parish churches that he reconstructed. Wren designed two pulpits for the church. The parish clergy have used this novel arrangement to question notables such as Diana Rigg, star of the television series The Avengers. Wren’s famous 224-foot spire contains all five classical orders, the Bow bells, a clock, and is topped with a weathervane in the shape of a dragon (Michelin, 2003: 175). This was the bell that called Dick Whittington back to his fate. Whittington must have heard the bells early in the morning, for it woke people up at 5:45 A.M. British historians called the Bow bells the most famous in Christendom. The BBC broadcast the 12-bell peal as a sign of their continued resistance to the Nazi’s during World War II (Panton, 2001: 66).

There is a vegetarian restaurant in the crypt and a tablet on the church’s wall commemorating John Milton, who was born nearby on Bread Street. Next to the church lies a pocket garden filled with daisies, white hydrangeas, and begonias. It offers a soothing escape from the bustle of the city. In it stands a statue to Captain John Smith, who led the colony of Jamestown and became Governor of Virginia. In their book London City Churches (2003), Middleton and Hatts relate the fact that Smith conducted discussions in the church on the feasibility of colonizing the Americas (68).

2. Williamson’s Tavern - Continue south on Bow Lane. Sandwich bars, pubs, and clothing shops line this narrow, cobbledstone alley. A few blocks down an even narrower lane leads to a courtyard and Williamson’s Tavern. Visitors pass through a wrought iron gate, a gift of William and Mary. A multitude of hanging flower baskets overflowing with magenta petunias decorates the tavern’s facade. There are benches and picnic tables in the shade, a delightful spot to sample the ales and steak sandwiches for which the tavern is justly famous.
Williamson’s holds the oldest excise license in London and is notable for its fireplace built of Old Roman Tiles. The location of the tavern marks the center of the old Roman square mile that is known today as the City of London. The Lord Mayor’s house stood on this site until the Great Fire of London destroyed it. The city rebuilt the Lord Mayor’s residence until Robert Williamson converted it into a tavern in 1763.

3. St. Michael Paternoster Royal - Walk to the intersection of Bow Lane and Cannon Street close to the Mansion House Station. Turn left on Cannon Street (east), cross Queen Street, and turn right onto College Hill Lane and you can see Whittington’s house and the parish church in which he is buried, St. Michael Paternoster Royal. The church dates from 1219. Middleton and Hatts in London City Churches (2003) reported that the rosary makers that lived nearby gave the name Paternoster to the church. The royal in the church’s title is a reference to the port in France from which they shipped Bordeaux wine to London (Middleton and Hatts, 2003: 78).

St. Michael Paternoster Royal was the last church built by Christopher Wren after the great fire. The spire is a three-tier octagonal lantern marked at each angle by an ionic column. Wren placed cherub-head keystones above the door and windows. Story has it that at one point, the vicar dug up Whittington’s coffin looking for valuables and found not the treasure he sought, but the remains of a cat. Once again myth triumphs over reality.

German bombs demolished the church in 1944. The Anglican Church reopened the refurbished church in 1968, marked the location of Whittington’s grave with a gold engraved stone, and added a stained glass window portraying Whittington, his cat, golden streets, and the seal of the City of London. The mission of this church today is to minister to sailors and seafarers around the world, a charge that Dick Whittington, who was active in the shipping trade, would have approved (Harrison, 2004).

City workers enjoy the shade and lovely fountain in Whittington Park adjacent to the church. A nearby pub and bookstore add life to the area. Unlike their medieval predecessors, Londoners go home to the suburbs after work and the area is very quiet after working hours and on the weekend. In fact, the church is closed on Sunday. Today’s city planners are trying to lure people back to the city. The quiet of the Whittington garden afforded us the peaceful setting we needed to put the Whittington myth into the context of the social fabric of his day and our own times. In the process, we committed ourselves to return in the near future, a promise we soon fulfilled.
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“Disabled Labels in 2005: Gay, Straight, Neither, Or All”

This is a short, observational study of nightlife and social life of homosexual community and individuals. The project emerged from a research paper written for a graduate course in Social Theories. Performed and analyzed by actual observations at a gay bar in Southern California, the paper takes a qualitative, ethnographic approach. The Analysis section applies the observed data to various theories of contemporary theorists such as Baudrillard and Foucoult.
“Music: Together and Separate In Contemporary Sociology”

This is a discussion of somewhat nascent and emergent topic of the relationship between sociology of music and popular culture (both on an individual and sociological level). Derived from profound interests and semi-expertise of music, this work-in-progress study attempts to understand and examine the role of music in contemporary sociology. The collection of various references addresses the issues of music sociology as being autonomous and/or as a part of another discipline of sociology; in areas such as popular culture, race and ethnicity, political sociology, social movements, etc.
Survey performed in an ideal world would entail no limit on any resources. As a project in Research Methods class for our graduate program, Sandy Koh and others joined together under the premise of an idealized way of conducting a mail-in survey. With CRD (California Research Design) as our fictitious identity, the ultimate aim of the project was to discover and present the most effective methods to maximize the response rate of a mail-in survey.
Paper Presentation for The Fourth Annual
Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences 2005

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South East Asian Married Women in Northern California: Acculturation and Coping Strategies

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South East Asian Married Women in Northern California:
Acculturation and Coping Strategies

Abstract

Purpose of this research was to prepare profile of married South East Asian women residing in Butte and Sutter counties in Northern California and study their covert and overt socio-emotional needs. Research provided insight on strengths and challenges faced by them and implications for multicultural social work practice are discussed.
Does the Answer Change the Question?
A Formal Analysis of Survey Response-Scale Biases

Cross-disciplinary Areas:
Political Science, Psychology, Survey Methodology
Paper Session

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Although often used to measure the public’s attitudes and opinions, surveys have inherent flaws. In addition to numerous instances of random error such as misheard responses and simple typos, surveys and survey responses often suffer from systematic sampling and structural issues. Our paper focuses on response scales, a prevalent form of systematic structural bias. Two common types of response scales are numerical and categorical. A numerical scale that uses negative numbers may create “bunching” within a set of responses due to a negative avoidance effect. A categorical response scale, meanwhile, runs the risk of respondents misinterpreting the middle category as the “average” answer, and therefore using this category as a reference point. While psychologists have accumulated evidence regarding the impact of response scales on respondents’ cognitive processing, relatively little work has been done to formalize biasing effects (see, for example, Sudman, et al, 1996). In this paper, we use this existing evidence to derive adjusted statistical estimators that account for data obtained via response scales known to be biased. More specifically, we focus on survey questions that attempt to measure individual emotional responses.

We define a “psychological” bias as the difference between emotions as detected in “ideal” situations (i.e. with a completely unbiased—and fictional—response scale) and those that result from using existing, imperfect response scales. We posit that response scales introduce systematic bias in statistical estimators that are known, via psychological evidence, and may therefore be accounted for in a statistical analysis. The most salient changes may shift the mean and the variance, depending upon the construction of the scale. Although we do not consider all varieties of response scales, we do propose a typology that can be widely applied to response scales that attempt to measure emotion. Our analysis advances survey methodology and political science in two ways: first, a formalization of response scale biases; and second, a means of adjusting statistical results to deal with these biases.

Terrorism or An Act of Jihad; Implications for Counseling
Yoshiya Kurato, Ed.D. (Kansai University, Osaka, Japan)

Purpose
This study is a psychological study aiming at raising an awareness of issues on terrorism in terms of values. To this end several acts of terrorism occurred in Japan were introduced and how they affected the Japanese people. Also aimed was to find its implication for counseling.

Definition of Terms
Definition of terrorism is complex and controversial according to the Britannica 2005. The below is the citation from the Britannica (2005) and Terrorism edited by O’Day, A.,(2004). It is because of the inherent ferocity and violence of terrorism, the term in its popular usage has developed as intense stigma. Terrorism is not legally defined in all jurisdictions; the statutes that do exist, however, generally share some common elements. Terrorism involves the use of threat of violence and seeks to create fear, not just within the direct victims but also among a wide audience. The degree to which it relies on fear distinguishes terrorism from both conventional and guerrilla warfare. Although conventional military forces invariably engage in psychological warfare against the enemy, their principal means of victory is strength of arms. Similarly, guerrilla forces, which often rely on acts of terror and other forms of propaganda, aim at military victory and occasionally succeed (e.g., The Viet Cong in Vietnam and the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia). Terrorism proper is thus the systematic use of violence to generate fear, and thereby to achieve political goals, when direct military victory is not possible. This has led some social scientists to refer to guerrilla warfare as the “weapon of the weak” and terrorism as the “weapon of the weakest.”

Al-Qaeda merged with a number of other Islamic organizations, including Egypt’s Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Group, and on several occasions its leaders declared jihad (holy war) against the United States. In 2001, 19 militants associated with al-Qaeda staged the September 11 attacks against the United States. The US government responded by attacking Taliban and al-Qaeda forces in Afghanistan, killing and capturing thousands of militants and driving the remainder and their leaders into hiding. Despite the subsequent capture of several of its key members, al-Qaeda and its sympathizers purportedly continued to stage acts of terrorism throughout the world.

Fear for Terrorism in Japan
1) Al-Qaeda’s Attack
There is a fear of terrorism among Japanese as probably seen in any other countries. The end of October 2004 in Iraq, south of Baghdad, one Japanese tourist was captured and killed. Before that 3 Japanese freelance journalists were killed and also 3 Japanese volunteers who were helping the people of Iraq were kidnapped but were released after a week. This is because Japan is claimed to be an ally to the US and sends the self-defense army to Iraq. Therefore an implication to these incidences to the most Japanese people at home is that we’d better withdraw our self-defense army from Iraq. Otherwise we may well be a target and attacked by not only Iraq people but also al-Qaeda although our purpose is to help the people in Iraq from a humanitarian concern not to fight with them. One of the al-Qaeda leaders was hiding in north Japan up to a year ago. So, the Japanese
populace in general is either fear for the attack by the Iraq terrorists or ready to protect from the terrorism by organizing neighborhood vigilante corp.

2) North Korea’s Missiles with Nuclear Bombs

North Korea is one and half-hour distance by air plain from Japan. So she is our neighbor. Before we had abductees’ problem which is still in a process of negotiation with North Korea, we feared if North Korea would attack us with missiles with nuclear bombs. They got nuclear weapons all right. Especially old generations who knew our exploitation over to Korea fear if we get revenge from her. But at the moment the fear was decreased to some extent since we are in the process of reopening diplomatic relations between us.

3) Sarin Gas Spreading in Tokyo

March 20, 1995, a chemical gas, the Sarin gas, was purposely spread on Tokyo subways. It was an act of the domestic terrorism prepared by members of the cult called AUM Shinrikyo which teaches supreme truth. In the gas attack 12 people were killed and nearly 6,000 citizens were injured that was the most serious terrorist attack that has ever occurred in Japan's modern history. So, even now, people, especially those who commute by subways either to go to their jobs or schools fear a lot to take the subways.

4) 9.11

In the 9.11 terrorists' attack to the World Trade Center in New York four years ago, some 43 Japanese, mostly business workers, were victimized in the attack. The Ministry of Education and Sciences and the Ministry of Health and Labor sent several physicians and counselors to New York and engaged in helping the families who were left behind. They have suffered from the Acute Anxiety Response or civilians catastrophe to begin with, and have gradually developed in some cases PTSD according to the DSM IV.

5) Other Domestic Concerns

In addition to acts of terrorism that threaten us in Japan, we have quit a few things to take care of domestically, that is, stealing, kidnapping, child abuse, and so on.

Recently a 6th grade elementary girl killed another 6th grade girl with knife. Another instance also a 6th grade elementary girl was kidnapped and killed by a newspaper delivering service personnel. On another occasion a 17 year-old high school boy entered an elementary school and attacked pupils there with a knife. Several of them were killed or injured. We have many problems such as these that appeared on TV and newspapers and we are busy watching them and worry about these incidences. In other words, we rather fear shocking events that are occurring in our daily life. We are psychologically occupied by these events. Consequently we fear not only terrorism but also something that is unknown and overwhelmingly threatening. This causes irritation and uneasiness in us. This is because what we live in is highly modernized and complex urban cities in which we don’t know where we are going in an unpredictable and unstable society.

A Survey on Terrorism

With the concerns stated above I wondered how the Japanese looks terrorism. Therefore, I conducted a little survey on terrorism. The method carried out in the study was a questionnaire consisting 3 items; 1) Do you believe that al-Qaeda would attack Japan since they claimed on the TV that Japan would be the next or after the next of their target? 2) Do you fear for the attack with missiles by North Korea? 3) Do you fear for domestic terrorism something like the one that happened in the Tokyo subways with the sarin gas? The S’s were totally 361 who were asked to write comments on those 3 questions, including 253 high school students, 87 college students, and 21 adults.
Result

As a whole, results that were calculated with \chi^2 -squire tests for 3 categories of terrorism showed a linear tendency, indicating that the fear of terrorism increased counter age-wise, that is, the high school and college students got threatened more than adults. This is true for all types of terrorism whether it was from al-Qaeda, or from Northern Korea, or from domestic cults.

Results from Question 1, as shown in Table 1, indicated that 58.0% of high school students, 28.8% of college students, and 14.7% of adults have a fear of attacks by al-Qaeda. The high school students tended to fear the most, which was as high as 58%, followed by college students, and adults. However, there was no statistical significant difference between adults and college students.

Table 1  Question 1. Do you believe that Al-qaeda would attack Japan someday?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>College</th>
<th>High School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (14.3%)</td>
<td>25 (28.8%)</td>
<td>18 (58.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>18 (85.7%)</td>
<td>62 (71.2%)</td>
<td>67 (42.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Between Adults and College students: \chi^2 = 1.839  p < .17
Between College students and High school students: \chi^2 = 55.138  p < .0001***
Between Adults and High school students: \chi^2 = 31.792  p < .0001***
***=.001

Results from Question 2, as shown in Table 2, indicated that 69.2% of high school students, 71.3% of college students, and 38.1% of adults have a fear for attack with missiles by North Korea. Both college students and high school students feared more than adults. There was no statistical significant difference between college students and high school students. They were both afraid of the attack by missiles from North Korea.

Table 2  Question 2. Do you fear for the attack with missiles by North Korea?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>College</th>
<th>High School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>8 (38.1%)</td>
<td>61 (71.3%)</td>
<td>175 (69.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>13 (61.9%)</td>
<td>25 (28.7%)</td>
<td>78 (30.8%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Between Adults and College students: \chi^2 = 7.945  p < .0001***
Between College students and High school students: \chi^2 = .009  p < .075
Between Adults and High school students: \chi^2 = 8.441  p < .0001***
***=.001

Results from Question 3, as shown in Table 3, indicated that 71.8% of high school students, 77.0% of college students, and 52.3% of adults have a fear for domestic terrorism. College students had a tendency to fear more than adults. All of them fear a great deal, which is the highest among 3 categories. There was no statistically significant difference between college students and high school students.

Table 3  Question 3. Do you fear for domestic terrorism?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>College</th>
<th>High School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>11 (52.3%)</td>
<td>67 (77.0%)</td>
<td>18 (71.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 (47.7%)</td>
<td>20 (23%)</td>
<td>71 (28.2%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Between Adults and College students: \chi^2 = 5.115  p < .0023*
Between College students and High school students: \chi^2 = .885  p < .346
Between Adults and High school students: \chi^2 = 3.512  p < .060
*=.005
Discussion

1) On the Survey

A liner tendency in the fear of terrorism found in this study indicated that the younger the subjects the more fearful they were for the attacks from terrorism. This is rather serious matter for us if it is because the young people are easily and emotionally involved in what they see on TV whereas the older age groups seem to be able to behave with knowledge and consideration. On the other hand, the young people are the ones who will shoulder the future destiny of Japan, and are hoped to be rest upon peace, not threatening by the terrorism. Here, as mentioned later, there are something that the counselor can do for them.

2) On the How to Relate To Victims

As to the psychological or psychiatric symptoms caused by terrorism, complains, fear, loss, uneasy feeling, depression, disorientation, or another concerns including health problems are observed according to the psychiatrists and counselors who were sent to New York and took care of the families left behind. This coincides my experience working with the earthquake survivors who had almost same symptoms.

To relate as a counselor with those who have such symptoms, I needed first of all a skill to attend to the survivors. I sat together not saying anything but tried to be alive and showed that I was there with you. Then, gradually invited them to speak out. This was debriefing. What was all about debriefing was to help those who feared speak out what he or she wanted to say how fearful or miserable it was or how angry he or she was. This can well apply to the victims of terrorism or to those who have the fear of terrorism.

From my experience dealing with the AUM cult students who came to see me it was also equally important as well to attend to them and listened to what they wanted to say. They seemed to have issues on interpersonal difficulties and psychological problems such as isolation from families, victims of bullying, or ill treated, or failure to get into good schools, and so on. Hence they had a lot of hate, anger, and desire to revenge in order to show their existence. They were well obsessive in their belief and act as missionary of their own thought. They had their own reason to get involved in their terrorism.

3) On the Values: An Implication for Counseling

What is important for counselors is to understand that it is a value system underlying what we think and do. In this sense it is a value system that led the people to terrorism. We say it is terrorism, but for those who get involved in terrorism it is a jihad. Jihad is a sacred act for terrorists. However, for us, or the rest of the world, it is a mean act and is not fair. Hence, not allowed in any sense. On the other hand, as some social scientists refer guerrilla warfare as the “weapon of the weak” and terrorism as the “weapon of the weakest,” it seems very important, in generally speaking, how to relate with “the weaker.” Any power-imposing act of the so-called “the stronger” upon “the weaker” is not also fair and not effective to deal with the problems that we are encountering in the world. “An eye for an eye and a teeth for a teeth” will not work in the global age. Talking with a face to a face manner or mutual conversations to express and exchange what we think and do will give us a hope to co-exist without loosing own culture, religion, economy, political and social system, or historical background. In the above, the term such as “difference” is distinguished from “disagreement.” “Difference” refers to difference in interests, tastes, or thoughts that creates a variety and colorful way of living, whereas disagreement leads to nothing but a power struggle. According to Satire,V., the
functioning family shares and allows “difference” among family members. This may be a counselor’s bias or value judgment. However, I hope it may offer a thought in finding a way out from the disaster in the age of terrorism.

The below is a counselor’s approach of mine in dealing with terrorists or possible terrorists. First of all, we had better to attend to terrorists including possible terrorists and listen to what they want to say along with their value systems. Not imposing counselor’s value or judgment. Rather invite free and personal self-disclosure. It worked well when I met the AUM cult students. Thus, there may be other ways that we counselors can do in the field of terrorism.

**Bibliography**


ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA (2005)


A COMMUNITY SUPPORT PROJECT FOR CHILD REARING IN JAPAN
Yukiko Kurato (Department of Human Sciences, Otemon-gakuin University)

Problem
Recently community support for child rearing has become an urgent and important issue not only among young mothers but local governments in Japan. It is because birth rate is declining at the point of 1.29 in 2003, which was 1.79 in 1978. This declined birth rate causes one reason to get a less communication in neighborhood. Another is that parents are loosing knowledge and skills of how to raise their children due to the nuclear family living in a huge complex apartment where parents tend to become isolated from other families. Mothers are supposed in most cases to be responsible for child rearing whereas fathers are busy working, which often causes a tendency of neurosis among young mothers. It is because mothers stay with their children in a small apartment for almost 24 hours. And in case the child gets sick or not feeling well mothers does not seem to know how to deal with it and often get confused. Meantime child abuse rate is increasing in that 26,569 cases were treated at the child guidance clinics in 2003, which is 24.13 times more than the figure in 15 years ago.

Yet another study (Harada, 2004) indicated 46.3% of mothers had irritation in their child rearing, which was 16.5% in 1980. To add the above stated, the fact that changes in young people and their family structure have to be noticed. The young people in some cases used to suffer from a phobic tendency in interpersonal relations and erythrophobia (a blushed face) when the family structure was that of the patriarchy. It was up to 1950’s. Then followed were school refusals in the family with a education-minded mother in 1960’s, violent behavior within a family in a new family (father in child rearing) in 1970’s, bulling and school violence in a single mother family in 1980’s, and victims of child abuse in retaining a separated family name in their parents (Ushijima, 1999). Another was that young mothers tend to feel difficult and overwhelmed in their child rearing and hence, is inclined to give up child rearing. All in all, the child rearing is a nation-wide concerns in Japan. Therefore, the Ministry of Labor and Welfare has provided a financial support to help local governments to do something for mothers in concern.

As one of the local government projects in accordance with the central government, I have been involved in a project to support young mothers in a local suburban city of Osaka, Japan. We have organized together with other professionals and city personnel a child-rearing project. One thing we have done is a survey that indicated our problems and needs for child rearing.

Purpose
This study aimed at finding any cues in helping young mothers in the process of child rearing. In the Study I, a questionnaire in finding difficulties and needs in child rearing was disseminated to mothers in a local suburban city. Study II was to gather information from observations and experiences in mild counseling with mothers at the Clinic for Child-Rearing Support at Otemon-gakuin University.

Study I: Survey for A Community Support Project at a Local Suburban City of Osaka

In order to find how the mothers were feeling about their child rearing and what kind of assistance they needed was surveyed. The survey was disseminated to 3,020 mothers, of which 42,4% was returned. In general results showed that 53.2 % of mothers felt “very hard” or “hard” and “burdensome” in their child rearing, as compared to 30.3% of mothers felt “not so hard” and “not so burdensome” and 3.7% of mothers responded as “nothing hard” and “nothing burdensome.” The survey indicated needs and concerns according to ages of the child (Table 1)

Table 1. Worries and concerns to that mothers are aware

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0 year old (n=37)</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>4th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Food &amp; nutrition</td>
<td>Sick &amp; development</td>
<td>Education (24.3%)</td>
<td>Friends &amp; interpersonal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Need/Eligibility</th>
<th>Assistance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 year old</td>
<td>Sick &amp; Development (39.0%)</td>
<td>Food &amp; Nutrition (37.8%) Education (26.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How to relate to child (22.4%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 years old</td>
<td>Sick &amp; Development (44.1%)</td>
<td>Food &amp; Nutrition (39.4%) Education (34.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Friends &amp; Interpersonal (27.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 years old</td>
<td>Friends &amp; Interpersonal (37.9%)</td>
<td>Sick &amp; Development (32.3%) Food &amp; Nutrition (31.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 years old</td>
<td>Sick Nutrition (30.3%)</td>
<td>Friends &amp; Interpersonal (30.3%) Education (29.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&amp; Friends &amp; Interpersonal (30.3%)</td>
<td>Food &amp; Nutrition (25.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 years old</td>
<td>Education (52.5%)</td>
<td>Friends &amp; Interpersonal (39.1%) Sick &amp; Development (30.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(52.5%)</td>
<td>Food &amp; Nutrition (24.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 years old</td>
<td>Friends &amp; Interpersonal (48.9%)</td>
<td>Education (48.2%) Sick &amp; Development (29.5%) Food &amp; Nutrition (18.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As to the needs or assistance the mothers were looking for were as follows; How to do with the child when he or she cried, ill-behaved, or in sick or injured, and most of mothers expected to have their child cared in nursing homes.

**Study II: Experience at the Clinic for Child-Rearing Support at Otemon-gakuin University**

The Clinic for Child-Rearing Support at Otemon-gakuin University offers a program for mothers whose children have psychological, developmental, or emotional problems in the neighboring communities. About 17 mothers and children came to the clinic in 2004 and received psychological assistance for once a week for a year or some cases 10 sessions in a period of 3 months. However, a main aim at the clinic was to help mothers speak out with each other in a free talking manner about whatever came out in their minds along with worries and things they wanted to know. There was a chief clinical psychologist in the free talking but seldom gave suggestions and advices. Rather invited a free talking in which mothers could say anything they want to. While they were engaged in talking their children were taken care of in a playroom where there were clinical psychologists and graduate students majoring clinical psychology and played with the children.

After a year or 10 sessions at the clinic mothers reported they enjoyed and learned a lot from the free talking; most of them could reduced their stress because they could share their concerns with others; they have become able to obtain a distance from their children, not getting involved everything with children every time; they have become acquainted with other mothers whose children have same problems; they could share their worries about how their children would do when entered in elementary school; they have become tolerant even if their children behaved wrong; they have become confident in child rearing to know that it was alright as they were; they have become to like and love their children and their families; they were afraid to talk to their mothers in low about the problems their children had, but now became strong enough to talk and share opinions about how to relate with children; and so on.

**Discussion and Proposals**

Study I indicated that there were many mothers who worried and felt hard about their child rearing. They seemed to hesitate, or even afraid to how to do with child rearing. At
the same time most mothers in the survey responded that they were isolated and have few chances to talk to others. Hence, they have developed an inclination to have a fear in relating others. Some wrote that it was very hard deciding things and hence, they did not know what to do. It showed irritation and confusion. It may due to the rapid change not only in child rearing but also in motherhood in young mothers. Interpersonal relationship is getting less and less observed. It may have to do with social and economical changes in Japan as well. At the same time, problems such as autistic, Asperger syndrome, leaning disability, mild developmental problems, easiness to get angry, and abused children are increasing. We question why it is so. It seems it may well have to do environmental changes in Japan where industrial or urban nuisances disturb our health. This is an ecological concern and is a fundamental quest for us to be able to survive. But for the time being, we have to think what to do. Here are some thoughts of mine from my experience in working with the mothers in the project in a local city; To provide a place in a community center where mothers can get together and chat each other whenever they want; to build a network with mothers; to offer a group work with professional workers; consultation with health and mental health care professionals; a group to acquire social skills to relate others; and so on.

As for the mothers whose children have psychological and physical problems, I propose almost the same ones as stated above. I may add the followings: To provide a place to get together and an atmosphere where they feel safe, warm, and easy to speak out their concerns along with the presence of professionals in medicine, clinical psychology, or special education; offer both individual counseling and group counseling; offer consultation by specialists in special education; a chance to help mothers develop their own activities in need.

In conclusion, I feel we need something that helps or facilitates to develop our sense of self-support and ability to cooperate with others. I propose to create classes in school where we learn how to live in a mutually respecting way.

Bibliography
Constructivism is a relatively new IR theory which stresses on the study of identity and its effects on International Relations. As a relatively new theory, it needs refinement through empirical application. Yet in such a hot issue as cross-strait relations, where numerous other approaches have been applied to explain it, Constructivism has rarely been applied to explain. In recent years, identity across the strait has become more split than ever. Constructivism is perhaps the most appropriate theory in investigating the impact of identity on cross-strait relations. In this thesis, I will focus on how the difference in identity affects their relationship from a Constructivist point of view. I will look at how they define interest, their norms, and how they consider prospective institutions governing their future relationship. I will employ a longitudinal qualitative analysis. I intend to both fill the gap of explanation in cross-strait relations and to improve on Constructivism as a theory through this application. I may also compare the strengths and weaknesses of Constructivism and Political Psychology Theory in understanding cross-strait relations, both of which belong to the cognitive approach, posing a challenge to the dominant position of traditional positivism in the study of cross-strait relations.

Keywords: Constructivism, Identity, Cross-Strait Relations
An Innovative Teaching Approach Using Course Web-Enhancement to Facilitate
Active Learning, Course Relevance, and Community Outreach

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An Innovative Teaching Approach Using Course Web-Enhancement to Facilitate Active Learning, Course Relevance, and Community Outreach

The current project aims to develop an innovative instructional strategy that links the classroom with the community and promotes self-discovery, course relevance, and research and critical thinking skills in students. The project has the unique opportunity of providing outreach to the community while fostering knowledge and understanding of course content. This teaching strategy requires the development of a website consisting of three main components: 1) internet surveys and assessments; 2) student publishing outlet; and 3) a database. These components will allow students to complete self-assessments, publish articles on-line, and collect and analyze data on topics related to the course. Whereas this web format could be used for many courses in psychology and other disciplines, the example outlined in this manuscript is the web-enhancement of a stress management class offered at the University of North Florida (UNF). The addition of a website to this course will foster an interactive learning environment for students and bridge the gap between the course and the community.

*Internet Surveys & Assessments*

The first component of the course site, *personal stress assessments*, will allow students in the course to take assessments and learn about their personal stress. These assessments will also be available to the entire university community and beyond, including all internet users. This component will provide a service to the community as individuals will be able to learn more about their personal stress as well as strengths and areas of concern. A need exists in the university population, as stress has been identified as a major factor on college campuses (Katz, Davis & Findlay, 2002), relating to adjustment and retention (e.g., Prichard & Wilson, 2003).
The personal stress assessment portion of the website will contain student generated, as well as standardized (contingent upon author approval), stress instruments. Individuals will click on assessments and answer specified questions to measure the degree of stress in their life, physiological indicators of stress, and coping strategies. Their answers will be scored and a summary profile comparing their scores to collected normative data will be provided. Summary profiles will provide percentage levels for each individual assessment score across predetermined categories (e.g., gender, age, city, region).

Student Publishing Outlet

The second component of the website, information articles on stress, will be available to the UNF community and all web users and will contain sound information on stress as well as healthy coping strategies for the management of stress. Students will write articles on stress and its management based upon current scientific knowledge and empirical evidence. All articles will be reviewed by the instructor and, contingent upon approval, will be added to the website. The instructor will work with the authors to ensure, through revisions if necessary, that the article meets the necessary criteria for publication on the website. The purpose of the stress articles is twofold: 1) to provide students the opportunity to critically evaluate, synthesize evidence, and write about a particular topic in stress, and 2) to communicate this information to the community. Too often, falsities and unfounded information is provided regarding stress via the internet and media. Because of the creation process and evaluation of articles included on the proposed course website, individuals can obtain credible information on stress management by use of the course website. Students will learn and apply critical thinking skills, which translates in to direct relevancy, as they are responsible for providing sound advice to the community. The typical anecdotal testimonials and nonreferenced statistics will be met with skepticism in generating
Innovative Teaching Approach

articles to include on the website, and students will refer to refereed journal articles in writing their articles. Students will choose topics they would like to address, but I foresee that the various articles will cover such topics as social support, stress and illness, relaxation strategies, test anxiety, and time management.

Database

The third component of the website, the database, will store assessment answers and scores to be summarized and analyzed by students enrolled in the course. Students will use this data to conduct descriptive and correlational analyses as a group assignment. For example, students may choose to characterize top stressors across various populations. One study found that the top stressors for college students at a mid-sized Midwestern University were change in sleeping habits, vacations/breaks, change in eating habits, increased work load and new responsibilities (Ross, Nieblin, and Heckert, 1999). Students in the stress management classes could conduct analyses on webdata to assess whether students at their university have similar or different stressors to students at other colleges and universities and additionally analyze how stressors may differ across other dimensions such as age, gender, major and student status (nontraditional/traditional; freshman/senior). The possibilities for analysis are numerous and student findings may likely be presented at student conferences and/or communicated to the campus so that administrators (counseling, career services) might create programs to target specific needs identified through such analyses. Certainly there are a number of factors involved in student stress and adjustment, including social support (McGrath, Gutierrez & Valadez, 2000), lifestyle (e.g., alcohol/drug use; exercise/nutrition; Bates, Cooper & Wachs, 2001), self-efficacy (Coffman & Gilligan, 2002/2003), nontraditional and traditional student status (Dill & Henley, 1998; Kirby, Biever, Martinez & Gomez, 2004), time management (Misra & McKean, 2000),
Innovative Teaching Approach

Students would be afforded the opportunity to describe stress in various populations (e.g., first generation college students, gender differences) and characterize campus stress as well investigate the relationship of stress with various factors (e.g., time management, health).

This class has a unique opportunity to allow students to discover and learn positive and healthy coping strategies so that they can become more effective in their lives as students and improve their overall quality of life.

Evaluation of Outcomes

The method of evaluation to determine the success of the proposed website will include assessments of the teaching innovation (course site) as well student learning outcomes.

Assessment of the Website. Server logs will be used to gauge the success of the course website. Analyses will identify numbers of people who visited the site over a given time, how many pages were viewed and what pages were most popular. Logs also will be used to assess the geographic location of readers and identify numbers of individuals within the UNF population that access the website.

The website will be evaluated by students and external reviewers as to how well the site is meeting the goals for the website. Website goals include: 1) provide an interpretable assessment system to help individuals understand their stress and identify problematic areas and 2) provide credible and informative content on stress and stress management. Students and outside individuals will be asked to rate their progress on these goals and will furthermore rate aspects of the website that were helpful in achieving these goals as well as providing recommendations for what else could be done to facilitate progress on these goals (Jaffee, 2003). Students and select website users will be asked to anonymously rate the value of the website and
components and will be asked if they learned anything else (outside of the objectives) from this site. This assessment will be conducted after the site has been created during beta testing and will be conducted during the class term at mid and end points. The website additionally will be evaluated by external and student reviewers according to usability and the Web Content Accessibility Guidelines (1999) during the beta testing phase, and will continue informally during the class session.

Assessment of Learning Outcomes. Educational goals of the current project are: 1) enhance learning through active participation and discovery-based projects 2) teach skills in the measurement and assessment of stress, 3) increase students’ understanding of scientific methods and summary and analysis, and 4) increase the relevance of the course to student’s lives as they learn about their own stress and provide educational components for the community. Integrating a web-component to the course will provide opportunities for collaborative learning and will familiarize students with the use of technology to disseminate and collect information. Broader implications of the project include community outreach for the campus, Jacksonville, and internet users with access to stress assessments and information on how to manage and relieve stress through healthy coping.

The student-written articles on stress will be used as an authentic assessment of knowledge and skills students possess at the end of the course. Students are asked to write for authentic purposes about stress management topics and create a final product that will be publicly displayed in a website forum. Wolf (1989; 1993) suggests that working on tasks that resemble writing in the real word are engaging activities that become “episodes of learning” for the student. Authentic tasks foster worthwhile skills and strategies as students learn and practice how to apply important knowledge and skills to develop products that can be applied to and used
by others. Records will be maintained regarding the number of completed documents loaded on to the website in addition to any presentations or further publications from the work in this course.

Another authentic assessment of student performance that requires students to engage in higher order thinking is the summary and analysis of stress assessment data. Students will exercise their literary and analytical abilities as they practice research skills that are valued in society. In a collaborative group effort, students will carry out the process of identifying a research question, conducting appropriate statistical summary analyses, and will demonstrate their literacy abilities by writing a report.

Educational goals for the student members of the stress management class will be assessed in a repeated measure fashion throughout the semester. At the beginning of the semester, students will be asked to report on their beliefs about stress. A similar questionnaire will be administered at the end of the semester, to gauge the depth, accuracy and breadth of understanding of the topic of the course.

Summary

This project is especially exciting because it affords the opportunity to academically and personally benefit the students as well as the community. In addition, students will benefit from their experience in contributing to an effort that can help people directly through assessment and the dissemination of information on stress. A major goal of this website is to provide a venue for students to communicate sound information to the campus and public. Students will utilize theory and empirical work in writing articles and likely will be motivated and rewarded to see their work contribute to something that others can benefit from. This is a creative and unique instructional innovation that not only enhances learning, but provides meaning and opportunities
for students to apply course content to the real world and serves a need in the campus and broader community.
References


Regenerating the Post-Industrial City: The Role of Heritage and Diversity in the (Re)creation of Cultural Quarters

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Current urban policy in the UK and EU has a strong element of culturally led regeneration. These types of policy interventions are often underpinned by a reliance on an embrace of diversity and cosmopolitanism. The 2012 Olympic bid and enthusiasm for the European city of culture initiative signal the commitment of UK central and local government. Paradoxically the UK currently is enduring a moral panic about immigration that feeds on a fear of difference. European integration can be aided greatly by major cities demonstrating the success of cultural regeneration. Much of the struggle to demonstrate success is operationalised through complex representations of space. This paper is based on research which seeks to describe and explain the importance of representations of space and conceptualisations of heritage and diversity for the creation of new spaces of consumption in a post-industrial city. Drawing mainly on the theoretical insights of Lowenthal and Lefebvre, the paper focuses on ongoing research examining how a post-industrial city in the north west of England is managing the process of re-imagining itself through strategies of public and private investment in urban regeneration projects in certain parts of the city centre and its borders. Manchester is a multi-ethnic city that has rich historical legacies going back to Roman times. The city is and has been represented in differing ways that draw on; the part it played in the industrial revolution, Liberal politics, notions of cosmopolitanism, and latterly as a post-industrial space of cultural consumption. A unique variety of cultural quarters mark the city out a leading exponent of culturally led regeneration. The most famous is the Gay Village but other less well known city spaces are important locally, such as, the Castlefield, Northern Quarter, the Curry Mile and the Millennium Quarter. The paper argues (following Lowenthal) that heritage is used as a tool to imagine and construct new spaces in the city drawing on a selective reading of the city’s history. Some aspects of the past are remembered and celebrated, others expunged. The paper asks how is Castlefield understood? Has it become a site of preservation and pervasive nostalgia or conspicuous consumption? A rhetoric of inclusiveness is deployed by public agencies to attract public and political support to fund regeneration projects. Whilst the strategy to re-imagine the city is in many ways a success, it is argued that this may be at the cost of social exclusion, continuing privatisation of public space and uneven development across the city, resulting in the relative neglect of spaces with little or no potential for re-imaging as sites of consumption. Urban planners need to be aware that they work with representations of the city and that these representations may run counter to those of many city dwellers.
Abstract:

This presentation is on the religious discourses of Korean American Protestant churches and their roles in forming Korean ethnic solidarity. The strong influence of immigrant Christian churches on Korean immigrant lives and communities has received attention from scholars in diverse disciplines. I am concerned with the religious meanings that church leaders have produced within Korean immigrant churches; for example, they have tried to make legitimate biblical settings for and religious explanations of Korean national history and immigrant experiences. These religious discourses have contributed to the establishment of Korean ethnic solidarity among Korean immigrant Christians and to the maintenance of Korean ethnic churches.

Pursuant to that goal, my paper makes a case study of the commemorative Centennial Celebration of the Korean American church, which was held in LA in 2003. Commemorative events or festivals serve as crucial places for participants to manifest and establish their public memories. Plans for this Centennial Celebration were initiated by church leaders and the Christian Herald, a leading Korean American Christian magazine in Los Angeles. Christian leaders in Los Angeles were motivated by a desire to assert consent from all the generations and denominations for maintaining Korean American ethnic churches. Therefore, the examination of this event will show how religious leaders and participants tried to build their common immigrant stories by honoring their church founders in Korea and in the United States, mediating the first generations and the second generations interests through religious language, and also illustrating how they projected the future of Korean ethnic churches in the United States by promoting their identities as Korean Americans. I will focus on addresses, sermons,
prospectus papers, letters, and testimonies by church leaders and community leaders, as well as photos and images displayed during the Centennial Celebration. These materials are predominantly written in Korean and English, making a multilingual approach essential in this presentation.

“This Becoming Korean Americans through religious discourses within Korean immigrant Protestant churches: focusing on the Centennial Celebration of the Korean American church in LA.”

This presentation is part of my project, “Becoming Korean Americans through religious discourses within Korean immigrant Protestant churches.” In this project, I am dealing with church narratives and religious discourses within Korean ethnic Protestant churches as ways to demonstrate how ethnic churches have constituted Korean American solidarity through Christian frameworks. Their religious discourses and rhetoric show how ethnic groups perceive themselves and what kind of prospects they are pursuing in the future as Korean Americans.

The strong influence of immigrant Christian churches on Korean immigrant lives and communities has received attention from scholars in diverse disciplines. I am concerned with the religious meanings that church leaders have produced within Korean immigrant churches; for example, they have tried to make legitimate biblical settings for and religious explanations of Korean national history and immigrant experiences. These religious discourses have contributed to the establishment of Korean ethnic solidarity among Korean immigrant Christians and to the maintenance of Korean ethnic churches. For that goal, my paper will make a case study of the commemorative Centennial Celebration of the Korean American church, which was held in Los Angeles in 2003.

Plans for this Centennial Celebration were initiated by church leaders and the Christian Herald, a leading Korean American Christian magazine in Los Angeles. Christian leaders in Los Angeles were motivated by a desire to assert consensus from all the generations and denominations for maintaining Korean American ethnic churches. I will focus on messages, sermons, prospectus papers, and letters, by church leaders and community leaders, as well as photos displayed during the Centennial Celebration. These materials are predominantly written in Korean and English, making a multilingual approach essential in this presentation.

This Centennial Celebration was a religious event of Korean American Christians and took place predominantly in terms of the evangelical Christian vision toward Korean Americans. The Korean Christian leaders of Los Angeles proposed and sponsored this Centennial Celebration for the purpose of celebrating the centennial year of the Korean
American Protestant Church. This celebration became a good example of how Protestant leaders promoted Korean American identity through religious celebrations. The symbols and narratives in this centennial celebration event presented the process to establish what it meant to be Korean Americans in the United States. Through this centennial event, Korean Americans negotiate the tensions and conflicts within Korean American communities as well as in the relationship with American society, in terms of American evangelical Christianity, constructing the common group ethnic identity of Korean Americans.

The identity formation among immigrants shaping and maintaining ethnic communities have been critical issues in the United States. The studies of ethnic festivals and celebrations in ethnic identity formation are based on the perception that the meanings of ethnicity are constructed and change over time, depending on how identity has been created at specific historical moments, rather than that ethnicity is “something to be preserved or lost.” Based on this perception, ethnic identity is established through the process of identification at a particular moment to cope with historical realities. In ethnic identity studies, there is a body of work which deals with festivals and commemorative events as cases and scholars point out the significance of the studies of these events, in the sense that ethnic groups engage in the process of determining who can belong to which group and on what terms. And my research on the Centennial Celebration of Korean American Churches will illustrate the way that ethnic festivals and events contribute to the formation of ethnic identity, in a methodological sense.

In the examination of this Centennial Celebration of Korean American church, I will analyze this celebration from the following aspects. In this sense, I will present examples that will illustrate the identity formation of Korean Americans through commemorative events and festivals.

First of all, through this celebration, Korean American Christian religious leaders tried to make creative use of the Christian heritage from Korea, tracing the history of Korean immigration back to the beginning of Korean Protestantism influenced by American missionaries. Also they identified the history of Korean Christian churches with Korean American immigration history by honoring the contributions and central roles of Korean American ethnic churches in immigration history. That is, this celebration intended to show a historically close connection between Korean Christian history in the 20th century relating to American Christian missionaries and the constitution of Korean American

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Duntley, Madeline. “Heritage, Ritual, and Translation; Seattle’s Japanese Presbyterian Church.”
communities with the help of Christian churches. The study of this celebration gives a persuasive explanation of the significance of the Korean American Protestant churches in Korean American immigration history.

Secondly, this celebration aimed at the formation of corporate identity and a sense of group solidarity within Korean American communities in terms of Christian faith, despite the inner diversity within Korean American churches including generational differences and interethnic relations. It makes Korean Americans successfully “assume an identity that is pluralist, multidimensional” while remaining rooted in its Korean American ethnic historical identification. By celebrating this diversity itself, this kind of ethnic ritual pursues a recognition and connection to American society which is presumed to be multiracial and multicultural.  

A major part of commemoration is to give visions and prospectus toward the future emphasizing the significant roles of Korean American Christians among Korean Americans as a community. This commemorative celebration suggests some common visions for Christian missions and stresses inevitable destinies of Korean Americans, transcending inner conflicts and ethnic ties within Korean American communities. This results in the construction of Korean American identity, promoting group solidarity.

Let me take two examples from photo collections to illustrate how the Centennial planners tried to make a historical connection between Christianity and modern Korean history, emphasizing how Christianity was closely engaged in the development of Korea. (showing picture) This photo collection is about the establishment of the Republic of Korea after independence from Japan in 1945. This collection shows that planners explicitly demonstrated their intention to connect Korean national history and Christianity, in the subtitle of this collection, which was “The Republic of Korea established based on Christian Democracy.” It implied that the Republic of Korea was starting as a Christian country which was not true. Under this title, this collection included the pictures of the worship services and Christian churches where Korean political leaders in the first government participated. Also they addressed political leaders by the titles which are used for Christian leaders in a Presbyterian Protestant Church, such as Mooksa (Reverend) and Jangno (Elders). 

Another photo example is the picture board under the title “Seungman Lee, The First President of the Republic of Korea.” Photo display committees put the picture of the English bible which Lee used, to emphasize his Christian background. There was an explanation beside the picture: “The bible which made Seungman Lee convert to become a Christian.” Also committees added the comment of how much Lee was actively involved in Christianity, saying “Seungman Lee led bible study groups even when he was in prison and evangelized over forty prisoners and that his bible study became the first

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3 Rituals, in turn, form community boundaries based on religious connections that will supersede and transcend ethnic or biological kinship ties. (Anthony Buckley)
bible study in prison.”(photo) Sengman Lee was used as a symbolic figure establishing a close tie between Korean national history and Christianity.

Planners used narratives to honor the contribution of Korean Christian churches in the immigration history. In the official letter stating the purpose of this event, the Centennial committees clarified that their motivations and objectives for this celebration began with their desires to appreciate the contributions of Korean American churches in Korean immigration history: The letter says,

This year is a very historical one for all of us because it is the centennial of the Korean immigration to America and of the founding of the Korean American church. Our Christian Church has lived at the heart of the Korean American community and functioned as its center and the provider of comfort, courage and hope for its members and neighbors in times of hardship and crisis. Therefore, the Korean American community would not have survived without the leadership and service of its Christian Church."4

The emphasis of Christian backgrounds of the first Korean immigrants is a popular narrative. Rev. Lim, Dong sun said in his congratulatory message on the Centennial Celebration.

The history of Korean immigration started with Korean immigrant churches. When immigration opportunities opened to Koreans because the planters in Hawaii sought the laborers from abroad, Horace Allen, a missionary from The Presbyterian Church in USA, and Rev. Herbert Jones from Inchon Naeri Church played crucial roles in recruiting immigrants to Hawaii. With their help, the historic immigration history of Korean Americans started when 102 Koreans arrived in Hawaii. These first immigrants had worship services even on the ship and lived with focused on God after settling down in Hawaii and they never stopped worshiping God"5

These messages created the picture that American missionaries actively supported Korean immigration, especially Korean Christians and as a result, most Korean immigrants were active Christians. However, American missionaries discouraged Korean Christians from immigrating to America. American missionaries wanted Korean Christians to stay in Korea and to help their missionary work, rather than leave for America.6

Secondly, the generational reconciliation within Christianity is another major narrative Centennial participants used for the construction of Korean American solidarity. One of the important motivations of this celebration was the problem of the growing generational

4 Official Proposal Packet. Prospectus
conflicts between the first immigrant generation and the American born second generation within Korean American communities. Though the first Korean immigrants landed in Hawaii a hundred years ago, the current Korean American communities have been mostly established since the door opening to immigrants from all nations in the 1960’s in the United States. Over the last forty years, the American born second generations have grown to be adults, taking over the central roles in the Korean American communities. However, Korean immigration still continues, augmenting the number of first generation Koreans within the Korean American churches. This continuous generational tension and difference resulted in the exodus of the second generations from the immigrant ethnic churches, threatening the survival of Korean American ethnic churches. This generational tension became the main concern of Korean American church leaders and gave rise to debates over the construction of Korean American identities as a way to resolve the conflicts between two generations. In this sense, the Centennial Celebration emphasized the reconciliation narratives, by forming Korean American identities as the way to resolve the generational gaps.

Planners kept officially stressing the generational harmony among Korean Americans, promoting Korean American identity which unifies both generations. Planners warned the decrease of Korean connection among the second generations which would result in the disconnection from their parents, immigrant generations and suggested a spiritual solution to connect both generations to maintain Korean American solidarity. Planners said,

Our Roots originated in Korea, although we live in America. As time passes, our memory becomes faded and our children are apart from our generation. Our identity as Korean Americans must be reaffirmed as emotional and spiritual solidarity between parents and children is strengthened. The connection must grow between them as long as our community continues to expand.\(^7\)

The planners stressed generational harmony to the second generation participants. The English version of the invitation which mainly targeted English speaking generations displayed these planners’ intentions. They promoted the participation of the second generations in the Centennial Celebration for achieving the reconciliation between the two different generations. In addition, planners emphasized the central roles of the second generations for the future, saying “you will be the ones to carry the torch for the next 100 years to come.” Here is the English version of the invitation letter:

“We invite you to attend on November 9, 2003 at 5 PM, the Centennial Celebration, celebrating the 100th anniversary of Korean American immigration. It will be a time of transcending generation gaps, where grandfathers and grandsons can come together to celebrate the history of Korean immigration. We promise that it will be an inspiring and commemorative event. As the next generation of Korean Americans, you will be the ones to carry the torch for the

\(^{7}\) The Official Project Paper presented by The Christian Herald USA No. 130. The Theme of the Event.
next 100 years to come, and be representatives in this country. Your presence needs to merge the generations together. We happily invite you to come and celebrate with us!" 

In this letter, “you” meant the English speaking second generations and “we” meant the organizing committees members who were mostly immigrant generations. Therefore, this letter demonstrates that this Centennial Celebration started with the concern of immigrant generations about the disconnection with their children’s generations and these narratives and concerns motivated the construction of Korean American identity through Christian religious celebration.

This search of the common ground for both generations within Christianity is shown in the sermon by Sam Park, during the Grand Festival. He warned about the division between the first and second generation of Korean Americans and said that the only solution was to follow Christian humility. He said, “There appears to be an ever growing divide between the 1st and 2nd and beyond generations. The division is not only one of language, but of culture, of philosophies, even ideals. Each side has become armed with various charges: the 2nd generation is disrespectful, they are so lazy, they are too proud; the 1st generation is old-fashioned, they are too political, they are too proud. Ah! Here we meet common ground, the common ground of pride in humanity. And this pride, as long as we remain in it, will bring down the curse of division that befell those at the Tower of Babel. Will we doom ourselves to the same fate? The Bible speaks of an even greater divide: the one between the Holy God and sinful humanity. God’s response to that crisis is to be seen at the cross of Jesus Christ. The humble obedience of Jesus Christ is not only the solution to that cosmic divide, but also is to be the solution to the microcosmic divisions found among us.” He urged the audience to repent before the Lord that we have not lived up to the example set by Christ. He said, “The path to reconciliation is paved with repentance, and repentance is impossible without grace. It is so in our relationship with God, it must be so in our relationship with each other. As we enter this time of prayer, let us remember the grace that was freely given to us by Christ, to make us well.”

Finally, as ways to project visions for the future for Korean Americans in promoting Korean American identity, they used narratives making historical connections between Korean immigration and America based on biblical explanations, emphasizing Korean Americans’ central roles in American societies as immigrants, by connecting their lives to America.

One of the rhetorical strategies to construct Korean American identity by connecting Korean American experience to America history is the parallel to the Puritan narrative which symbolizes the beginning of America, making a founding myth in America. One of the major photo collection boards was about the first arrival of Korean immigrants in Hawaii. There were four pictures displayed in this board. The one was a picture of the SS Gaelic, which was the first ship of Korean immigrants. (picture showing)

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8 http://www.ksachurch100.com/event.htm
The picture of the first ship, SS Gaelic, that brought the first Korean Americans symbolized the inception of Korean American histories. The image of a ship is a popular image of the first immigrants in America. The SS Gaelic is the representative historic name in Korean immigration history and provides the motivation to make parallel explanation of Korean immigration with the Puritans who came to American by the Mayflower in the beginning of American history. This is shown vividly in the written text in this board.

The SS Gaelic, the first ship of Korean immigrants, arrived at Honolulu, Hawaii on January 13, 1903. The first 102 Korean immigrants started severe labors at Wailuku and Mokuleia sugar plant plantations in Oahu. In the same year, 1,113 Korean came to Hawaii on 16 ships and 3,434 more on the next year, 1904, on 33 ships. By July on 1905, 7,226 Korean immigrant ancestors had arrived in Hawaii which they called as a paradise in the Pacific and a dream country. The total included 2,659 who came on 1905. They opened a new frontier history just like 101 Puritans in Plymouth four hundreds years ago.

The promotion of American identity was also presented in the messages for projecting the future of Korean Americans. In this Centennial event, organizers and participants emphasized on the significant roles of Korean American Christians in Korea, America and the world as leading Christians. In this sense, this narrative legitimatizes the central roles of Korean Americans in American society, rather than staying in marginality as immigrants.

An example of promoting American identity using Christian narratives is a sermon by Rev. Lim Dong Sun during the Grand Festival. Pastor Lim Dong Sun gave his special sermon, titled A Message for the Immigrants. He cited biblical story in which God sent a message of comfort and hope to the Israelites through Prophet Jeremiah when Israelites suffered in foreign land as captives. Pastor Lim applied God’s message to Israelites to Korean immigrants in America. By providing biblical answer to how immigrants live in foreign lands, he suggested a role model for immigrants by maintaining Christian religious faith. His message emphasized the central role of Korean Americans in America.

In the bible story he cited, southern Judah was invaded by the northern Babylonians resulting in many deaths and much destruction. The remains were captured and enslaved in a foreign country. During their hard captivity, God sent a message of comfort of hope to the Israelites through the Prophet Jeremiah. In his sermon, Rev. Lim applied the message of Jeremiah toward Israelites who lived in foreign lands to the present situations and future of Korean immigrants. Through his sermon, Lim argued that Koreans are destined to immigrate to America and God has plans to make Korean immigrants central in the United States founded by immigrants. He said “America is the best country in the world for the Korean immigrants to come,” and “in America nowadays, it has fewer incidents of racial discrimination, and anyone who is willing to work hard can achieve their dreams. Therefore, it is important that Korean-Americans have a sense of ownership of this land and love this land. It would not do us good to return to Korea. The land of Korea is small, crowded, and lacks natural resources; it might even be said that it is
patriotic to live here in the United States.” He also said, “In fact, this land, the United States of America, is not the land of American Indians, nor of the whites, but of God. It is the land of dreamers from all over the world. Today, there are over 400 different nationalities living across the United States.”

He argued that Korean immigrants and descendents should have love for America as their home, by citing the bible scripture, “Build houses and settle down: plant garden and eat what they produce” (Jeremiah 29:5) Lim, said “Being brought as captives and treated as second class citizens, they were forced to work and live like animals on the threshold of society. And because of their miserable circumstances, they had no love for the land: therefore they had no desire to build houses nor plant gardens nor trees. But at that very moment, God told them to love the land, to build houses, and to love the land, to build houses, and to enjoy the fruit of their crops. As a human being, if you love where you live, that becomes your second homeland.”

He also encouraged interracial marriage as one way of loving the land they live. They suggested examples from the Bible and Korean respectable heroes. “The captive Israelites in Babylon did not want to marry the natives of that land. To them, the Babylonians were gentiles, ones who served idols, and enemies of their homeland: ‘how can we marry and establish relationships with them?’ they said, and had largely ignored them. But God told them to marry them to be fruitful and to multiply with them. To most Israelites, it was common for them to marry their own people. However, there are cases such as Joseph’s marriage to an Egyptian woman, Moses to a Medianite, Esther to a Persian, and Eunice, mother of Timothy, to a Greek.” He supported his positive idea about intermarriage by taking the case of Rev. Kyung Jik Han’s son. Pastor Kyung-Jik Han was one of the most prestigious and respectable Presbyterian pastors in Korean Christian history, who had served as a senior pastor in Youngnak Presbyterian church.

“In Korea, the son of Pastor Kyung-Jik Han had married an American woman, and based on this instance, it is not shameful to have international or transnational marriage.”

He also stressed the loyalty to America citing the Bible verse, “Also seek the peace and prosperity of the city to which I have carried you into exile. Pray to the Lord for it, because if it prospers, you too will prosper. (Jeremiah 29:7)” He criticized the Israelites saying that “The Israelites in Babylon did not contribute to the economics of the land. They ignored the country where they live, saying it is Land of enemy, land of gentiles, and they became uncooperative, and lived unproductive life. But God told them to be useful and productive to the land in which they live.”

However, he exemplified biblical people who provided the models as immigrants. “Many figures in the Bible made significant contributions even in foreign lands. Mordecai benefited Persia, while Daniel was a great asset to the kingdom of Babylon.” He suggested this Christian ideal of immigrant lives through his sermons. He concluded his sermon by suggesting the future mission as model immigrants here in America, by

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keeping God’s words. “We ought to remember these words of God, and as we look towards next 100 year or 200 year anniversary, it is my hope and prayer that we may become model immigrants to other people and pioneers to our future generations.”

His sermon illustrated how Christian church leaders project the place of Korean Americans within America. Through celebrating the central roles of Christianity in Korean American past, present and future, church leaders elicited the concept that Korean Americans are destined to take over the central roles in American society as immigrants for the next century. As long as they devoted their lives and vision to Christianity, they are chosen as a central race in every place, including America. In addition, Korean American roles are even more crucial because America has been the central country within the whole world in the past one hundred years, and the immigrants in America will assume the roles in world missions.

Rev. Junghyun Oh, a senior pastor of Sarang church in Seoul and the former senior pastor of Sarang church in Orange County, proposed the central roles of Korean American churches within the world history as well as American society in his celebrating messages. He pointed to central roles of Korean American churches under the world evangelicalism:

“I congratulate you on the centennial year of Korean American churches which started with the first immigrants arriving in Hawaii 100 years ago. As the person who had served in Korean American church for over twenty years I have no doubt that Korean American church will take roles in leading world Evangelical mission.”

As the descendents of European immigrants in America prevented the decline of Christianity in Europe which had started in the mid 20th century, five-million eight-hundred thousand Korean immigrants spreading around 178 countries in the world, are expected to take their roles in world missions in the 21st century. Furthermore, among Korean immigrant churches in the world, Korean American churches are playing central roles in the mission. I expect Korean American churches not only to challenge the Korean churches which tend to stagnate but also to, through the burgeoning spiritual power, influence American churches which are losing their powers”

His message exemplified the narrative that Korean Americans should take over world missions for the future as America has performed during the twentieth century. His messages analyzed that European immigrants came to America to keep their Christian faith and emphasized American active world missionary work in the twentieth century by these European Americans. Then, he proclaimed that Korean American Christians’ roles for the next century, as the next generation succeeding in European Americans in America, in terms of Christian evangelical mission. This also shows that organizers tried to place Korean Americans in a central place in American society through being Christians.
The expectation of Korean Americans’ contribution both to Korea and America is the central concept of Korean American identity, through this Centennial event. The role of Korean American churches in Korean history is based on their nationalistic activities during Japanese occupation in the first half of twentieth century.

These conservative model minority rhetorical strategies point to the goal of ethnic celebration for the purpose of overcoming their marginal status and the insecurity of the disconnection both from Korea and America. This celebration achieved the adoption of model minority myth not by economic success, but by being true Christians. The appreciation of the past contribution of Korean immigrant churches to Korean history and the expectation of future roles of Korean Americans make bridge the gaps not so much between Korea and America, as between immigrant generations and American born generations within Korean Americans. In this identity formation process, Christian rhetoric and narrative have provided the legitimate and bound frameworks for Korean Americans. This centennial celebration illustrated this process in the forms of sermons, addresses, and exhibitions.
During this time in which Darwinism and the theory of evolution are constantly being contested and rejected, the Center for Human Origin and Cultural Diversity (CHOCD) in the University of Missouri, St. Louis successfully introduces this material to 3,000 participants a year. It is the only center of this kind in the United States. This paper will present the center’s innovative and non-confrontational techniques and their role in preparing teachers to serve a diverse student population.

The CHOCD was jointly created by the College of Education and the College of Arts and Sciences in 1996. Primarily designed to fill a gap in sixth grade social studies curriculum, additional programs were developed to familiarize pre-service teachers, college students and classroom teachers with the material. The center’s programs introduce participants to recent information on human origin and teach them about cultural diversity through the investigation of African cultures. CHOCD’s lab based programs combine experiential learning, current scientific knowledge and an across the content area approach with state of the art pedagogy. The center’s Human Origin and African Cultures labs present a model in which anthropological, biological and social science knowledge bases are merged to present the significance of human biological adaptation and the formation of diverse cultures.

Using a learning-to-learn model, (Mentkowski and Doherty 1984; Loacker and Mentkowski 1993) a team of faculty and students from both education and anthropology developed the Human Origin Lab (HOL) with four integrated, hands-on learning stations. Learning stations are stand-alone, theme-based, intensive investigations through which participants experience a particular aspect of human origin and diversity. The African Cultures Lab (ACL) was an obvious extension of the HOL in which participants learn that the African continent is the homeland of the human family. This lab was developed in a similar vein, including four integrated learning stations that are more activity-orientated than the HOL. The activities of ACL place a greater emphasis on body/kinesthetic, verbal linguistic and musical/rhythmic intelligences. In addition, the ACL is addressing a growing demand by the African American population, for credible information and instruction in relation to the continent of Africa.

For this presentation we will focus on the four HOL learning stations and its activities in relation to improving pre-service and classroom teachers’ comprehension of human origin and diversity concepts. The first HOL station introduces the human fossil record. In this location, participants examine fossil casts related to the development of modern humans and their gradual exodus from the continent of Africa. The Participants
place these casts into chronological order using clue cards, timelines and mapping. In the “Archaeological Dating and Functional Morphology” station, visitors are asked to analyze fossils and artifacts that come from the field. They are introduced to the concept of human universals, as well as analyze the relationships between teeth and diet to understand their functional connection. In the third station, “Human Skin Colour Variation”, they employ the scientific method of testing hypotheses. Participants investigate the role of melanin production in relation to the geographic distribution of early modern humans. Finally, in the “Geological Time Scale” station, participants use deductive reasoning to develop a timeline of continental formation and introduction of life forms.

Surveys and reflective writings are used to analyze and examine the effectiveness of the CHOCD approach. A pre-test and post-test evaluation is given to measure the participant’s content knowledge and attitudes about human origin theory and diversity. After experiencing the laboratory programs, the content knowledge of the participants increased significantly and their ideas about both biological and cultural diversity reflected an increase in tolerance. Reflective writings showed that participants suggested multiple instructional techniques that they would use for their own teaching.

Research maintains that knowledge of diversities is critical to improving the academic and social growth of diverse students (Darder 1993; Larson-Billings 1994; Sheets 1993). While professional development and teacher-credential programs often provide training and preparation in diversity awareness to help teachers improve services to children, these programs tend to isolate the diversity issues from the content area teaching. One of the major difficulties is the lack of multiculturalism and diversity integration into general pedagogy and experiential strategies, as found in the CHOCD programs. Further study is planned. We will follow participants through student teaching to determine if student teachers completing the CHOCD experience exhibit significantly better performance in terms of delivering the multicultural education instruction as compared to those who have not had this experience.

The Relationship Between Organizational Socialization and Organizational Cynicism

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The Relationship Between Organizational Socialization and Organizational Cynicism

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between organizational socialization and organizational cynicism. We hypothesize that organizational socialization is negatively related to organizational cynicism. Data were collected through questionnaire survey from 331 employees of international tourist hotels. Results show that the hypothesis is supported. Implication of this finding and suggestion for further research is discussed.

Keywords: organizational socialization, organizational cynicism.
The Relationship Between Organizational Socialization and Organizational Cynicism

Introduction

Cynicism is widespread among organization members (Dean, Brandes, & Dharwadkar, 1998). As organization struggles to remain competitive, organizational change efforts are often blocked by cynical managers (McNamara, 1999). Therefore, organizational cynicism should be an important study issue in this era. Although organizational cynicism has attracted initial attention, it is still a new and challenging research opportunity and a theoretical framework needs to be built (Dean, et al., 1998).

Andersson (1996) even used psychological contract to explain why organizational cynicism would be caused and noted that factors influencing cynicism could be divided into business environment characteristics, organizational characteristics, and job and role characteristics, which consist of harsh layoffs, high executive compensation, poor communication, limited voice expression, role ambiguity, and role conflict. The present study tends to explore organizational cynicism from organization members – the extent of employees’ organizational socialization. Thus, the purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between organizational cynicism and organizational socialization.

Literature Review and Hypothesis Development

Cynicism is cynic’s opinions or attitude of mind. Dean, et al. (1998) defined
organizational cynicism as an extremely negative attitude toward one’s employing
organization, including three dimensions: (1) a belief that the organization lacks integrity; (2)
negative affect toward the organization; and (3) tendencies to disparage and critical behaviors
toward the organization that are consistent with these beliefs and affect. Atwater, Waldman,
Atwater, and Cartier (2000) pointed out that employees with organizational cynicism would
believe there are serious problems in their organization, which couldn’t be solved due to
management level’s self-centeredness. These cynical employees hold apathetic attitude to
organizational efforts, and perhaps even sabotage.

In terms of organizational socialization, past studies showed that organizational
socialization could let employees behave in the way that the organization wants them to. For
example, the tactics of organizational socialization could raise employees’ job satisfaction,
organizational commitment and organizational identification, lower turnover intention, and
ehance the person-organization fit (Ashforth, Saks, & Lee, 1998; Cable and Parsons, 2001;
Louis, Posner, & Powell, 1983). Moreover, the extent of organizational socialization is
positively associated with career involvement and adaptability, and negatively associated
with job stress (Allen, McManus, & Russell, 1999; Chao, O’Leary-Kelly, Wolf, Klein, &
Gardner, 1994). On the other hand, past studies also showed that organizational socialization
could make employees generate negative attitude toward their organization. Van Maanen
(1975) demonstrated that police officers’ commitment and work motivation would decline
after the socialization process, which was attributed to police officers’ job characteristic. Van Maanen and Schein (1979) also illustrated that an experienced patrolman passively describe their job is of little importance. Van Maanen and Schein opined that these highly socialized patrolmen master their job, but they have lost their motivation and idealism. This gradual development of cynicism toward the organization’s proclaimed object is called inefficacious socialization (Van Maanen, 1976).

These controversial findings demonstrate that the relationship between organizational socialization and organizational cynicism needs to be further examined. Firstly, the studies of inefficacious socialization are based on the following assumption: employees with longer tenure are better socialized than those with less tenure. However, organization socialization is not only experienced by newcomers but also senior employees. Organizational socialization is the process of teaching, learning and changes, which is continuously experienced in one’s career (Fisher, 1986; Van Maanen and Schein, 1979). Chao, et al. (1994) highlighted that changes of job and environment could create new learning needs and resocialization. Those studies that use tenure to measure one’s extent of socialization would only result in the inferred outcomes. Therefore, employees with high extent of organizational socialization would tend to harbor low extent of organizational cynicism. The inefficacious socialization that causes cynicism also needs to be reexamined.

Secondly, organizational cynicism is not limited to a particular type of work; cynicism
certainly is observable in a wide range of occupations (Dean, et al., 1998). In addition to policemen, other research subjects of cynicism include management levels, union members, customer service staff and professionals from different industries (Abraham, 2000; Anderson and Bateman, 1997; Reichers, Wanous, & Austin, 1997). The relationship between organizational socialization and organizational cynicism shouldn’t be merely examined under the particular organizational culture or characteristics. We speculate that the extent of organizational socialization would affect organizational cynicism.

Accordingly, the following hypothesis was tested:

Hypothesis 1. The extent of organizational socialization is negatively associated with organizational cynicism; the higher the extent of organizational socialization, the lower the organizational cynicism.

Method

Sample and Procedure

The participants of this study were employees of Taiwan’s international tourist hotels that are registered with the Taiwan’s Tourism Bureau. After potential subjects were contacted by phone, 32 international hotels were willing to participate in the survey. Depending on the participants’ wishes, surveys were collected centrally in the respective offices before mailing back, individually delivered and mailed back through an enclosed self-addressed envelope, or directly collected by the researchers. In the end, 745 questionnaires were distributed and 331
were returned, representing a response rate of 44.4%. The demographic breakdown of the respondents is as follows: 198 were female (59.8 percent); 224 were either single or others (divorced or widowed, 67.7 percent); and the average age was 29.2 years.

**Measurement**

Existing, established scales were used in measuring all of the constructs. Also, Sekaren’s (2000) recommended process of back-translation was adopted to ensure the compatibility of Chinese scale contents with the original.

**Organizational socialization.** This study measured the extent of employees’ organizational socialization by the scale developed by Taormina (2004), which included 4 dimensions: (a) 5 items for training, \( \alpha = .87 \); (b) 5 items for understanding, \( \alpha = .76 \); (c) 5 items for co-worker support, \( \alpha = .80 \); and (d) 5 items for future prospects, \( \alpha = .83 \). A 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) was adopted for all items.

**Organizational cynicism.** The scale developed by Vance, Brooks, and Tesluk (1995, as cited in Atwater, et al., 2000) was used, which measured the employees’ negative attitude toward their organizations, management levels and other organization members. This scale included 6 items. The tested \( \alpha \) was .76.

**Demographic variables.** Participants’ age, gender and marital status were measured in this study.
Results

Means, standard deviations and correlations for variables used in this study are listed in Table 1, which reported that the four dimensions of organizational socialization were significantly correlated with organizational cynicism \((p < .01)\). Hierarchical regression was used to test the hypothesis. Control variables, including age, gender and marital status were entered in Step 1. In Step 2, independent variables were entered – training, understanding, co-worker support and future prospects. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 2. As shown in Table 2, organizational socialization accounted for a significant amount of the variance in organizational cynicism beyond the control variables \(\left( R^2 = .290, p < .01 \right)\). As for the four dimensions of organizational socialization, training, understanding and co-worker support were significantly predictive of organizational cynicism. Moreover, standardized \(\beta\) coefficients of -.20, -.22 and -.16 indicated that the relationship between organizational socialization and organizational cynicism is negative. Thus, the hypothesis is supported.
Table 1
Means, Standard Deviations and Correlations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Gender (male=0)</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Age</td>
<td>29.20</td>
<td>7.53</td>
<td>-1.12*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Martial status (married=0)</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>-0.65**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Training</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>-0.13*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.15**</td>
<td>-0.12*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Understanding</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.24**</td>
<td>-0.16**</td>
<td>0.73**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Co-worker support</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.43**</td>
<td>0.57**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Future prospects</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.19**</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>0.79**</td>
<td>0.74**</td>
<td>0.44**</td>
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<td>8. Organizational cynicism</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.13*</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.16**</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>-0.51**</td>
<td>-0.52**</td>
<td>-0.39**</td>
<td>-0.49**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05. ** p < .01.

Table 2
Hierarchical Regression on Organizational Cynicism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Organizational Cynicism</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>?R² (? F)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Control Variables</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.047 (4.952**)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (male=0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.13*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martial status (married=0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.13*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Independent Variables:</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.290 (32.709**)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational Socialization</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.20*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.22**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-worker support</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.16**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future prospects</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Total $R^2$ (adjusted $R^2$) .337 (.321)
F 21.699**
*p < .05, **p < .01.

Discussion

Past studies indicated that organizational cynicism is the outcome of inefficacious socialization. However, this concept implies that employees might not be socialized in their organization and omits employees’ identification to their organizations. In the definition of organizational socialization, the understanding of organizational goal and value is an important dimension. Through the empirical results of this study, we find that employees with higher extent of organizational socialization would harbor lower extent of organizational cynicism. This finding supports our observation: the cause of organizational cynicism is insufficient organizational socialization, not inefficacious socialization.

In the academic field, the research of organizational cynicism is still limited. The finding of this study would be beneficial for extending the theory and establishing the framework. In the practical field, organizational change is a trend of this era (Yousef, 2000). Dean, et al. (1998) pointed out that employees with organizational cynicism might obstruct the organizational growth and change and even laugh in secret for disobeying organizational rules. Therefore, the management level should pay close attention to this phenomenon and adopt organizational socialization tactics to prevent it.
In sum, this study tries to clarify the controversial relationship between socialization and cynicism. This effort not only extends the theory of socialization and cynicism, but also provides a practical way to reduce organizational cynicism, thus making contribution to theory and management.

References


*Personnel Psychology, 54*, 1-23.


Effective teacher preparation is becoming more challenging as today’s students and families become more complex in cultural and ethnic diversity, learning styles, beliefs, and mobility. The impact of technology on student responsiveness and its massive and instantaneous influence on community knowledge and opinions have also increased the challenges for educators. These challenges facing local districts and institutions of higher education have been intensified by the demands of federal pressures for schools to “leave no child behind.” Many teachers are complaining about renewed emphases on teaching to the test, rote learning, and using teaching “scripts” in response to these pressures. The frustration for many is that there is a counterpoint theme emerging from research that describes what it means to “teach for understanding” reflected in more learner-centered models.

It is not the purpose of this paper to debate the merits of rote learning and other “disconnected information-based strategies.” Rather, the paper proposes a communication-based model for preparing today’s teachers that helps students integrate information and experience into meaningful constructs that emerge through continuous interactions. The paper brings together research and theory from three fields: (1) education research, specifically findings on preparing teachers for effective K-16 learner-centered instruction; (2) brain research and its implications for learning for understanding; and (3) findings on human communication, specifically tested concepts and models from the fields of interpersonal, organizational, family, and mass communication. The author’s model integrates
research findings with her experiences culminating from forty years as a professor of communication, teacher educator, and Senior Education Researcher with the U.S. Department of Education (recently retired).

For more than two decades, federal initiatives and innovations aimed at improving student achievement have emphasized the importance of teaching effectiveness. There is ample evidence that investing in teachers to help them attain strong content and pedagogical knowledge may be the best use of scarce public education resources. While researchers cannot agree on an appropriate balance of content and pedagogy needed in teacher preparation programs, few would argue that both kinds of teacher knowledge are essential to student success. In fact, it is now widely accepted that pedagogical and content knowledge are not discrete areas of preparation, but must be well-integrated if teachers are to meet the needs of individual learners and the nationwide goal of “leaving no child behind.”

However, effectively integrating pedagogical and content knowledge is not yet understood in all content areas in the context of impact on student learning. In addition, we are only beginning to accumulate knowledge on ways of grounding teacher learning in emerging findings from brain research. These findings will be described in the context of the central premise of this paper:

Teaching and learning are enacted through communication processes that are continuous, systemic, and transactional in nature. In the process of teaching and learning for understanding, communicators adjust their messages based on shifting perceptions of self, of one another, and of concepts of “the world as they know it”.

Findings from brain research support the idea that learning occurs when it is grounded in learners’ experiences. For example, a report from the National Research Council (1999) demonstrates:

Students come . . . with preconceptions about how the world works. If their initial understanding is not engaged, they may fail to grasp the new concepts and information that are taught, or they may learn them for purposes of a test but revert to their preconceptions outside the classroom.
Applications of the foregoing principle are reflected in well-organized and well-linked learning experiences in real-world contexts, both inside and outside the classroom. Such “contextual” learning strategies are often labeled “experiential,” “problem-based,” “learner-centered,” “community-based,” “service learning,” etc. Well-constructed contextual learning experiences are conceived as part of a model grounded in the following tenets:

1. Teaching and learning occur primarily through verbal and nonverbal communicative behaviors among teachers and students;
2. Effective learning depends in large part on the teacher’s success in structuring messages and experiences that build upon knowledge of related student constructs;
3. Knowledge of student constructs is based upon teachers’ accurate analyses of students’ prior learning related to concepts to be taught;
4. Prior learning derives from students’ broader culture, language, schooling, and specific family, work and individual experiences;
5. Teaching for understanding involves teachers’ abilities to communicate and adjust individualized messages (in learning settings) to build upon students’ prior learning and produce new student knowledge.

The following hypotheses will be presented for future testing:

Teachers who master communication concepts and strategies focused on “teaching for understanding,” in comparison with those who learn only “traditional” teaching methods, demonstrate:

1. Higher student achievement outcomes;
2. Higher levels of efficacy, especially in the role of learning resource rather than as a “conveyor” of information
3. Greater interest and/or involvement in professional/collegial learning in contexts such as learning communities.

Strategies will be presented for testing these hypotheses through various kinds of research studies.
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<td>Jui-Lin Ho</td>
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Abstract
The competence in English is necessary for all the success no matter you work in Taiwan or in the international arena. How to learn English effectively, especially using interactive multimedia tools, become more and more important.
A depth interview with the chief executive officer of Live ABC Interactive Corporation that successfully developed interactive multimedia tools to learn English and becomes one of the three biggest English learning groups in Taiwan will show us the benefits of using interactive multimedia tools to learn English in Taiwan.
A survey from the learners will also prove that the using interactive multimedia tools to learn English is the best way to learn English.
In recent years, a great deal of anthropological research has been dedicated to the study of “transnationalism” and transnational migration. One aspect of the equation that is as yet understudied, however, is the influence of the State. Both through its deliberate interventions and through the unintended outcomes of its policy-making activities, the State represents a meaningful actor in influencing the form taken by migration. My research seeks to address the political ecology of migration at both the local and the national level—and on both sides of the border—and how it impacts the three phases of migration: the decision to migrate, the migration event itself, and the period of settlement in the new home. My work will focus on Mecca, Thermal, and Oasis, three Mexican migrant receiving communities located in California’s Coachella Valley. Major research questions will include:

1) What sorts of State level influences contribute to the “push” factors leading to migration?
2) In what ways do State influences on both sides of the border mediate in the migratory process? and
3) How do particular State influences shape settlement decisions?

My research will be based in part on the assembly of a history of late twentieth-century Mexico and the United States—particularly with regard to migratory policy and influence—which will serve as a framework for the study as a whole. I will also use person-centered interviews to compile a reconstruction of the historical assembly of the communities from the beginnings of their status as a destination in the trans-border migrant flow—circa the mid-1960s—to present. Particularly, I will investigate this migration’s roots in specific sending communities in Mexico and the ongoing maintenance of ties to the points of origin as well as changes in these factors as families become more settled in the US across generations. I will further include an examination of the present-day political economy and the ways in which the towns are integrated, not only within each and between the three, but externally with the official and unofficial institutions of US society. If a substantial influence is exerted on the migratory process
by the local and state political ecology, an analysis of the settlement pattern of the California Colonias should reveal significant overlap with the timing of “push” events in the Mexican political ecology, as mediated by “transition” and “pull” factors. It is this aspect of transnationalism that my research will address.
Colombia and the United States: a Silent Connection?

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Latinos in Action
Colombia & USA

Colombia and the United States: a Silent Connection?

Colombia has often been described as a country of contrast and even contradictions. These contrasts and contradictions can be seen in its geography, its people, its economy, but more so in its politics, both in the past and present. An enigma to many (Osterling, 1989) and an exceptional country to others (Dix, 1987), “Colombia may be the least attended to, by scholars and media in the United States, of all the countries in Latin America, with exception of the negative attention given to the drug traffic” (Dix, 1987, p. 1).

Although little is known about Colombia and Colombians in the USA, this study analyzes the longstanding relationship between these two countries. The discussion will begin with a portrayal of Colombia’s rich history and its struggles with internal and external forces as the nation continues to forge its own identity. It will continue with a summary of Colombia and the United States relations, the immigration patterns that Colombians have developed through the years, the emigrating factors, as well as an overall view of the reception of Colombians in the USA.

This discussion will be intertwined with the notion that although Colombia has been neglected by US scholars and there is not vast literature regarding Colombia or Colombians in the US, there has been a strong connection between the two countries dating back to the time the United States pledged to “protect” the Southern Hemisphere from European invasion.

The Republic of Colombia: A brief journey through its territory and history

Colombia has a population of 42,310,775, ranking third in Latin America only after Brazil, and Mexico. Colombia declared its independence from Spain on July 20, 1810. During the pre-colonization period, what is today known as Colombia was inhabited by indigenous peoples who were primarily hunters or nomadic farmers. The Chibchas were the largest indigenous group
in this region. Ethnic diversity in modern Colombia is a result of the mixture of indigenous peoples, Spanish colonists, and Africans. Today, based on language and customs, only about 1% of the people can be identified as fully indigenous. About 58% of the population is “mestizo,” 20% white, 14% mulattoes (i.e., mixed white and African blood), 4% black, and 3% mixed black-indigenous people (Bureau of Western, 2004). The primary language is Spanish and the predominant religion is Catholic.

In 1549, Santa Fe de Bogotá was the capital of Santa Marta, where the Spanish colonist settled. Up until 1810, when the citizens of this city formed the first representative council to challenge Spanish authority, Santa Fe de Bogotá was one of the principal administrative centers of the Spanish colonist in the New World. After its independence, The Republic of greater Colombia was formed in 1819, which included Venezuela, Ecuador and Panama, but the greater Colombia (Bolivar’s dream) broke-up in 1830, at which time what is today known as Colombia and Panama emerged as one country. The current name, Republica de Colombia (Republic of Colombia), was adopted in 1886 (Dix, 1987; Osterling, 1989, Bureau of Western, 2004). Also, the capital’s name “Santa Fe de Bogotá” was officially changed to “Bogotá” in August 2000 (Bureau of Western, 2004).

From a geographical perspective, Colombia has an advantageous position. It is the only country whose borders touch the Atlantic Ocean and the Caribbean Sea in the Northern part of South America, between Panama and Venezuela, and the Pacific Ocean, between Ecuador and Panama. Its climate is tropical along the coast and eastern plains and cooler in the snowy highlands, which are subject to volcanic eruptions, and its soil changes from flat coastal lowlands, to central highlands, high Andes Mountains and eastern lowland plains (Dix, 1987; Osterling, 1989; The World, 2004).
The country is divided into five semi-autonomous regions. Each region has its own social structure, subculture, distinguishable geographical patterns, flora, fauna, and relevant economic activities which have resulted in specific cultural, social, economical and political patterns (Osterling, 1989).

Colombia’s diverse climate and landscape allows the cultivation and production of a wide variety of crops to include: flowers, sugarcane, coconuts, bananas, plantains, rice, cotton, tobacco, cassava, coffee, and other vegetables, as well as a great number of tropical fruits, dairy products and poultry. It has been said by many that Colombia has been gifted with minerals and energy resources. Colombia has the largest coal reserves in Latin America, is second to Brazil in hydroelectric potential, and possesses considerable amounts of ferronickel, silver, gold, platinum, and emeralds (Backgrounds, 2004; Bureau of Western, 2004; Osterling, 1989; Dix, 1987).

Despite its natural riches, during the earlier part of the 20th century the discrepancies in the way of life between the social classes in Colombia began to grow at an alarming pace. Colombia, through most of its history, has lived under the feudalist system - a small group of families controlling the great majority of the wealth and the greatest percentage of its people living in conditions that would be considered by the US to be below the poverty level. By 1964, 5% of the population was controlling 32% of urban income, and these income disparities increased during the 1970’s (Dix, 1987; Sanchez, 2003). Presently, Colombia faces difficult economic turbulence, including high unemployment rates, a decrease in real wages and purchasing power, increased levels of poverty and extreme income disparities (Sanchez, 2003).

Educationally, Colombians have always enjoyed the reputation of being highly intellectual and speaking the best Spanish, outside of Spain. In the earlier part of the 20th century, Colombia was known as the “Athens of South America,” because of its prestigious universities and the overall high level of education of its citizens. Several Colombians have achieved world wide
recognition in different fields. Of particular interest is the story of a young college student who in the late 1940s was forming his experiences about the political situation and in narrating them, he became a Nobel Prize winner in literature. Gabriel Garcia-Marquez, in his masterpiece, *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, attempted to bring the world closer to a Colombia that is mythical yet real, and sometimes so real that it appears surreal.

From a political point of view, Colombia is one of Latin America's oldest and probably most stable functioning democracy, governed by a civilian president, elected every 4 years, without the possibility of reelection. For the most part, presidential and congressional elections take place without major significant disruptions, with political power transferred to the incoming political party, usually without problems (Bureau of Western, 2004; Osterling, 1989; Dix, 1987).

**History of US/Colombian Relations**

The relationship between Colombia and the United States is longstanding and dates back to 1822, when the US president, James Monroe, became one of the first to recognize Colombia as a new republic (Bennet, 1915; Bureau of Western, 2004). It became stronger when on December 2, 1823, in Monroe’s message to Congress, he informed “the powers of the world that the American continents were no longer open to European colonization, and that any effort to extend European political influence into the New World would be considered by the United States as dangerous to their peace and safety” in what is today consider the “Monroe Doctrine” (United State Government Facts, 2005, p.2; Monroe Doctrine, 2005; Bennet, 1915).

This relationship collapsed in 1903, when the US provoked the small territory that is today known as the country of Panama, which was at that time part of Colombia, to revolt against Colombia. The US warships blockaded Colombia to prevent the country from putting down the revolution, therefore assisting Panama to break away from the motherland and declaring its
independence, with the sole purpose of obtaining the rights for the development of the Panama Canal. As a result, the Panama Canal Zone became part of the US ((United State Government Facts, 2005, p.2; Monroe Doctrine, 2005; Osterling, 1989; Bennet, 1915). This conflict put Colombia at the forefront of the first major military divergence between two countries in the western hemisphere.

The Colombian government backed down from its initial offensive reaction not only because it realized that the military power of the U.S. was unquestionable, but also because it became apparent that this had been a job undertaken by people high up within the Colombian government in an attempt to achieve some sort of monetary gain (Bennet, 1915). This episode, in many aspects, marked the beginning of the down-fall of economic power of not only Colombia but of South America as a whole, and it solidified the U.S. as the main economic supremacy due to the fact that it now controlled all the cargo and the trade routes to the Americas (Osterling, 1989; Bennet, 1915).

This single event changed the course of history and in the public opinion the U.S. became the “giant of the North,” who was not only willing, but also able, to do whatever it took to prove its supremacy. Though not an official US law, the Monroe Doctrine continues to have an effect on US perspectives and relationships with other nations regarding hemispheric intervention. The United States continued to have considerable power over Colombia during the 20th century, but a complete analysis is beyond the scope of this report.

**Colombia’s political situation and its relationship to the US**

Although a stable democracy, Colombia's political history has included periods of extensive violent conflict. After its independence from Spain, Simon Bolivar was elected first president of the Republic of the Greater Colombia, and Francisco de Paula Santander, vice president. The Liberal and the Conservative political parties were established due to conflicts
between the followers of the two leaders as a result of their political visions. Since then, democracy and violence appear to have gone hand-in-hand, until today.

Throughout its history, the violence in the country has originated due to different factors, but especially due to disagreements of the liberal and the conservative political parties, the rivalry between members of these parties, and the attempts to eliminate each other by seeking revenge. Other factors include unequal distribution of wealth and agricultural land, the lack of unreliable government institutions, and the political leaders’ ambition to impose their political views, despite the cost (Osterling, 1989).

During the 1970’s and 1980’s Colombia began facing a cruel and violent war brought about by the production and trafficking of marijuana and cocaine. During the 1970s Colombia became one of the most important centers of marihuana and cocaine processing, production and distribution. Although the coca leaves and the shrubs, from which both drugs are extracted, existed in Colombia for centuries, it was not until the 1970s that drug refiners and traffickers were responsible for great violence in the country (Sanchez, 2003; Osterling, 1989; Dix, 1987). When the local drug producers and traffickers began exporting the drugs, the Colombian “mafia”, as the drug traffickers became known, established themselves as one of the most brutal international organizations that did not hesitate to use whatever means they thought necessary to achieve control and increase its economic power (Sanchez, 2003; Osterling, 1989).

A “narco state” within Colombia soon was created, as intimidation through murder of both government officials and private citizens became the norm. During the early 1980’s another development occurred in the violence stricken country. The narco traffickers began a relationship with the guerrilla organizations, in which the guerrillas would protect the drug traffickers from the government in exchange for a percentage of the profits. Drug traffickers were then able to
build an empire (Sanchez, 2003; Osterling, 1989) and there seemed to be no one able to control them.

The violence in the country also increased due to the presence of anti-insurgent groups of paramilitaries who established themselves as a way to protest the injustices caused by the guerrillas and the drug dealers. These groups had grown at an alarming rate and had become more brutal than the guerrillas themselves, challenging them for control of territory, the government’s ability to maintain command of the rural areas, as well as control over the illicit drug industry. Violence continues to be used as a means to obtain power and control and as a way of protesting the government’s policies, especially extradition (The World Factor, 2004).

According to the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs (2004), there is no single explanation that can fully address the profound roots of Colombia’s present day problems. Some of the explanations include: “limited government presence in large areas of the interior, the expansion of illicit drug cultivation, endemic violence, and social inequalities” (p.4). As a way to confront these challenges in 1999 the past administration revealed a comprehensive strategy to deal with these problems called Plan Colombia. To assist in this endeavor, the United States pledged $1.3 billion in aid to Colombia (Backgrounds, 2004; Bureau of Western, 2004; Secretary of State, 2003; Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, 2001; United States Institute of Peace Library, 1999).

Colombia’s present president, Alvaro Uribe, took office on August 7, 2002. On the 2003, Report to Congress on United States Policy towards Colombia and other Related Issues, the Secretary of State indicates that US policy towards Colombia supports the Colombian government’s efforts, as stated in the president’s strategic plan called Democratic Security and Defense Policy, which fits within the overall social, economic, and political goals of Plan Colombia. This plan includes “strengthening its democratic institutions, promoting respect for
human rights and the rule of law, intensifying counter-narcotics efforts, fostering socio-economic development, addressing immediate humanitarian needs, and ending the threats to democracy posed by narcotics trafficking and terrorism” (p. 4).

Colombia has maintained a close compliance record in order to receive the financial assistance to continue implementing Plan Colombia. This compliance included the extradition of the first Colombian in 1997, almost ten years after the last extradition, of a drug trafficker, to stand trial for offenses committed in the US. 146 persons have been extradited to the US from August 1998 to October 2003, mostly for drug related charges. Also, as part of the narcotic control program, Colombia is involved in aerial spraying of herbicide and manual eradication as part of a commitment to eradicate illicit drugs, interdiction of drug cargos and prevention of money laundering; the financial support from the United States continues (Backgrounds, 2004; Bureau of Western, 2004; Secretary of State, 2003; Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, 2001; United States Institute of Peace Library, 1999).

Presently, there is disagreement as to whether Plan Colombia and the US intervention in Colombia are indeed benefiting the people of Colombia. Although the guerrilla activity is not as strong in the cities, they continue to take land away from the people in the countryside causing massive internal displacement. Furthermore, the allegations of violation of human rights continue to rise. According to the United Nations, Colombia has become the biggest humanitarian calamity of the Western Hemisphere (Canby, 2004). Despite the many problems, the Colombian government is trying to reform the nation’s political and legal system and include its citizens in the process.

**Colombia and the United States: a Silent Connection?**

The relationship between Colombia and the United States appears to be based primarily on the drug trafficking crisis that has affected Colombia since the 70s, and the US government’s
willingness to assist the Colombian government in eradicating this problem. But this aspect alone
goes beyond simple financial assistance, since it is a fact that 90% of the cocaine entering the US
comes from Colombia and that this country is also a considerable source of heroin. Therefore,
Colombia’s drug problem has extended to the United States and has permeated the mainstream
society to the point that there were 50,000 drug-related deaths in the United States in the year
2000 and the US’s economy lost $160 billion during the same year due to illicit drugs (Secretary
of State, 2003).

Furthermore, United States has been impacted by the violence in Colombia, given that
Colombia’s terrorist groups have kidnapped 51 North American citizens since 1992, and have
killed 10 (US Department of State, 2003). The drug phenomena, the violence in Colombia and its
repercussions in the American society, as well as the US government role in Colombia, is also
beyond the scope of this study, but it is indeed a topic of importance in understanding the silent
connection between these two countries.

The fact that Colombia has been neglected by scholars in the USA and that the country is
mention primarily when discussing the negative effects of the drug traffic (Dix, 1987), may
indicate that there is a narrow relationship between the two countries. Contrary to this notion,
there are many other reasons that connect them. For example, there were approximately 50,000
US citizens living in Colombia in 2002 and there are about 250 North American businesses
operating in Colombia since Colombia is a free market with major commercial and investment
ties to the United States (foreign investment has increased mainly due to the oil sector) (US
Department of State, 2003).

Additionally, many Colombians have achieved worldwide recognition in different areas,
and a major part of their careers and accomplishments have taken place in the United States. In
the internalization of Colombian music, Shakira, Carlos Vives, and Juanes have been awarded
Grammies on numerous occasions. Colombian musical groups are also known for their interpretation of tropical rhythms of “cumbia”, “salsa” and “merengue” in the numerous night clubs all over the US. In soccer, several players have made history playing not only for the Colombian national team, but also for the North American league, the most famous of them being Carlos Valderrama. In Formula 1, Juan Pablo Montoya, has received various trophies and ranks among the best in the world. In baseball, Edgar Rentaría is considered a star. In literature and art, both Gabriel Garcia Marquez and Fernando Botero have had their works displayed in several cities. While their names have become known among the Latin community in the US, and in each specific field, the name of their country has not remained outstanding in the mind of North Americans.

Another almost unspoken connection between the two countries is the immigration trend of Colombians to the USA. Although Colombians have been migrating to the US since the early 20th century, and the first wave of Colombian immigrants began to arrive around 1945, there are limited history books and references available concerning the Colombian immigrant. According to Guarnizo, Sanchez, & Roach (1999), "While Colombians constitute an important wave of immigrants; nonetheless they are an understudied ethnic group" (p.367).

The fact that they are an understudied group and that the name of the country is not outstanding in the minds of North Americans, may lead to the speculation that Colombians, as a minority, have selected to be silent. In exploring this notion, many factors need to be taken into account. On the one hand, it may be necessary to understand the essence of Colombians’ identity, the fact that in many cases Colombians see themselves as being different and in a lot of ways “superior” from most other groups of immigrants from South America and Latin America as a whole, the historical background of the country, as well as the present situation of the nation.
Most Colombians are described as fearless, entrepreneurs and risk takers. A consequence of this trait is that Colombians are dispersed throughout the US. “Colombians’ identity is tied to the extended family, close friends and associates, socioeconomic class and region of Colombia” (Collier and Gamarra, 2001, p.13). Their sense of superiority many times contributes to Colombians not being willing to be “followers” outside their work place, therefore attempts to establish a strong Colombian community across the United States have been unsuccessful.

Colombians desire to succeed as individuals is not necessary tied to their desire to succeed as a Colombian individual. They strive to be the best in their field, whatever it may be, but not necessarily the best Colombian in their field. Another factor that strongly contributes to the Colombian immigrant maintaining a low profile as a Colombian national in the United States is the traumatizing stigmatization that Colombians suffer as a result of the drug problem. For those not involved, it is humiliating and devastating to have to deal with the stigma. To those involved, more than dealing with how society views them, their fear of being killed has an effect not only on the person involved in the situation, but more so, on the relatives, especially the ones that remain in Colombia. As it can be seen in the movie Maria Full of Grace, once Maria crossed the line and became a “mula” (transported of cocaine), her whole family who lived in Colombia was in danger if she did not delivered the drugs in the US. Although the drug traffic from Colombia is not the focus of this study, the connection between both Colombia and the USA impacts citizens in both countries that have been affected by this crisis.

The connections between Colombia and the US are many, and the reasons why little is said about the relationship between these two countries may well stem from a vast array of possibilities. The list of speculations could be very extensive, but the reality of the Colombian immigrant in the USA forces us to look beyond speculations in order to understand their impact.
in the American society. The following session will provide an overview of the reasons for this emigration, the immigration patterns established by Colombians and how Colombians have been received in the United States.

**Colombians Emigration Patterns: Reasons for Leaving**

There are many and very varied reasons for Colombians to leave their country besides the political instability, the violence and the drug traffic. Colombians have a history of migrating. According to Sanchez (2003), during the 1930’s there were 1,233 permanent Colombian residents in the US, and by the 1940’s this number had reached 3,858. The nomadic spirit of the Colombian individual and the prevalent feeling of Colombians that the government was not looking out for their best interest lured them to search for a better way of life for them and their families. One of the themes most prevalent in the Colombian experience is that of family ties, the Colombian individual comes from a social system in which family supersedes everything. This overzealous devotion to family brings to the forefront the Colombian lack of social responsibility and social acumen, and the endless search for a better life for the family as a whole, disregarding the best interest of the nation (Collier and Gamarra, 2001).

Furthermore, the Colombian national personal relationship with his own sense of adventure, his own need or lack thereof, and, the country’s failing model of economic development were “push” factors that made migration a desired option. The U.S. with its economic prosperity after war world II, its well structured social norms and its perceived peace and tranquility became a “pull” for the Colombian national.

**Colombian Immigration to the USA**

Overall, the Colombian government estimates that 10%, close to 5 million Colombians presently reside outside of Colombia. According to the 2000 US Census, there are approximately
500,000 documented Colombian born immigrants residing in the USA, but the Colombian government estimates this number to be about 1 ½ million, between the documented and the undocumented. Colombians can be found all over the United States.

Colombians have established themselves primarily in Florida, New York, New Jersey, California, Texas, Massachusetts and Chicago, Illinois, but Colombian colonies can be found in small cities, as well as large cities, in every state of the United States. Although little attention has been given to some of these groups, they have settled and have become part of the mainstream society.

An example of this is the Colombian “colony” in a small town close to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, composed primarily of middle to upper-middle class Caucasians and a large Amish community. Although isolated from the Latino world, several families established themselves there around 1974 because the textile factories were offering good paying jobs and a chance to obtain legal residency. This group of immigrants was well received, its members had the opportunity to continue their education, improve their economic situation, and bring their families from Colombia; in other words, pursue the American dream.

While there is a consensus in the literature available about the immigration patterns of Colombians to the USA unfolding in three waves, there is somewhat of a discrepancy regarding the exact periods and there is limited information as to the reasons that led to these patterns. Collier and Gamarra (2001), and the statistics available at Conexion Colombia, the Web site promoted by the Colombian government, list the periods to be from 1950 until the end of the 1970’s; late 1970’s until mid 1990’s and mid 1990’s until the present.

This investigation is organized using the three time periods of Colombian migration constructed by Sanchez (2003), in his thesis "Colombian Immigration to Queens, New York: The Transnational Re-imagining of Urban Political Space": 1945-1964; 1965-1989; and 1990-2000,
for purpose of this study, this period will be extended to the present, due to the fact that he links the time frames to the internal conditions that surrounded the Colombian migration, as well as with the United States’ immigration policies and the overall receiving context.

**Colombian Migration during 1945-1964: First Wave**

By the mid 1940’s Colombia’s political panorama was already delineated by the two political parties, the conservative and the liberal. Up to this time in the history of the nation the conservative party which had been controlled by the upper class, had ruled the people. But the country was beginning to awaken from the hold of the feudalist and the liberal party’s social and political views were beginning to gain force.

On April 9th 1949, the hope of the people was lost, when their leader, Jorge Eliecer Gaitan, was assassinated in Bogotá, giving birth to the period known in Colombia as “La Violencia”. Due to this civil war against those that had oppressed them and had benefited from an unfair economic system, the political violence was growing at an alarming rate and the “internal political instability was an important factor in facilitating out-migration” (Sanchez, 2003. p.57).

During this period, the Colombians who left were mainly urban-based professionals, well-trained technicians and service workers (Collier and Gamarra, 2001). Also, many of them were veterans of the Korean War who chose to repatriate to the U.S. after being granted resident status for having fought for the U.S. (Sanchez, 2003), and did not want to return to a nation in the midst of a civil war.

**Colombian Migration between 1965 and 1987: Second Wave**

The years between 1965 and 1987 were marked by changes in the immigration laws in the US and the deteriorating situation in Colombia, both politically, and economically. During these years Colombia was experiencing growing levels of internal political violence in the countryside, brought about by the civil unrest and the declaration of war from insurgent fronts becoming more
and more prevalent in the Colombian society. The weak political and economic state in the country was complicated by the fact that Colombia became a major exporter of marijuana, as well as a cocaine processor and distributor, during the 1970’s and the 1980’s (Dix, 1987; Osterling, 1989; Sanchez, 2003).

The drug traffic impacted the economy dramatically, distorted the economic system, and accelerated the levels of social decomposition, criminality, public and private corruption and general insecurity. Due to the high rate of unemployment and the informality of the labor market, drug trafficking became an alternative source of employment, and it also created a climate of national pessimism (Sanchez, 2003; Osterling, 1989).

During this period Colombia saw the emergent drug cartels from Medellin and Cali, violent responses to the idea of extradition of Colombians to the US, and the overwhelming number of assassinations of politicians, journalist, lawyers and judges. This condition created great discontent and gave space for the armed insurgent groups to surface as significant military and political actors (Sanchez, 2003; Pearce 1990; Osterling, 1989).

These internal conflicts brought about the exodus of young adults migrating to the USA that were later on joined by their families" (Collier and Gamarra, 2001). This new wave of Colombian immigrants, while not as highly educated as their counterpart from the first wave, also found favor in the eyes of their employers because of the generalized perception among employers that Colombians were highly qualified and disciplined workers, this in turn, facilitated their upward mobility in the work place (Sanchez, 2003).

"The Immigration Act of 1965" allowed every country a quota of 20,000 new immigrants to the U.S. per year (Collier and Gamarra, 2001). This act also had the added incentive of family unification as a secondary goal. The injection of new labor hands to the ever-growing need of the work force was the primary goal of said act. The passage of this Act made it possible for the
relatives of many Colombians to immigrate, therefore creating a great influx of Colombians and other Latin Americans as well. Colombian migration to the United States increased considerably between 1964 and 1989. Sanchez indicates that during the 1950’s, 18,048 Colombians legally entered the United States, but by the end of the 1960’s the number of documented Colombians had arrived at 72,028. Although the 1970s only registered 77,347, by the end of the 1980s the total number had reached 122,849 (Sanchez, 2003).

**Colombian Migration from 1990 to the present: Third Wave**

The 1990s saw an immense arrival of Colombians to the US, due to the co-national contacts available to the Colombian in the US, the intensification of the military and political crisis in the country and the growth of formal and informal labor markets. The level of fictitious inflation experienced was at an all time high; the real problem was the fact that this inflation was being driven by drug traffickers who had no regard nor respect for societal norms, rules, and regulations.

The social unrest in Colombia had reached alarming proportions both, in the political front and the drug trafficking phenomena had reached its zenith. The well-known saga of the Colombian drug crisis, the destruction of the Colombian economy, the disruption of the Colombian way of life, the way the Colombian population lived in fear of being the next person on the list to die, the subornation of the political system by the “narcos”, the violence against the authorities and all those who dared speak against them, etc. did its major damage in Colombia during these years.

The decade of the 1990s was marked not only by the rising of the internal/external political crisis, but also by an alarming linkage between drug traffickers and the guerrilla groups, especially the FARC. The violent and overpowering control this union had, forced the internal displacement of over two million Colombians and led to the migration of a high number of
middle and upper class individuals and families, especially to the U.S. The U.S. was their final
destination in most cases, not only because it was still the best place to migrate to in the world
but also because it was the number one destination for the majority of drugs coming out of
Colombia (Sanchez, 2003).

The drug trafficking became a very prosperous business for some Colombians in the
USA. For this reason, the new wave of Colombian immigrants who were not involved in the drug
trafficking business, found the American experience to be a great challenge, compared to what
their counterparts of the previous waves had enjoyed. Their arrival was received with a great deal
of skepticism, not only by the members of the established community, but also and perhaps more
damaging, by their own countrymen (Sanchez, 2003).

The high level of violence being experienced in the U.S. communities, known as the
major stronghold of the Colombian immigrants, made authorities in areas such as Miami, Florida,
and Queens, New York, adapt stringent measures to counter act these problems (Sanchez, 2003).
Most of these measures were discriminatory in nature because they tended to lump all members
of that ethnic group as guilty by association or by virtue of having been born in that country.

Glick-Schiller, Bash, and Szanton-Blac (1992), state that trans-nationalism addresses
how immigrants create and maintain multiple social relations that connect their societies of origin
and settlement, and many Colombians did not want to maintain any contact with Colombians
they did not know. They even feared the relationship with Colombians they knew but that
demonstrated nomadic characteristics. Jones-Correa states in his book titled The Marginalization
of the Latino Immigrant (1998), that the "characterization of the Colombian immigrants as drug
traffickers resulted in the deterioration of their way of life".

According to Sanchez and Gomez (2001), in 1999 alone 366,000 Colombians applied
for immigrant visas and this was only part of the story because undocumented migration is not
captured by official statistics. The exact number of Colombians in the US is difficult to accurately calculate, especially by the US Census. The fear of deportation of many undocumented immigrants led them to avoid the process of census enumeration.

Response to the Immigration Process

The Colombian immigrants’ primary support is usually established through the close knit circle of family members and countrymen, usually from the same region in their country. Colombians by in large adapt very well to the main stream society and are able to blend in the community, especially if they are white or light skin, which makes it easier for them to pass themselves as Caucasians.

In many parts of the USA, Colombians have been looked at as a group that has very marketable skills, are able to incorporate to the work force rather quickly and have very strong work ethics. Although there is no specific information of services received, it is estimated that Colombian families as a whole are unknown in the annals of Social Services agencies.

US Acceptance of the Colombian Immigrant:

Immigration to the U.S. for the first wave and the early part of the second wave was well received because of the enormous capacity of the economy to assimilate newcomers to the work force (Collier and Gamarra, 2001). This was a period of massive expansion and extreme economic well-being for the US. However, the readiness of the U.S. to accept the new waves of immigrants from Colombia has varied according to the need of the U.S. for the skills that those immigrants possessed at that specific time. Furthermore, the acceptance of the Colombian immigrant has depended to a great deal on the city they have arrived to, the economic situation at the time of arrival and the readiness for the receiving city to welcome Hispanic immigrants in general.
Colombian immigrants of the first wave enjoyed a very positive experience due to their educational level and their social sophistication. The immigrants from the first half of the second wave enjoyed the reputation of the immigrants from the first wave and were able to take advantage of their superior skill levels in order to blend quietly into the American society.

In contrast, the immigrant from the second half of the second wave found themselves being stigmatized by the new problem confronting the American society at that time, the drug crisis. For many Colombians this stigma became a big issue and in many cases it became the cornerstone of the Colombians increased reservation and hesitation to socially interact with others, especially with co-nationals that they did not know. The new wave of immigrants faces specific problems. The great numbers of third wave immigrants are professionals who are finding difficulties in obtaining licenses and work permits to continue their professional careers, despite the city where they arrived, their situation is precarious due to their undocumented status.

Conclusions

Although little has been said about Colombia and Colombians in the US, there is evidence that the relationship between these two countries is not subtle. The increasing numbers of Colombians in the US are creating economic, social and political impacts and are raising very important policy issues at all levels of the US government. The US government and the American society as a whole can not continue minimizing the connection that has existed between the two countries since Colombia’s independence, therefore, there are several implications for Human Services and the US government related to Colombian immigrants.

There is a great need to educate individuals, communities, and society as a whole about the field of drugs. The drug phenomenon needs to be addressed as a global problem and not only the problem of Colombians or a problem of Colombians settling in the USA. The impact that the drug problem has caused in the American society needs to be given special attention, both, from
the mental health perspective, as well as from the policy perspective since the government’s
effort to reduce drug consumption in the US has not been successful and there is no evidence that
the drug production in Colombia has been eradicated.

Furthermore, the fact that a particular drug is produced in a country, does not make all
citizens of that country drug dealers or drug traffickers, in as so much as being from Iraq, makes
all Iraqis terrorist. Therefore, it is important to educate the North American society about
Colombians while assisting Colombian immigrants understand and process the feelings created
by the national identity crisis created by their characterization as drug traffickers and trouble
makers. The reestablishing of their national identity will aid in their desire to openly become
contributing immigrants in the USA.

An analysis of US immigration policies also needs to take place in relation to
Colombians. Despite the fact that the US has a great interest in providing financial and military
assistance to Colombia due to the drug crisis, the US government denial to provide Temporary
Protective Status (TPS), or to grant Political Asylum to many Colombians who fear persecution,
could be seen as a form of institutional discrimination.

Although initially Colombians remained silent, today with the outset of the new
political climate in Colombia, with renewed faith in their government officials and with a better
understanding of the American culture, Colombian immigrants are vowing to be at the forefront

There is growing evidence that Colombians are looking for ways, not only to improve
their economic and legal status in the US, but in the process, become active in the community,
share their traditions and culture, participate in the political process, and achieve social and
economical benefits for Colombians, both in the U.S. and in their native country. Also,
Colombians all over the world have begun to develop ways to maintain communication through the rapid spread of technology.
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“When Silence, Outbursts, and Disclosures Matter”: A Qualitative Approach to Examining Emotional Expressiveness and Marital Satisfaction

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“When Silence, Outbursts, and Disclosures Matter”: A Qualitative Approach to Examining Emotional Expressiveness in Marital Satisfaction

ABSTRACT

This “work-in-progress” study builds upon previous research quantitatively conducted by this author published in the area of emotional expressiveness and marital satisfaction. This research reflects another approach to examining emotional expressiveness in marriage through the gathering of qualitative interviews and analyses. At this writing, 21 couples have been interviewed and audio-taped in the privacy of their own homes. The couples were asked a series of open-ended questions pertaining to how they expressed their emotions and how these behaviors impacted their levels of satisfaction. The specific focus of this presentation addresses the “active interview” process and how the resulting themes of silence, outbursts, and disclosures were meaningful to the study.
“From Cucumbers to Pickles”: Reflections on Life Changing Events from Adolescents’ Points of View

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ABSTRACT

Using a critical incident methodology approach 329 college aged students, over a period of three years, reflected in their own words on nodal events in their lives when their families of origin were able to “come together” and not able to “come together.” Participants in the study shared poignant examples of how these events fostered communication changes in their families and altered their identities during these times. A thematic analysis was conducted that outlined general categories and frequency of events that significantly impacted their lives during the period of adolescence.

Introduction

We, as human beings, construct our identities in multiple ways over multiple years. Perhaps, the most pivotal years in development occur before we leave our family of origin, when we transition away from our families at approximately 18 years of age. There is a preponderance of literature that attests to the many influential events and stressors that create challenging paths for children and adolescents (Mliam, Ritt-Olsen & Unger, 2004; Joseph, Williams, & Yule, 1993; Aldwin & Sutton, 1998; Erikson, 1968). During the time that individuals experience with their families growing up, there are undoubtedly certain events, and people, that impact them more than others—situational and relational changes that further shape our individual and collective identities forever. Events that are irreversible; experiences that, for better or worse, alter our personal paradigms. Although researchers have typically studied negative
outcomes of nodal events, there is hopefulness that evidence exists toward positive change occurring after the negative nodal events. Often labeled as stress related growth, (Park, Cohen, & Murch, 1996) changes occur such as heightened appreciation of life, marking new priorities, and improvements in family relationships.

This study further investigates the identification of nodal events, the impact of these nodal events on families, and will ultimately, describe the associating communication the families’ practices surrounding these events. Metaphorically speaking in this research study, this “change” is likened to a cucumber and pickle, in that, once a cucumber becomes a pickle, there is no chance of the pickle returning to its original state of being a cucumber. The effects of change alter the purity or natural state of the “cucumber;” hence there is no way of turning back to a purist state.

Method

In an effort to discern which events are more likely to evoke “pickle-like” changes in adolescents, this research study employed the critical incident methodology approach to *329 college-aged students, over a period of three years. Using a snowball sample originating from undergraduate students in a family communication course, each student was asked to identify a nodal event that helped their family come together and a nodal event where their family was unable to come together. Along with identifying two nodal events, each student was asked to identify communication behaviors that accompanied each event. Various demographics were asked of the subjects such as gender, current age, and their age at the time of the positive and negative nodal events. The subjects were given a questionnaire outlining the two questions and were asked to write down their responses on the questionnaire. Each student filled out a form, in confidentially, and recruited several other participants as well for the study. After collecting the data, and
performing open, axial, and vivo coding procedures, several interesting findings occurred. The citings of nodal events were then turned into frequency counts amongst the defined categories/themes. Although the study is a work-in-progress, the following paragraphs reflect what has been discovered, generally, thus far:

Results

The results of the study highlighted similar findings of other investigations. Specifically, in this study, subject subjects identified 40- non duplicated nodal events on their questionnaires. The individual categories were:

Grandparents’ illness/hospitalization/injury
Grandparents; death
Parent/sibling illness/hospitalization/injury
Parent/sibling death
Parents’ divorce
Parents’ separation
Family member death
Family member illness/hospitalization/injury
Substance abuse- parental/family member/sibling
Substance abuse- self
Family friend death
Relocation
Unemployment
Special Events-graduation, wedding, funeral etc.
Law breaking-parent/family member/sibling
Law breaking-self
Accidents-car, freak, etc.
Suicide-Family member
Suicide-Family friend
Finance Related-college tuition, work, will, inheritance
Pregnancy-sibling/family member
Pregnancy-self
Family Vacation
Pet Problems
Blended Family Issues
School Choices- high school or college
Parents’ Infidelity
Single Parent
Family Morals/standards/religion
Wrong boyfriend/girlfriend/sex
Holiday Gatherings
Seemingly Trivial
Armed Forces/ Deployment
Unresolved conflicts
None (subjects could not identify an event or time when the family did not come together or did come together)
Family Member’s Divorce
Self-illness/hospitalization/injury
Wrong boyfriend/girlfriend/sex- Family member

Domestic Violence/abuse/incest

Family Member Re-marriage

All but five of these categories fell into both categories of either positive or negative nodal events. The exceptions were “Parent Infidelity,” “Wrong choice of dating partner,” “Surprise discovery of sex activity”, “Domestic Violence/Incest,” and “Unresolved Conflict” were standing alone in the negative category.

The majority of those who specified the category of “wrong boyfriend/girlfriend” as negative were female.

Many aspects around educational choice, i.e. high school or college preference, caused many problems for the subjects (especially when it was considered the wrong choice) including economic conflicts and divorce.

Substance abuse was cited in both areas of positive and negative nodal events by the subjects. The positive side revolved predominately around the recovery and total family involvement in the rehabilitation. However, it was more often cited as a negative event that pulled family members apart.

Only two subjects claimed that their families could never come together; in contrast, 32 subjects claimed they could not remember a time when their families could not come together.
Following axial coding, the above-named 40 categories were condensed into eleven new categorical themes:

Health Issues (self of other) - illness, hospitalization, death
Unplanned Events (self or other) - broke arms, car, pregnancies etc.
Separation/ Divorce/ Parents’ Infidelity
Relocation/Employment/Military
Family Rituals/Specials Events: weddings, funeral, graduations, vacations, holidays
Substance Abuse/ Law breaking (self or other)
Domestic Violence/ abuse/incest/unresolved conflicts
Educational Issues - college, grades, school choice
Suicide
Moral/Religious Issues
None

Discussion

The four categories of events that were most often cited as nodal events during their childhood/teen years were: grandparents’ death, parents divorce, parent/sibling injury/hospitalization, and self injury. These four main categories parallel previous research that identified life stressors including the loss of a loved one (Yalom & Lieberman, 1991) and cancer related illness (Charles, Sellick, Montesanto, & Mohide, 1996). It appeared that the majority of the responses reflected incidents subjects had experienced within the past 5 years, i.e. grandparents death, problem pregnancy, divorce, or major illness. The exception is that several referred to relocation, unemployment, or
parents’ divorce when they were adolescents, generally around the ages of 11-12, which reflected a timeframe history of over 10 years.

Nearly fifty percent of the subjects identified a crisis of a negative nature, i.e. injury, illness or death, as their nodal event that resulted in their families’ ability to come together. Specifically-mentioned processes that helped create the positive climate were supportive/open communication, disclosure, and honesty. As predicted from earlier research (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1996), in this study there were many positive changes that emerged from negative nodal events. Overall, the participants’ responses were encouraging to this researcher in that many of the negative nodal events were followed by family cohesion and growth, reflecting earlier research of family growth, resiliency and overcoming the grief (Oltjenbruns, 1991; Greeff & Human, 2004; Schoktraylor, Hayslip, Kaminisky, & York, 2003).

Typically, the written answers and explanations around communication behaviors that accompanied these events were scant in nature, definitely a limitation of this study; however, of those subjects who did respond and elaborate on this question, the one thing that was alarming was the devastating impact that the negative nodal events had on the family communication.

Although some cited nodal events that left gaps and glitches in family communication for many years, others cited nodal events that severed all communication between family members both immediate and extended. Specific ‘hard edge’ nodal events cited were arguments over grandparents’ wills and estates, divorces, unresolved conflicts, and domestic violence/abuse/incest occurrences which resulted in “no talking”. The severity of these communication blockages definitely needs more probing and further research, specifically one-on-one taped interviews.
In view of these findings, this study has broad theoretical scope in a sense that the results provide a framework for further examining the paradigm of punctuated equilibrium (Eldredge & Gould, 1972). In this paradigm, typically applied to organizations and work teams, the system is analyzed according to “an alternation of stasis and sudden appearance-long periods of inertia, punctuated by concentrated revolutionary periods of quantum change” (Gersick, 1988, p.62). This concept of punctuated equilibrium could be further applied in the next phase of this research, utilizing narrative data gathered in the qualitative interviews. Participants’ responses could be examined within this theoretical framework to determine specifically how families managed to attain and maintain, through communication practices, their equilibrium following nodal events.

In conclusion, this preliminary report provides insight as to which events are nodal and impactful during adolescence, as perceived by college-aged subjects. Further analysis of this data will include statistical comparisons on gender reporting of nodal events, specific frequency counts, and narrative accounts that support each of the noted eleven themes. It is this author’s opinion that information regarding life-changing events in one’s family of origin and how communication patterns are ultimately affected by these events is worthy of continuing investigation.

References


A Qualitative Analysis of Single Parent Family Literature: A Paradox of Alternatives

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ABSTRACT

A Qualitative Analysis of Single Parent Family Literature: A Paradox of Illusions

This paper is a qualitative analysis of scholarly peer-reviewed literature on single parent families published during 1993-2004. It examines targeted publications from numerous library databases spanning such disciplines as communication, sociology, marriage and the family, psychology, economics, criminology, and health. Three specific research questions include: 1) What major aspects of single parent families have been scholarly investigated within the past 12 years?; 2) What is the overall portrayal of the single parent family in this published literature?; and 3) What are the implications of these findings for family communication scholarship?

The extensive library search yielded a total of 588 non-duplicated entries. Performing a content analysis resulted in seven overall categories with associated themes: Structure and Roles; Demographics; Economics; Adjustment; Assessment; Risk; and Nutrition and Health. Following the analysis of the literature, a discussion occurs on the paradox of illusions embedded in the current literature- alternatives, truth and change, and its implications for family communication researchers.
A Qualitative Analysis of Single Parent Family Literature: A Paradox of Illusions

It is a well-known fact that single parent families are a prevalent family form in contemporary society. According to the U.S. Census Bureau’s report entitled “America’s Families and Living Arrangements: March 2000,” more than 20 out of 72 million children or 28%, now live in single-parent households. This statistic has increased since 1990 with 25% being single parent households; and, since 1980, with 18% being single parent households. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

Children's living arrangements

![Pie chart showing 72% in single-parent households and 28% with both parents or other.]

U.S. Census Bureau, 2000.

Although the prevalence of single parent families has long been recognized, the knowledge base of the intricate workings and dynamics keenly relevant to this family form may not be as well understood. Unless there has been direct involvement with a single parent family via living arrangements or intimate association, one’s epistemological beliefs --- or the way one comes to know the world of single parent families (Smith, 1988) are, most likely, derived through the acquisition and synthesis of published works.

Although substantive research on single parent families exists, we, as family communication
scholars, believe it is imperative to investigate the published studies, collectively, and consider how these findings may impact single parent family identification. The reality that these families have been examined by researchers in numerous fields advances claim that this family form is far from invisible and has accrued status toward investigative credibility. Additionally, one could contend that these publications serve to affirm the single parent family, pronouncing its value and place in contemporary society; however, after careful review, much of the literature on single parent families may be construed as counter-arguments to this idealistic and hopeful image. Published titles such as “The Effects of Recent Parental Divorce on Their Children’s Consumption of Marijuana and Cocaine” (Jeynes et al, 2001) and “Family Experience in Pre-Adolescence and the Development of Male Delinquency,” (Coughlin, et al, 1999) hint that much of the literature highlights the many adversities intrinsic to this family form.

According to the activist voice of Paterson, author of “Unbroken Homes: Single Parent Mothers Tell Their Stories,” (2000) single parent families are wrongfully stereotyped as one generic class of people who are unfairly stigmatized by the research. She writes,

“Much damage has been done by sloppy, value-laden or poorly applied research using demographic data... Single parents, particularly single-mother headed homes are often the target of oppressive reports on “deviance factors” by those who use aggregate data. Readers of studies that quote census data need to be reminded that large numbers of people and statistical measures of central tendency do not provide an accurate picture of any single individual member who is counted in those data.” p.2)
In an effort to better understand how single parent families have been depicted in scholarly literature and how this may impact single parent family identification, this project uses thematic analysis to summarize existing literature, followed by a discussion on resulting paradoxical issues, and implications for family communication scholars. Specifically, the research questions are:

RQ 1: What major aspects of single parent families have been scholarly investigated within the past 12 years?

RQ 2: What is the overall portrayal of the single parent family in this published literature?

RQ 3: What are the implications of these findings for family communication scholarship?

METHOD

The methodology selected for this project was called “analytic description,” which refers to the “identification of recurrent patterns or themes and attempting to construct a cohesive representation of the data (Warren & Karner, 2005, p.190). The identified themes are then related to theoretical, conceptual, or applied concerns within the data, yielding interpretations as to what the messages or words within the documents convey. Th analytic description process is closely aligned with thematic analysis -- one of the five types of units studied within content analysis (Krippendorf, 1980) where “topics contained within messages” are examined (Frey et al, 2000, p.241) While analytic description has been used to study many disciplines, primarily sociology, its qualitative orientation presents an ideal framework for studying the ever-changing characteristics and dynamics of families. Given that the single parent family system is in a state of flux and often presented as a family in transition,
it is incumbent upon researchers to periodically complement the findings published in individual studies by analyzing the full spectrum of those findings of studies over time. Therefore, a synthesized analytic description can be an incisive tool for studying family systems as it is able to capture the total research landscape, while simultaneously, identifying dense pockets of information and significant voids within the research. Although, analytic description, like other qualitative methodologies, is limited to reporting the “here-and now” and does not speculate on causation (Warren & Karner, 2005), this does not preclude the innovative application of the findings this approach may yield. Its strength and credibility, combined with its allowance for qualitative flexibility, makes it an excellent choice for studying families.

After framing the research questions, this project examined the titles, abstracts, and contents of articles about single parent families published in scholarly peer-reviewed journals during the years of 1993-2004. The literature was searched using the key words “single parent families” in the following electronic databases: Ebsco Host; Academic Search Premier; Sociological Abstracts; OVID; and the Expanded Academic Index. The CD ROM CommSearch and copies of Communication Abstracts (targeted communication references) were also consulted. The resources covered many disciplines including communication, sociology, marriage and the family, sociology, psychology, economics, criminology, and health. The reference sections of all entries were scrutinized for related citations and cross-checked for duplications. In total, 588 journal publications were discovered. A complete listing of all titles is found in the reference section of this paper. Following a thorough reading and review of each article’s title, abstract, and contents, both open and axial coding procedures were conducted (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The data was marked and labeled, resulting in seven overall categories and associated
themes within each category.

RESULTS:

A systematic review of the titles, abstracts resulted in the naming of seven overall themes: 1) Structure and Roles; 2) Demographics; 3) Economics; 4) Adjustment; 5) Assessment; 6) Risk; and 7) Nutrition and Health.

In the first category of structure and roles, 73 entries addressed various components of the single parents’ family configuration and associated tasks of its members. Various subcategories...
encompassed specific information on military single parent families; time, power, and control issues; family uniformity; parental role involvement; gender issues; sibling relationships; daughter relationships. Selected titles included: “Trends in Single Parenting in the US Army” (Schumm et al, 1996); “The Effects of Family Characteristics and Time Use on Teenagers’ Household Labor” (Gager et al, 1999); and “Changes in Women’s Roles: Impact on Social Policy Implications for the Mental Health of Women and Children” (Aube et al, 2000).

The second category featured articles centered on demographics with 103 journal entries. Such topics as cohabitation and paternity issues were addressed, as well as specific articles about minority groups, migrant working families, and single parent families in Pakistan, Spain, and Portugal. Selected titles included: “Bastard Boom: One third of babies born to unwed” (Flynn, 2001); “Factors Affecting the Relation Between Parental Education as Well as Occupation and Problem Behavior in Dutch 5 to 6 yr. Old Children” (Kalff, 2001); and “Reading and Writing Ability and Dropout in the Swedish Upper Secondary School” (Fischerbein, 2000).

The third category was economics with 103 journal entries. The majority of these articles addressed poverty and welfare concerns in single parent families including social policy and employment-related issues. Selected titles included: “The Role of the Economy and Welfare Policies in Shaping Welfare Caseloads: The California Experience” (Albert, 2000); “Expenditures on Children by Families, 1997” (Lino, 1998); and “The Dissolution of Joint Living Arrangements Among Single Parents and Children: Does Welfare Make a Difference?” (Brandon, 2001).

The fourth category addressed adjustment issues within single parent families. A total of 82
journal entries focused on topics affecting the well-being of these families including social competence, mobility factors, external support systems (grandparents, foster parents, Big Brother, organizations, 4H, etc.), social networking, and self-help literature. Selected titles included: “Involvement of Single Parent Families and Stepfamilies in 4H” (Ganong, 1993); “Structural Boundaries of Single Parent Families and Children’s Adjustment” (Rosenberg, 2001); and “Family Relations, Parenting Practices, the Availability of Male Family Members, and the Single Parent” (Florsheim, 1998).

The fifth category was assessment yielding 105 articles. The literature in this category featured evaluative data in single parent families regarding such topics as sibling behavior outcomes, children’s achievements, lifestyle ratings, effects of change, effects of childhood family background on marital quality and perceived stability. Selected titles included: “Stability of Family Interaction from Ages 6-18” (Loeber, 2000); “When Children Have Two Fathers: Effects of Relationships with Stepfathers and Non-Custodial Fathers on Adolescent Outcomes” (White, 2001); and “Quality of Life and Well-Being of Single Parent Families” (Ihinger-Tallman, 1994).

The sixth category of single parent family research discussed risk with 93 journal articles. Topics such as substance abuse, sexual practices, criminal behavior, deviance, and other external influences were covered. Selected titles included: “Homeless Female-Headed Families: Relationships at Risk” (Steinboc, 1994); ‘Family Environment and Adolescent Sexual Debut in Alternative Household Structures” (Michael, 2001); and “The Effects of Single Mother Families and Non-Resident Fathers on Delinquency and Substance Abuse” (Thomas, 1996).

The seventh and final category of single parent research discussed issues surrounding nutrition
and health with 29 articles. Topics such as mortality, diets, food programs, special need populations, diabetes, and clinical problems were addressed in the context of single parent families. Selected titles included: “Adults with Intellectual Disability in Long Term Respite Care: A Qualitative Study” (Chan, 2001); “Resiliency in Single and Dual Parent Families with Special Needs Children” (McNurten, 1996) and “The Relationship between Asthma Severity, Family Functioning and Health Related Quality of Life of Children with Asthma” (Sawyer, 2000).

**DISCUSSION**

**To render intelligible** this review of single parent family literature and its seven categorical findings and themes, we turn to researchers who have drawn on the notion of “paradox” to explain contrasts in world views and human behavior, especially in the fields of psychology and mental health.

To quote Dr. Paul Watzlawick in his seminal work, *The Language of Change* (1978):

> “Paradox is the Achilles heel of our logical, analytical, rational world view. It is the point at which the seemingly all-embracing division of reality into pairs of opposites, especially into the Aristotelian dichotomy of true and false, breaks down and reveals itself as inadequate” (p.99).

To end the paradox, Watzlawick recommends taking a *both-and* perspective that addresses both the needs and difficulties surrounding the phenomenon, as well as the strengths and successes that may not, at first-glance, be apparent within the phenomenon.

Further, paradox is defined as “A seemingly contradictory statement that may nonetheless be true.” (American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 2000); and “paradox is made possible by
dissociating dissociations so that the apparent and the real become so interchangeable that one cannot be
discerned from the other (Foucault, 1977, p. 8.)

Imbedded in the notion of paradox is a synonymous term called “illusion of alternatives”– a
pattern based on a forced choice between two alternatives. First coined by Weakland and Jackson in
their early studies on schizophrenic family interaction (1958), this term refers to one’s actual choice being
illusory, as neither alternative is practically possible nor totally accurate. The person trapped in this
illusion is, therefore, “damned if he does and damned if he doesn’t” (Watzlawick, p. 109).

After a review of the literature on single parent families, we find compelling justification
for three paradoxical illusions surrounding alternatives, truth and change. The vast majority of
the published scholarly work on single parent families between the years 1993-2004 portrayed this
family form as being in a heightened state of jeopardy and vulnerability; the collective research
overwhelmingly presents single parent households as familial units that experience multiple challenges and
risks, almost insurmountable, that ranged from economics to mortality. The thematic analysis of the
research suggests two polarities: 1) that a single parent family is in a state of transition defined by much
turmoil; and 2) that the most viable way to become a more operative single parent family is to alter the
family form in such a way that it doesn’t exist. These findings are paradoxically entrenched as the
families’ needs and difficulties are presented; yet the strengths and successes of these families remain
obscure, if not illusive. Researchers may find themselves in an odd predicament: How can one acquire
complete knowledge about the single parent family from published research when the research does not
reflect the “both-and” aspects of inquiry? Using Watzlawick’s words, the researcher is, in essence,
“damned if he does and damned if he doesn’t.” In parallel, the information system citing the selected research has paradoxically disempowered this family form by raising our awareness of their difficulties and vulnerabilities, while silencing their strengths and successes. This is not to say that the majority of published articles on single parent families within the past twelve years is to be minimized or dismissed; quite the contrary as the published research provides rich insight into the complexity and fragility of single parent families. However, more scholarly research needs to be conducted and published to provide a more accurate and total picture of this family form including both its weaknesses and strengths, challenges and successes, and guidelines for empowering these diversified families.

A second paradoxical illusion is the notion of truth - - or what fiction or non-fiction is represented within the literature on single parent families. In Foss’s summarization of Foucault’s “governing rules of discourse,” the first category of rules centers on what is being talked about and how that topic governs objects of discourse. Within this category are “more rules that silence certain dimensions of experience simply by not recognizing them as objects of discourse.” (Foss, Foss & Trapp, 2002, p.348.) For example, while numerous publications on single parent families exist, few focus on the presumed oppositional truths that single parent families, just like other families, can at times be fully functioning, non-problematic, and/or empowering systems. As researchers, we question the exhaustive depiction evidenced in this meta-analysis and its perceptual accuracy of single parent families. How is one to know if this compilation of studies represents the primary issues faced by single parent families? Or, have these studies been published due to other quizzical factors such as statistical significance, subjects’ availability, supportive funding, special interest features, or editorial preferences? These provocative questions
coincide with Foucault’s second category of rules concerning who is allowed to speak and write in our environment. Such a rule plays a major role in determining who has dominant voice and who remains silent. While there is an assumed credibility in authorship within all juried publications, i.e. selective credentials and the blind-review process, nevertheless, in the spirit of Foucault, it is prudent to foster some suspicion around the emanation and display of the published “truths” which digitally portray the single parent family reality. Paradoxically, what is collectively printed about these families constitutes the truth as we know it; yet, what is not printed - the unreported and unavailable scripts, could account for more truth in single parent families that what is printed. Of course, this speculation can only be confirmed with additional research.

The third paradoxical illusion gleaned from this thematic analysis focuses on change. According to Watzlawick, “change occurs when certain perceptions or other experiences can no longer be integrated into a person’s world image (or even directly contradict it) and thus requires an at least partial change of the image” (p.128). Moreover, Foucault addresses the difficulty of implementing change when the dominant discourse is firmly in place:

“One cannot speak of anything at any time, it is not easy to say something new; It is not enough for us to open our eyes, to pay attention; or to be aware, for new objects suddenly to light up and emerge out of the ground.....It must not be attached to some obstacle whose power appears to be, exclusively, to blind, to hinder, to prevent discovery, to conceal the purity of the evidence or the obstinacy of the things themselves; the object does not await in limbo, the order that will free it and enable it to become embodied in a visible prolix objectivity; it does not pre-exist itself held back by some obstacle at the first edges of light.” (p. 832 in Brummett, 2000.)

As these philosophies on change are processed, we note that both Foucault and Watzlawick recognize the import that discourse has on the conception of change, as well as
its enactment. It appears that the challenge of change, or at least a “partial change of the image,” directly correlates to the intensity of the dominant voice. The “louder” the voice or discourse, the more difficult for change to occur. As discovered in the meta-analysis, the dominant voice within these collective articles reflects a general theme of adversity and turmoil within single parent families. Herein lies an interesting paradox: On the one hand, the image of the single parent family system appears amenable to change due to its inherent adaptability and adjustment expectations; while, on the other hand, change in this system appears impossible due to the dominant debilitating voice of the literature that represents it. These opposing tensions create an illusive “choice- making boundary” between change and non-change for the single parent family. Furthermore, the actual permeability of this boundary, or likelihood of perceptual change, may fluctuate depending on: 1) the person’s “world image” of the single parent family; 2) the person’s willingness to consider how that “world image” was constructed; and 3) the person’s cognizance of the degree of influence from the dominant voice of the single parent family literature. These sequential steps require deliberate and critical thought, which, unfortunately, may be overlooked by many persons “doing” or “studying” single parent families, thus thwarting opportunities for a changed image of this family form.

What implications then, does this single parent family thematic analysis, resulting in a paradoxical illusions of alternatives, truth, and change, have on family communication scholars? Perhaps a starting point would be to examine the thematic analysis from a
communication lens. When searching the databases combining key terms of “single parent families”, along with the term “communication”, only seven articles appeared. These articles were published in the following journals: Journal of Intellectual and Developmental Disability, Journal of Adolescent Research, Journal of Adolescence, Journal of Communication Inquiry, Qualitative Inquiry, Family Relations, and the Journal of Applied Communication Research, and Journal of Marriage and the Family. Also, when researching Communication Abstracts, only three articles on single parent families surfaced.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1993-2002, using keyword search of database</th>
<th>Single parent family</th>
<th>Communication</th>
<th>Those with both communication AND single parent family</th>
<th>Percentage of articles containing both key words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Academic Search Premier</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>26974</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.0221%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ovid</td>
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<td>46573</td>
<td>19</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>13658</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.1367%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is highly disconcerting that only a few studies on single parent families have been studied from a communication perspective and published in mainstream communication journals. It would appear that family communication scholars have much to offer this understudied topic. New or enhanced communication investigations within this family system could include such topics as dialectical management, hierarchical issues, rhetorical strategies, conflict management, dialogic sensitivities, power balances, etc.

As family communication scholar Dixson argues, it is necessary to examine single
parent families in ways that we look at other families; . . .

“look for strengths and weaknesses and there may even be some things about single parent families which are stronger than intact families...quite often children are more mature, they are more responsible and they have a closer relationship with their parent than do intact families” (2000, p. 333).

By examining the communication patterns of single parent families, we are in a unique position to investigate rich areas of study, publish our findings, and present a more complete, and potentially, more favorable image of this prevalent family form.

A limitation of this study was the associated challenge of defining key terms related to single parent families. We found the research to be scattered amongst other key terms such as divorce, blended families, unwed pregnancies, cohabitation, etc. Because of the many confounding influences associated with single parent families, we decided to simplify the search by confining the key term to single parent families. Another limitation associated with this thematic analysis was the availability of databases used. While we felt confident with the representation of the databases selected, our findings were limited to the information available on those particular venues. Additionally, we excluded unpublished theses, dissertations, books, and Internet web sites, all of which could have impacted the overall categorical findings.

In conclusion, should census trends remain consistent, it will only be a few years until one-third of all children live in single parent families (2000, Census Report). Given this prominence and need for image repair, a critical future direction calls for
more communication-based investigations of single parent families that could strengthen the overall image of this family in print and beyond. Along with Hale and Dillard (1991), we know that “meta-analytic studies are valuable sources for understanding the results acquired from numerous studies and for setting the agenda for what now needs to be done” (p.71). Perhaps an increase in scholarly inquiry and eventual publication will end the perpetuation of this paradox of illusions embedded in the current literature, and ultimately, yield a more balanced and representative body of knowledge on this diversified family form in the future.

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Poverty, Social Exclusion and Health in Portugal
Structural Boundaries of Single-Parent Families and Children's Adjustment
Helping Others? The Effects of Childhood Poverty and Family Instability of Prosocial Behavior
Slavery and the Black Family
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Oklahoma Southern Baptist Churches: A Descriptive Analysis of Family Strengths and Stressors
Relations among Single Mothers' Awareness of Their Adolescents' Stressors, Maternal Monitoring, Mother-Adolescent Communication, and Adolescent Adjustment
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Negative Factors of Childrearing in a Single-Parent Family
Caregiver Involvement in Children's Early Intervention Programs: Caregiver, Child, and Context Factors
The Effects of Recent Parental Divorce on Their Children's Consumption of Marijuana and Cocaine
Single Parent Families and Foster Care: An Analysis of Out-of-Home Care Experiences
One-Parent Families: Their Characteristics and Typology
The Effects of Recent Parental Divorce on Their Children's Sexual Attitudes and Behavior
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Problems and Strengths of Single-Parent Families: Implications for Practice and Policy
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Single-Parent Families in Spain
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In Defense of Single-Parent Families
A Longitudinal Analysis on the Effects of Remarriage following Divorce on the Academic Achievement of Adolescents
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What Is the Role of Family Structure and the Quality of the Parent-Child Relationship
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Lone Parenthood: Coping with Constraints and Making Opportunities in Single-Parent Families
Empire, or Cyborg governance: divining systemic power

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Empire, or Cyborg Governance: divining systemic power

Abstract

The web of post-modern power appears nomadic, elusive and always elsewhere. Like our online presences, it has no obvious boundaries and appears as spirit-like, a magic life haunting the net and the world. We cannot act upon it, and the traditional modes of protest, such as occupying the streets or a building, are no longer effective. Becoming cyborg means being controlled through this dispersed location of control. Responsibility is distributed while the impact of power focused. Power is seemingly emptied out of a place so that power can become total, as in Guantanamo Bay, where people are kept under U.S. restriction while outside the presence of that country’s laws. Government becomes liminal. “Liminal identities are neither here nor there, they are betwixt and between the positions assigned by law, custom and ceremonial” to quote Victor Turner. This liminality in the government and the corporation’s case, or in the systems case, allows it to govern strongly almost without resistance.

Antonio Negri’s term ‘Empire’ is perhaps unfortunate, for Empire implies an Emperor. Hence I use the term ‘cyborg-governance’ to refer to this confluence, without implicitly diluting its physiognomy of being systemic, of having distributed responsibility, and of appearing elsewhere with no apparent origin. Empire creates multitude and multitude creates the Empire of distributed power. Here the term ‘multitude’ implies the fall of the singularity which is empire, when it itself makes up part of its systemic distributed dynamics – no overthrow or freedom, need arise from this participation.

Introduction

This paper, you are warned, is political and subjective; but it is also, I hope, sociological, even if extremely incomplete1, and at least points somewhere different to what is already known. I am going to suggest that the organisation of power relations in the ‘North’ has changed significantly since the 1960s, from being participatory within the State, to being distributed throughout a (world) system. This is not only linked with what seems like a real increase in the ratio of power which can be attributed to the corporate sector, but also confusion, as power also always seems elsewhere – possibly even to those who appear powerful.

Domination must not be confused with control. Analytically power not only seems liminal but the more powerful use liminality to increase their power, whether deliberately or not. As a result, the social order seems to become more magical and can only be divined rather than

1 It is the second instalment of three conference essays (in the original sense of the word) attempting to explore the nature of power in the contemporary world. I hope that later versions will be more completely documented. For the First see Marshall (forthcoming).
perceived. This power can be also linked to cyborg imagery, and the cyborg becomes a metaphor for systemic helplessness rather than, as often argued, for liberation.

**The Growth and Decline of the Modern Nation State**

We may characterise the ‘Modern Period’ in terms of the growing inclusion of the State\(^2\). During the 19\(^{th}\) Century, and for the first 75 or so years of the 20\(^{th}\) Century, those represented, or able to participate, moved from males of property and the correct religion, to males of less property, males of other religions, women, younger people and so on. Rotten boroughs were destroyed and electorates shifted to the industrial towns. This increase in participation was fairly much marked by riots; disruption; unionisation; strikes; increased regulation of factory work, workers conditions and wages; increasing distribution of education; the beginning of social security and attempts to prevent destitution rather than punish the destitute and so on. Much of the time, conservative and labour forces allied against ‘liberal’ capitalism and its perceived destruction of values, obligation, and living conditions. The struggle seems to have taken longer in the US than in the UK, but nevertheless by the end of the Great Depression Keynesian economics had been embraced and established the radical idea of trickle up economics in which prosperity was induced by giving the poorer sections of the workforce more income, instead of the more traditional and repeatedly failed idea of increasing general wealth by making sure the wealthy have more income.

To some extent, the ‘middle classes’ came to exist because they filled positions within State and business bureaucracies. They were required to be educated, and to fill a position between the owners of capital, or those with government authority, and those supposed to obey. Thus they acted as something of a communication channel, and referee. Valuation of expertise (‘the white collar’) which distinguished them from workers, helped overwhelm loyalty to a particular workplace in favour of professional evaluation i.e. that of other equals with similar concerns. This was the beginning of the ‘knowledge worker’.

The sixties saw the peak of this process, with increased participation of supposed minorities, ethnic groups, gays, even those defined as criminal, and possibly the citizens of other countries through NGOs and International bodies. War in Vietnam had been shut down

\(^2\) Fuller arguments and documentation can be found in Marshall (2000: Appendix 1 section II).
partially by incompetence, partially by a dedicated enemy, and partially by protest participation and international action. This increase in participation could be seen as threatening. For example, Samuel Huntingdon wrote:

The 1960s witnessed a dramatic renewal of the democratic spirit in America. The predominant trends of that decade involved the challenging of the authority of established political, social, and economic institutions, increased popular participation in and control over those institutions, a reaction against the concentration of power in the executive branch of the federal government and in favor of the reassertion of the power of Congress and of state and local government, renewed commitment to the idea of equality on the part of intellectuals and other elites, the emergence of the ‘public interest’ lobbying groups, increased concern for the rights of and provisions of opportunities for minorities and women to participate in the polity and economy, and a pervasive criticism of those who possessed or were even thought to possess excessive power or wealth (1975: 59-60).

Previously passive or unorganized groups in the population now embarked on concerted efforts to establish their claims to opportunities, positions, rewards, and privileges, which they had not considered themselves entitled to before (ibid: 61-62).

Huntington goes on to argue that these events, which he calls ‘the democratic distemper’ or an ‘excess of democracy’ were problematic for good government, for governmental authority (on behalf of elites), and for American military hegemony (ibid: 105-6, 113). To some extent we might see this reaction as a foreshadowing of what I will call ‘cyborg governance’. Huntington’s oracle suggested that power no longer lurked in quite the right places and that the change threatened boundaries and control. He argued that it needed to be cut back firstly by a focus on economic issues (ibid: 84-5) and encouraging voter apathy (ibid: 114).

The 70s and onwards saw the, largely corporate, foundation of Right Wing, pro-capitalist ‘think-tanks’ in both Britain and the US (Ricci 1993), whose mission was to restore the appeal of free-market economics. This seems to have been done by associating the distrust of government, which arose during the Sixties and the Nixon years, with a free market agenda of ‘looking after oneself’, and cutting back on State intrusion. Sometimes the implementation of these policies seems to have been carried out by not informing people of political intentions. In the early 1990s, Peter Costello, the current right wing Australian Treasurer, when asked on the ABC election night broadcast why his party had lost a supposedly unlosable election,

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3 “In the 1990s conservative intellectuals, bereft of a social base continue to exist as a group only because of subsidies from foundations and corporations” (Lind 1997: 7).
replied along the lines of “we told the people what we would do”. In the same vein free market enthusiasts Milton and Rose Friedman cheerfully approved of a Canadian politician’s refusal to inform the electorate of his plans to cut the civil service by 25%, and abolish many government programmes (1984: 6).

Whether intentionally or not, as the 20th Century came to a close, access to the State has been rolled-back, participation of the less powerful has been diminished, income is no longer redistributed to the poorer sections of the nation, education is no longer free and is in crisis, and the tax burden has shifted from the corporate sector to wage earners. This family of events would imply that the corporate sector has become the dominant sector of Western English Speaking Countries.

Yet this has not clearly resulted in the appearance of a definite ruling class with recognisable members, and institutionalised control.

**Post-modern Power**

Without implying complete agreement, the following statement, from Castells, summarizes some of the taken for granted background of this essay

> Capitalism itself has undergone a process of profound restructuring, characterised by greater flexibility in management; decentralization and networking of firms...; considerable empowering of capital *vis-a-vis* labour...; increasing individualization and diversification of working relationships; massive incorporation of women into the paid labour force, usually under discriminatory conditions; intervention of the state to deregulate markets selectively, and to undo the welfare state...; stepped up global economic competition.

> [T]here has also been an accentuation of uneven development [not only between economies, but within them].

> Social movements tend to be fragmented, localistic, single-issue oriented and ephemeral... people tend to regroup around primary identities: religious, ethnic, territorial, national... the search for identity, collective or individual, ascribed or constructed, becomes the fundamental source of social meaning (Castells 2000: 1-3)
We might summarise Castells’ position by claiming that Capital is now nomadic and flexible, able to strike where it will, and not easily locatable – whereas the majority of people are comparatively fixed and subject to these raids and movements. Capital lives in the “space of flows”, and people in the “space of places” (2000: 408-9, 442ff).

To put it another way, the web of post-modern power appears nomadic, elusive and always elsewhere. Because of this appearance, responsibility, and location of power is never clear, even to those who use it.

In academic and official writings we may note the often reported tendency of the term governance to refer to some kind of abstraction rather than to intended action, and to something ‘new’. The official portal to the EU web site defines governance in terms of the ‘post modern form of economic and political organisations’ (Europa 2004). Rhodes suggests that the term implies ‘a new process of governing; or a changed condition of ordered rule; or the new method by which society is governed’ (1996: 652). The term often seems to imply the importation of corporate managerial models, competition, profitability and so on into public life (ibid: 654-5). Stoker draws attention to a general agreement that “governance refers to the development of governing styles in which boundaries between and within public and private sectors have become blurred” (1998: 17). It is usually tied up with the ideas of ‘deregulating’ markets and barriers to foreign investment, or in other words surrendering the participatory State to corporate desire.

As part of this syndrome, we note the increasing way that Politicians blame events elsewhere for results in their own State. Thus ordinary wages decline due to foreign competition and the ease of exporting jobs elsewhere through information technology, while executive salaries increase due to the same international competition for the ‘best people’. Responsibility can be put upon the impersonal market, as if the market was not influenced by human decisions, and as if the market was not a political, but a natural, force. But although the market seems to demand policies which favour particular distributions of wealth, perhaps referring to it, also expresses the sense that even those at the top of the corporate sector have of not being in control.

See Lapham on a Davos meeting (1998), and Garten’s collection of interviews with global CEOs (2001).
The powerful seem mobile, able to be transferred elsewhere with ease, again largely through information technology. The original idea of which was to extend command and control. Power has no fixed base. Corporations are motile when compared to States, even when the States are necessary to impose the laws that make corporations and business possible, and to suppress worker dissent. The ability of corporations to engage in ‘transfer pricing’ whereby they take their profits outside of national domains, though incur costs within national domains, means that traditional ways of raising tax from corporations do not work. Similarly corporations can get States to compete for the lowest tax rates on their activities, or even subsidies. The tax burden is shifted on to those smaller companies or wage earners who cannot shift their incomes off-shore. As a result the revenues of Nation States may decline, and proposed regulation of corporations (such as the suggestion of curbs to pollution), or tightening of taxation can be greeted with threats of corporate flight.

As a result it is often hard to hold corporations responsible, as with the escape of the Union Carbide company management from any obligations over the ongoing Bhopal disaster. Union Carbide is now bought out by Dow Chemicals who deny any responsibility or obligation (Moro & Lapierre 2003: 385-6). Governments in Australia, and I imagine elsewhere, use privacy agreements and commercial confidentiality to prevent people from discovering the precise nature of their agreements with the corporate sector and the precise degree of taxpayer money involved, and even if cheaper contracts were available. It also seems hard to hold any particular person in charge of a corporation responsible for the actions of that corporation. This lack of responsibility does not always work, as seems to be being shown by the increased number of executives facing trial for fraud, although sometimes the responsibility seems strained, as in the recent James Hardie case in Australia. In this case a corporation essentially made profit through poisoning their workers with asbestos. When this

5 In a somewhat polemical discussion of transfer pricing Zepezauer & Naiman claim that “Of the US-based transnationals with assets over $100 million, 37% paid no US federal taxes at all in 1991, and the average tax rate for those that did pay was just 1% of gross receipts... Foreign based transnationals did even better. 71% of them paid no US income tax on their operations in this country” (1996: 70).

6 As Republican Newt Gingrich argued global competition meant even the US has to “change taxes, litigation and regulation to make America a more desirable place to build the next factory, open the next laboratory...” (1995: 65).
was discovered they transferred ownership of most of their assets overseas, while leaving some money with a foundation in Australia to deal with people suffering asbestosis and mesothelioma. This foundation did not have anywhere near the money needed to deal with the cases which were going to arise. The company came to court and the Managing Director who set up the process was dismissed, after a huge payout to him.

Sometimes it seems that responsibility is avoided through share holding, in that decisions are supposedly the responsibility of the shareholders, most of whom have little idea as to what is going on. It often seems to be alleged that ‘the people’ own the corporations through their pension funds, but not only do ‘the people’ have no control over these corporations, they have little control over how their money is invested in the first place. It would not be surprising if this supposed ownership was used to further diffuse corporate responsibility and to argue that we cannot have control over environmental issues, or whatever, because it may affect ‘your’ investments, and leave you penniless in your old age, and this is ‘your’ fault.

This condition of power being elsewhere is demonstrated clearly in elections where the people, rather than participating directly, are offered a choice of a bundle of things, many of which may be unmentioned, or largely undiscussed. For example, the current Australian government after winning the last election claims a mandate for its industrial relations package, which had almost no discussion, and has not in any sense been approved by the electorate. As well, both mainstream parties seem extremely similar in their policies and wary of who will campaign against them. They may well fear what will happen to them if they don’t toe an undefined line set by imaginary markets, more than they embrace what they are doing.

However, it is wrong to imply that the State, or the corporate sector, has all the power and its paths of ‘deceit’ always work. We can see the confusion produced in the current US Administration by the refusal of evidence to portray things as it thinks they are. Thus, anyone, who read independent newspapers could have been better informed about the extent of Iraq’s Weapons of Mass Destruction (largely due to leaks from intelligence agencies not wanting to be blamed for false results) than it seems the British, American and Australian governments were through their intelligence assessment offices. Wearing combat fatigues and claiming that major combat operations are over does not mean that the death rate among US troops will not increase, and resistance become harder to deal with. Photographs
‘escaped’ from Abu Graib, even if the prisoners could not. Attempting to suppress the increase in terrorist attacks in a report draws attention to the figures. Stacking supposedly popular ‘town hall’ meetings to support social security ‘reform’ (and there is a whole body of ideology in the use of that term) seems to increase resistance. It might well be the case that the problem for the people running Enron, and HIH in Australia, was that they thought they understood how things worked.

Those outside the process tend to think that there is some vast conspiracy going on, because they assume that people in power can control things (that dominance equals control), and thus are engaged in dark unspoken plots. We might think that right wing media commentators who fill the media with denunciations of its left wing nature, are either suffering from delusions (precisely who do they think owns and controls the media, who are they being paid by?), or they are incipient totalitarians who want to engineer a condition in which they only read stories which agree with their opinions. However, it is possible that they too are expressing the feeling that somehow, they don’t have power either, that somehow it escapes them and resides in another place, or that things are really out of control. It is going beyond the evidence to suggest that even those who appear powerful, may not feel that power is elsewhere.

**Physiognomy, Magic and Presence**

In a way power is like our online presences. It cannot be assumed to be only present or absent, it has no obvious boundaries and appears as spirit-like; a magic life haunting the net and the world, intangible but buried in materia. It is what I have called ‘asent’ (Marshall 2000: Chapter 6 and passim).

As a result of this ambiguity of presence, power can only be divined, from landmarks, from general layout, from the visible surfaces. In that sense, dealing with power becomes a Physiognomy, a divination from appearance. Divination might even be defined as “modes of communication developed to bridge realms that are intimately related yet distinguishable — the realm of ordinary or ‘visible’ experience and the realm of unseen powers” (Pemberton nd: part 6). That is not to say that a divination cannot be an incipient science. Physiognomy is related to weather forecasting and medical diagnosis. Paracelsian Oswald Croll writes: “For every disease… and its medicine, are of one physiognomony, chiromancy and anatomy”
(1669). The problem of divination increases when the inferences are less connected to actions, or the results of actions get buried in complexity. Anthropologically, the divination systems most written about function as ways of detecting the source of evil, or of evaluating others and the roles they play in society. For example speaking of Ndembu Divination Turner writes that “Divination seeks to uncover the private malignity that is infecting the public body” (1975: 16). It comes about when the situation is beyond normal means, or we wish to check that our actions will succeed. Divination is not free of politics, or attempts to negotiate a way of life amid multiple possibilities and potential catastrophes. We attempt to live within the possibilities of power, and perhaps attempt to divine was has prevented our control of the situation. In the west divining power may well be a part of the social process that leads to separation, and political polarisation, as we attempt to eliminate the truth expressed by the other.

Physiognomy is based on the idea that the soul shapes the face, that the appearance reveals the inner, or that the world can speak to us if we are knowledgable. However, we might also see it as a more conventional form of divination in which a collection of random, noticed events, are used to tell us something about what is hidden. To some extent that is what anyone in the global system must do. It may be precise where power impacts them, but to tell where other power is, or even to tell what the power is (as it may be being denied) requires the collection of random events which we then impose into a theory. But it is not the system itself that we portray, and in this situation we cannot. A fragmentary pattern gets taken for a whole. It seems, if we take them seriously, that people cannot tell their own place in that system. Or perhaps it is simply that we expect too much to arise from power, that we don’t have power unless we control the situation completely – which is impossible.

Thus it is hard to act upon the system of power. Traditional modes of protest, such as occupying the streets or a building, are no longer effective, and neither is the Internet. Critical Art Ensemble point out it is actually the elite who can make use of cyberspace to make:

a diffuse power field without location, and a fixed sight machine appearing as spectacle... hostility from the oppressed is rechannelled into the bureaucracy which misdirects antagonism away from the nomadic power field. The retreat into invisibility of non location prevents [definition]... of a site of resistance... No longer needing to take a defensive posture is the nomad’s greatest strength (1994: 15-6).
Sterling’s book *The Great Hacker Crackdown* (1994) demonstrates that hackers were nowhere near as motile. They tended to be arrested in their bedrooms.

Divination tends to mean that it is not just that finding rules which becomes difficult, but that reading disintegrates in the face of too much meaning, or too much urge to live within what we have divined. Texts may appear to have clues which reinforce what we have already determined to give sense to our sense lack of control or understanding. It seems to become impossible to interpret people according to their intention, and I’m not implying that this essay is immune to that – if it was then the situation would be different.

Any exemplary case will be controversial, so it means that special effort has to be placed in the reader making the divination. Let us take the recent case of academic Ward Churchill, although many others could be found. Churchill seems, as far as I can see, to have argued in the rather strong language which is favoured nowadays, that you cannot simply extract the history of US action from people’s resistance to it, no matter how criminal the form that resistance takes. His position was distorted (as far as I can see) and his livelihood threatened largely as a result of media activities. The distortion seemed to be of a form which only aimed at destruction rather than at dialogue. Partly because of the issue was raised of taking responsibility. It appeared impossible to answer a call for people to take responsibility for the consequences of the actions of people they classified themselves with. That responsibility always has to be elsewhere.

We might say that Churchill was used to divine the problems of the war on terror, and then to allocate responsibility for its difficulty onto him. To some, it appears that he was an example of the locus of the power that is endangering the US. The actual power differential is only shown indirectly by the difficulties he seems to face in transmitting his own view in a way that can be read.

A related example in Australia occurred when the immigration minister, Amanda Vanstone, argued that people should not protest against the prolonged imprisonment of refugees, as it raised the hopes of refugees and would cause unnecessary pain. Shortly after the attorney general Philip Ruddock (with his Amnesty International badge prominently displayed) argued
that lawyers who attempted to represent those refugees able to get to court would be held responsible for the failure of their cases, because they were clogging up the courts. This was despite the fact that most appeals to a court were successful, and if they took longer it was because the Department of immigration kept challenging them. Yet again responsibility is differed onto a divined other. It is not us who lock people up without trial that are cruel but the people who protest against it, or attempt to end it.  

Responsibility is distributed while the impact of power focused on whom ever it is affecting or confining. It seems common for power to be seemingly emptied out of a place so that the power of the emptying body can increase. An example is Guantanamo Bay, where people are kept under U.S. restriction while outside the presence of that country’s laws, or outside international laws. The result is that there is a war against terror but those detained in this war are not prisoners of war. This may be disputed in courts, but it is a technique which seems to sit easy with the dynamics of distributed power. The Australian Government after claiming that it is being blackmailed by refugees (ie is relatively powerless), then proceeds to excise parts of Australia from immigration law, in order to be able to imprison refugees without them having access to Australian courts and then to confine them in foreign countries, away from refugee advocates. In these cases power is increased by officially being deleted, but the fact that government’s have to do this also shows how they fear things will pass out of their control.

In this condition it is not really the refugees who become liminal (they are confined to a very specific place, under specific regulations, and very much outside), it is the government which becomes liminal. “Liminal identities are neither here nor there, they are betwixt and between the positions assigned by law, custom and ceremonial” (Turner 1969: 95). It, however, seems that this liminality is not being used to build any communitas in a communitarian sense, but it does attempt to deal with the disappearance, or increased vagueness, of marked hierarchy, clear rules, precise locations of power and responsibility. Unlike Turner’s liminal states it is not “giving recognition to an essential and generic human bond” but trying to overcome that

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7 Far too much has been written about this incident but the wiki article is probably as good a place as any to start. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ward_Churchill
recognition or break bonds which may be recognised, but which are too threatening. It is truly a rite of anti-structure, a fight against, or a flight from, a briefly recognised complicity. If it does create community then it usually does so against some other, rather than through risking participation, because participation may even further destabilise the tentativeness, or legitimation, of the power, and increase the sense of resistance or dispersion. In this case there is another which has to be suppressed to bring the promised world which does not escape. In some ways it is like the workers paradise that justified Stalinist oppression. Except that the liminal image is not that clear.

As a liminal player, the use of power is again always shifting, becoming something of a dark unsettling trickster figure, it further takes on characteristics of the magical, the numinous and the unclear.

**Negri, Empire and Cyborg Governance**

In their recent books Negri and Hardt use the term ‘Empire’ to describe this kind of distributed governance, and they contrast it to what they call Multitude. Negri defines Empire as “the transfer of sovereignty of nation-states to a higher entity”, but not to a World Nation, or to an existent nation like the United States (Negri 2004: 59). It is “a network power” (Hardt & Negri 2004: xii), even though a country may have temporary dominance. Empire is produced by the networks of capitalism and NGOs transcending any particular country and linked together by information technology. They claim, as is argued by many people, that information technology is the basis for these transformations.

The term Empire is unfortunate in many ways. Firstly Empire implies an Emperor, and a dominant State which contradicts its assumption that there is no such Emperor or State. Secondly its singularity implies a level of deliberate co-ordination, rather than what seem to be levels of confusion and conflict. Co-ordination may only arise because of the temporary ease of reinforcing particular pathways. However this ease, may, as is often the case in complex systems change the way the system operates. If the system seeks homeostasis, that homeostasis could be reached through the elimination of parts of the system. Complex systems can almost always escape us.
Hardt and Negri imply that the informational economy will free liberation movements of the necessity of becoming organised in hierarchies, or of having to impose order after the chaos of revolution (2004: 68-78.) and thus revolutionary freedom will finally be possible.

Here, the Multitude replaces ‘The People’. Hardt and Negri argue that “The People” were fundamental to modernism in establishing authority and legitimating violence. The People were posed against the [aristocratic] state, but in fact always legitimated the authority of an elite (2004: 79). The idea of the People “reduces... social differences into one identity” (2004: 99). The multitude is composed of singularities, but is not a mob, crowd or mass, as these easily collapse into an “indifferent whole”. The Multitude acts “not on identity or unity... but on what it has in common” it can be the rule of everyone by everyone (2004: 100). The multitude is singularities which act in common (2004: 105). The multitude is defined as all those who labour and produce under capital, and it is asserted that the differences which divide labour no longer exist (Hardt & Negri 2004: 107).

This reduces the organising principle of categories to similarities, rather than accepting that members of categories can be linked by different commonalities, which would make the idea of Multitude stronger. However, the prime problem with their method of categorisation is that it ignores the ways that members of the multitude could differ or come into conflict. In some ways the term imposes uniformities on the World which do not exist, and obliterates differing and incommunicable cultures. We can see this apparent incommunicability and hostility within the Multitude of our own Western societies, which may even have been increased by information technology, without having to assume that conflictual differences will not exist within the complexity of the World.

There is little evidence that the differences which divided labour no longer exist. It would appear that some labour movements have been coopted by the corporate classes in the US (Frank 2004) – again the problems with divination, and in the last election in Australia where timber workers supported the government against forest conservation. Active snobberies might divide the multitude – such as the “aspirational” classes the leader of the Australian Labour Party Mark Latham separated from the worthless poor, not to mention race and gender divisions. Finally, if Multitude is linked in information technologies, ignoring the vast parts of the world which are not, then they may well be divided by work based knowledges which are not widely distributed, and which do not allow much in the way of intercommunication.
However, it is also possible that ‘level organisations’, through information technology can also extend the reach of the centre. The Bureaucracies separating the periphery from the centre, allow that periphery some degree of escape, things could be adapted to local conditions and local loyalties, because the centre could never see, and rarely would directly. What was done did not have to fit in with a computer program. Furthermore even if power is decentered and distributed, this does not necessarily mean that the system is likely to become democratic. If power is experienced as elsewhere then it probably cannot. That the networks interact and thus communicate, as say ants do automatically, gives no need for these communications to be meaningful, or to allow us to find commonality as is suggested (Hardt & Negri 2004: xiii, xv). The interaction of groups which then polarise or separate is also communication and can result from networks. This interaction may also continue to produce what they have in common, such as separation, hatred etc. Communication and connection is not an unrelieved good always bringing harmony, or construction.

Negri and Hardt do recognise that in the present this transformation does not necessarily liberate the worker. Contracting makes labour and income more precarious. The distinction between work and non-work is being blurred in favour of work, and in ‘emotional work’ our personal ‘private’ lives and being also become work (2004: 66, 111). Workers have to become flexible, ie fit in with the demands of capital (2004: 112). The rhythms of work become governed by ‘Just-in time’ production (Hardt & Negri 2000: 290), with its casual employment routines. Given that these transformations do not seem to be liberatory, then there is no necessity to see this economy as potentially democratic. Others, for example Galbraith, see the increased penetration of the state public sector by the corporate sector and hence co-opted by members of that sector (2004: 47-51), and also see small business in decline: “For the small retailer, Wal-Mart awaits. For the family farm, there are the massive grain and fruit enterprise and the modern large-scale meat producer” (ibid: 37). In this view the power of self provision, of self determination is destroyed and replaced with dependent employment. The worker no longer has their own responsibilities, it is the corporation which allows or shapes what is possible.

Networked communication can be paradoxical communication. Incessant ‘communication’ can be a way that alternate paths are suppressed (Hardt & Negri 2000: 347). The format, as much as broadcast media, suppresses exchange. Dean suggests that this communication no
longer forms as a way of building connection through exchange but acts as an economic form – yet another way of alienation (Dean 2004: 273). Hence everyone feels separated from the modes of communication.

Messages do not exist to elicit a communicative response, but are broadcast to produce a behavioural response. Their meaning is the response engendered. This is the power of communication devoid of anything else. In the world wide web and the blog format, this has been embraced as the main way to communicate. Messages become subsumed as isolate propaganda, the appropriateness of most of which is determined by the mainstream media bringing responses forth which it largely ignores. As Dean points out “the more opinions or comments that are out there, the less of an impact any given one might make” (2004: 274).

Within, this domain of saturated non-messages it is always possible to find a conspiracy, and some of them may even be real.

I use the term ‘cyborg-governance’ to refer to this confluence of distributed power and information systems, without implicitly diluting its physiognomy of being systemic, or resembling a cybernetic system, of having distributed responsibility, and of appearing elsewhere with no apparent origin.

Cyborg governance implies that the environment (and that includes our own lives, for lives cannot be separated from the system they emerge within), is permeated with machinery and the demands of human will, its subversions, and the possibility of unexpected transformations.

In this view, becoming cyborg means being controlled through this dispersed location of control. This is contrary to the usual liberatory view of the cyborg. The idea of cyborg governance is intended to imply the dangers of cyborg theory

**Against Cyborg Liberation**
The idea of the cyborg as a metaphor for liberation originates with Donna Haraway, but as I have suggested in my other essay at this conference, the cyborg myth has its own directions and pointers which might steer in another direction. The power might reside with the myth rather than with the intention of the tellers.
Haraway argues that the cyborg, can be a model for re-imagining liberation.

In the traditions of “Western” science and politics... the relation between organism and machine has been a border war. The stakes in the border war have been the territories of production, reproduction, and imagination (1989: 150).

It could easily be argued that the border wars have been fought and won, by the dominant groups extending the machine into the regulation of, or incorporation of, the subordinate. Thus it is largely working people who have rebelled against the extension of the machine, and the regulation of their lives by machine – because it is they who become fodder for a machine programmed elsewhere with no regard for their lives. Hence, perhaps the general class based (‘knowledge worker’) contempt for Luddites, who have doubts about the machines. The original Luddites where attempting to defend their livelihoods and their way of life and were crushed quite brutally by the owners of automation (Sale 1995). What contemporary Luddites observe is that the complexities of their lives are invisible to the program (Brown 1977: 66-7, 161-4, 171-2). If this is accepted, then the cyborg could be thought of as an extension of industrial power into the human realm – a way of making work total, rather than undermining spurious unities. If people object then they can always be reprogrammed. However there is little doubt that some of these machines can also be seen as ways of extending certain people’s power into the world as well, of extending their boundaries – it is not equitable, and does not respect difference, least of all that difference which would be apart from the extension of machine and work.

It is easy to imagine a world in which machines colonise humans, making them cyborg in the name of authority. Hierarchical patriarchal discourse may tend to assert the inferiority of humans to machines and thus assert human subordination, especially humans of a particular class/race/gender. Cyborgs can have hierarchies and that is part of our imagining of them. Dr. Who’s Cybermen think of themselves as superior, but they seem a grotesque diminution to lesser humans. Not all transformations of the body might be beneficial (whatever one’s criterion of beneficial might be).

Thus although Haraway might suggest that cyborgs have no dependency (1989:151), seeing them as extensions of power transforms them. Cyborgs must depend on machines and servicing, probably machines they cannot make, even while these machines may be elsewhere or under the control of others. In this sense the Cyborg epitomises the syndrome of
distributed power always appearing elsewhere, and of direct input being difficult to impossible. Cyborgs are embedded in systems which may have programs of which they may be unaware. Any independence here is hidden. In some senses this realisation of dependence might be useful, if it helped prevent people thinking they were self made rather than emerge nt within a society and a world and needed to cooperate. But it seems unlikely that if the dependence of is not recognised in the foundational document it will not be recognised elsewhere.

People can recognise that the extension of the cyborg could lead to “the final imposition of a grid of control on the planet” (1989: 154) – computers are heavily involved in the control of work and in the command structures of corporation and military, and yet come to ignore this in fantasies of transcendence. If power is elsewhere, perhaps it can appear nowhere.

Attempting to avoid being seduced by organic wholeness through theoretical fragmentation may confuse the act of attempting to become a whole, with the uses of wholes, as systems, in theory – a strong part of cybernetics and hence of real cyborgs. Fragmentation embraces the modernist or masculinist (if you wish), trend of breaking things into independent parts, without bothering to see how they might interact in complex systemic ways. Thus it becomes acceptable to introduce or appropriate species (rabbits, cane toads, gamba grass) as fragments without thinking of the wider systemic consequences. It is because such systems are so complex that minor changes in a certain place can have huge effects. If we claim everything is fragmentary, then we ignore the potential for system crash or for system transformation. We also loose the main ecological objection to genetic modification – that systems are complex, not immediately predictable and not containable – an objection which has nothing to do with maintaining genetic purity, as Haraway implies (1997: 60-2).

Despite claims of cyborgs being unspecist, mechanic control of animals does not seem particularly unspecist. If we build robotic animals will we come to treat animals as Robots? If machines are used to “lift” humans “out of” the environment, then humans become even more (conceptually) separated from others. Cyborg theory blends with the fantasies of capitalism about taming the earth and controlling it, about independence from our environment, or of finding that other species are irrelevant as we can grow/invent what we want and need. We can leave this poisoned world behind us for cyborg bliss.
The cyborg’s, posthuman connection with militarism and fordism (warfare and total
capitalism; patriarchal violence and transcendence or destruction of the “natural world” etc.)
does not seem to be something which can be ignored (‘the cyborg has no origin story in the
Western sense’ (Haraway 1989: 150)) or dismissed by naming this descent ‘illegitimate’
(1989: 151). Later, Haraway seems to argue that the cyborg can be kept distinct from the
android or robot by the choice of narratives employed, but this seems unlikely and contradicts
claims of border flexibility or vagueness (Haraway & Goodeve 2000: 127-29). As an
example we might note that Schwarzenegger’s character in Terminator 2 seems to come up in
most discussions of cyborgs, when technically the character is not a cyborg – it is a robot or
android. If nothing else this shows the ambiguity of boundaries and the ease with which the
mechanic overrides the human in narrative. Narratives and myths have their own dynamic,
and their own connotations, which may escape our attempts at flexibility – and is that
flexibility not also demanded from us by our workplaces?

This also might imply, as suggested above, that cyborgisation is often not driven by people
embracing it, but by it being inflicted upon them, perhaps as an unintended consequence of
transnational corporation and military control and communication. However it is possible
that both infliction and embrace might be true – the boundary is not clear, certain or fixed.

However, it seems likely that the ‘hybrid’ composed of Dupont and University research
departments retains more of the inclination of the corporation than of the campus. Its genetic
engineering becomes not an exploration of strange boundaries but acts as a way of extending
copyright regimes, and totalising corporate ownership of the new cyborg nature (Haraway
1997: 90-7). As when corporations allow their genetically modified crops to escape into the
fields of farmers who don’t want to use them and then sue for theft or breach of copyright.

Seeing relatively oppressed groups as active, resistant and not powerless, does not require us
to transform either them or ourselves into cyborgs, and Haraway later admitted that including
third world women working in electronics factories within the “we” of the cyborg was
problematic (1991: 12). There is, at the least, a status difference between a consumerist
cyborg and the enforced cyborg, as well as a difference in what they are able to do. Despite
the intention to avoid narratives of wholeness, the cyborg is often treated as if one, even
though rent with status and class differences.
Haraway continues that:

Cyborg politics is the struggle for language and the struggle against perfect communication, against the one code that translates all meaning perfectly, the central dogma of phallogocentrism. That is why cyborg politics insist on noise and advocate pollution, rejoicing in the illegitimate fusions of animal and machine. .... (1989: 176).

‘Noise’ in this circumstance is ambiguous, but ultimately means apparently random signals. Noise which constructs or disrupts, might well be lost without effect, circumvented by the tendency of distributed systems to bypass damage. The noise which stops us from thinking, and the pollution which stops us from breathing or eating, might already be provided for us at overwhelming volumes by those who already dominate.

There is nothing radical in noise. There is no reason “Phallogocentrism” cannot use unclarity for its advantage. Vagueness is part of the way transnational corporations or the military seek to avoid regulation, to shift profit away from the place of origin, to destroy public participation in public life, or to make their workforce more vulnerable. Or again, perhaps the contradictions, which others call lies, are actually responses to situations which are out of control, or which resist divination.

The political establishment has used cyborg theory: promoting social justice and democracy through internet connections and “open” communication rather than through participation in the State; the abolition of race and gender as problems by ignoring them (as supposedly occurs online); supposedly “safe warfare” through cyborgs, machines and overwhelming technological dominance; denying that there is a whole we might call society; destroying unions in the name of individual freedom; using lack of history and memory; pastiche of messages; declaring inequality arises from individual difference so on.

To repeat, power seems in a liminal position, it can move almost wherever it wants without obstruction and transform in myriads of different ways, even if it cannot achieve dominance because of the complexity of the whole. They almost cannot be touched, or acted on, by anything. Contradictions and ‘logical reality’ disappear in the world ‘they’ create.

The idea of the cyborg ignores what we might call the sandpile problem. One grain of sand is not a ‘heap’ but 100,000 grains might be, and the boundary is never going to be clear. To use
a cyborg cliché: imagine you have a human, you keep adding machinery and subtracting flesh, at what point does it stop being human? How many fragmented cells makes a human? This is the nature of many categories. Putting in a hybrid third merely allows the poles to separate while pretending to overcome them. Categories usually have some kind of bounding, and such boundaries become a way of conception. They will always appear somewhere.

It is the way of categories that a category which seems a disrupter of other categories sometimes becomes subservient to them, apparently privileging one side. Perhaps we should ask what this apparent privileging allows the privileging of elsewhere, and what kind of dominance it is part of. We might even suggest that such disposals of the body suggest, not that the old forms of authority are disposed of, but that they are intensified. In any case we cannot choose the histories of words, nor exactly what their connotations will be. In the same way as Haraway suggests that criticism of genetic modification is haunted by racism (1997: 60-2) so her own cyborg is haunted by totalising techno-capitalism.

In a slightly more pessimistic turn Cecil Helman suggests that the (cyborg) body of artificial parts like “Frankenstein’s monster” symbolises a type of society which is an assemblage of disparate parts animated by science and electricity, but with the brain of a criminal and, we might add, “out of control” (1992: 24). It certainly seems the case, that to our mythic imaginations the danger of machines taking over, is more pronounced than that of us becoming one with them in an empowering sense.

**Cyborg governance and the Multitude**

We cannot separate distributed cyborg governance from itself in the way that Negri separates Empire and Multitude. Empire creates multitude and multitude creates the Empire of distributed power. Certainly we may be able to divine where the balance of power seems to lie, but this does not give us a binary of capitalists and everyone else, it gives us a more fragmented world, split into local and global particularisms, and which may separate as much through information technology as they might cooperate. It may well be that this distributed governance results from the systemic limits of participatory government under the old State. To destroy the symmetry of cyborg governance and cyborgs we might want to introduce at least a third term, an X, to cover those who escape, without assuming they are the same either.
Cyborg governance and cyborgs are both symptomatic of the same thing. One does not have to be in opposition to the other, even though we might say that the system is on a destructive bent and will take its cyborgs with it, if they are not careful. The cyborg is within the system, and given life by it, as such it is directed by the system. It makes up part of its systemic distributed dynamics – no overthrow or freedom, need arise from this participation.

Indeed while industrial capitalism depended on the existence of a class which possessed relatively little capital, so information capitalism may require the creation of a class with relatively little ‘knowledge’ and relatively little recognised ‘creativity’.

**Conclusion**

This is an essay in sociology not politics, even if it is political, so there is no need for a triumphant or cautionary conclusion. What can be presented is only a divination, and a very incomplete one at that.

It is not possible to engage in fantasies of restoring the participatory state, or to hope that becoming cyborg is a way to freedom, or that the Multitude are independent of the system of which they are a part.

It is useful to recognise that the system appears to be magical, and that cargo cult is not a way forward. However, the system may not be under the control of the elites who pretend that it is theirs. One of the characteristics of cyborg governance is that the opposition seems everywhere, or mystically powerful, when the resistances may be systemic and simply escape control. The pretence of elites is also an act of magic, a magic which works to some extent by evacuating power to increase it, but magic subverts itself, evacuation could possible become real, and distracts from the real networks of power of which they participate. It may be possible to find gaps within this power, places in which the system is not so well set up, not making everyone cyborg. At these places of interstitial power, it may be possible to act – for good or for ill – to set up a tipping point which brings it all down. But there is no guarantee that will be an improvement. If the system falls, so might the world.

Politics requires caution, when the ripples of a stone in a pond might create a tidal wave.
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Ambiguities of Gender: beyond the placid cyborg

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Ambiguities of Gender: beyond the placid cyborg

Abstract

Gender functions as a category reference to the body, linked to both constructions of intimacy and privacy, and in opposition to itself. It, like any other form of presence online, is bound up with uncertainties and suspensions. It produces paradoxes because it is often exaggerated in order to generate the sexual tensions which build gendered intimacies and a sense of mutual presence and reference, while at the same time these exaggerations are also recognised and negotiated as deletions of presence, or even as betrayal. Online being is neither fully present or absent, but oscillatory, what I have called ‘asent’. In this situation, demands for authenticity, usually tied to the offline body, override acceptance of multiplicity. It is argued that the model of the cyborg does not transcend gender, rather it hybridises and presents a model of gendered unity which is subservient to the system of machines and caught between destruction and repair. It is suggested that it is more profitable, and truer to online experience, to conduct a politics of online gender by observing these tensions rather than smoothing them over.

Introduction

This paper originates in my, now over 10 years, fieldwork online, primarily in the Mailing List Cybermind. Anecdotes, surveys and statistics can be found in other papers listed in the Bibliography. This paper is primarily a theoretical summary of results as they apply to gender, and the comments refer primarily to middle class, white, Western English speaking internet groups. We cannot assume that everything which seems like an effect of the technology is not a cultural effect and will automatically apply across cultures.

Living online, for these Western English speaking subjects, is embedded within relations which currently appear to be paradoxical, ambiguous or contradictory. Sometimes these paradoxes appear to result from the medium, and the way communication is structured, and sometimes they seem to result from paradoxes and ambiguities ported in from the offline world. Gender, seems to be not only important for the way people conduct and organise their online lives, but is also embedded within these paradoxes and ambiguities. Often, it is claimed that online gender should both be analysed, and politically motivated, through the ‘posthuman’ figure of the cyborg; a semi-futuristic hybrid between human and machine,

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1 As always thanks goes to the members of the List who have not only patiently engaged with these various projects but have contributed to them - particularly the List owner Alan Sondheim who has been engaged in productively theorising the internet for a long time. It is of the nature of such work that it is hard to disentangle what emerges from myself and what emerges from other List members. However, the inaccuracies always remain mine.
which is also supposedly ‘post gendered’. It is suggested here, and in my other essay for this conference, that the cyborg myth, as actually present in the West, is more in keeping with the project of techno-capitalism than of revolt, and that it is both more fruitful and true to online experience to examine the paradoxes around online presence and gender, than to suppress them via this metaphor.

**Paradoxes of Presence**

Online gender is embroiled in paradoxes. The most obvious one is that the importance of gender in online communication is often denied, while at the same time, people devote considerable effort trying to work out the gender of others and apparently being worried that the gender of others might not be the same as portrayed online (Marshall 2003).

Before discussing gender specifically it is useful to explore the fundamental ambiguities affecting a person’s perception of their online presence and the presence of others. Online being is continually suspended between presence and absence, and within ambiguities of confirmation. I have coined the term ‘asence’ to denote these states of suspension of recognition, closure and ‘being’ (Marshall 2000: chap 6 and passim).

Online closure is problematic. Email communication, for example, tends to end in silence, when participants have no more to say, or when email gets lost – which seems, in my experience, to happen quite regularly. In comparison, offline conversation usually terminates with all participants knowing that messages have been received or acknowledged, even if only with grunts, gestures or farewells, and you can expect to have a fairly good idea of how things have gone – there is a more complete sense of closure.

There are problems with presence. In offline societies it is also generally possible to tell whether a person is present or not. Online a person may be neither entirely present or entirely absent. Presence manifests only in those moments in which a person emits text or has that

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2 Langa (2004) reports sending out bulk emails to people who had volunteered to respond to him, and suggested that up to 40% of emails could get lost. However, despite the reservations as to how this result might affect more normal personal emails, it is still suggestive of how spam filters, faulty systems and lack of response can affect personal communication. The experiment needs to be repeated before being dismissed.
text acknowledged. There is no marker of existence beyond the act of communication itself. Even with a text or graphic avatar, we cannot even be sure if the person is present when we are attempting to communicate. People on a MOO\(^3\) can just leave their terminal to go elsewhere without informing the other person, and it seems common to find that they may well be communicating with someone else at the same time – which can disrupt our sense of intimacy or attention.

Asence is emphasised by uncertainty about audience. List or Newsgroup members have little idea who is actually present or reading – most of their audience will never reveal itself. People may find that other people they would not want to read them, in this context (or any context), are present. People you think might be present may not be receiving mail. They may be off List for a few days without notification, or be skipping mail if busy. Messages to which you anticipate a response can go unnoticed. You may be engaged in conflict, or make a risky personal revelation, and those you expect to notice or give support do not, and thus you seem snubbed or absent and group “community” seems fragile (Marshall 2000, Chap.12 part.1: #IV.2).

Feedback is also often compromised. Generally, there is no certainty whether you have been received, or read, or of the nature of your reader’s reaction. In the asynchronous communication of a Mailing List, a person is not able to adjust what they are emitting according to an ongoing response. Due to this difficulty in adjusting communication as it proceeds, it is easy for text to be misinterpreted and meanings to diverge. In face to face communication we are constantly checking up, some times vocally and sometimes by body language or behaviour, in order to try and make sure that a message is being received correctly\(^4\).

\(^3\) I’m using the term MOO to refer to all derivatives and varieties of MUDs simply because I have more experience with them. A MOO can be defined as a way of communicating with others over the Internet which resembles an interconnected set of spaces set up on a single computer. People tend to construct and play ‘characters’ and are eventually able to build ‘rooms’ and ‘objects’ with properties. Communication tends to be synchronous and unarchived, so it is not usually possible to access conversations which occurred while you were not there.

\(^4\) To some extent this is why Plato famously objected to text as distorting (Phaedrus 275ff.). However with offline text the author may never face the consequences of misreading directly - they are in some ways more distanced than a person is in online communication,
On MOOs, text from various people can intertwine in unique manners on each individual’s screens, and it can be unclear precisely who is writing what, or exactly what others may read or be responding to. Lag can also disrupt the flow of response, and make it so that answers to old questions appear in response to newer questions.

As a result of these factors a person’s online presence is always drifting away. Status, without offline markers, has to be continually re-earned and re-presented as audience tends to shift. These unclarities could lead to anxiety, as most social being and sense of self depends upon the responses of others. In another context, Ruesch and Bateson, have suggested that people can feel helpless or insecure if they do not receive acknowledgment of their messages and write that ‘the individual feels paralysed if correction of erroneous interpretations is impossible’ (1987, 39-40). Asence is generally uncomfortable and people work to reduce it.

As shall be made clear asence, and the ways people attempt to reduce it, can contribute to an understanding of many online behaviours, from flame to netsex, and is intertwined with the way people use gender (Marshall 2004a).

If the idea of asence is correct then it is improbable that we will ever have any kind of simple co-presence online; it will always be fraught. Even if we had video connections (and these might be less asent), we still might be subject to interferences, delays and the suspicion that the image we perceive is simulated.

At the extreme the other person may even be some kind of program, or ‘bot’, as for example the famous Julia which was helped in its realism by online vaguenesses (Foner 1993). Foner writes that “the deliberate blurriness of the boundaries both enhances Julia’s effectiveness and makes her operation possible”.

Interestingly gender seemed important to the programmer’s concerns about how the bot should function. To make ‘her’ realistic, and to deal with people’s need for online gender Julia was programmed to guess people’s gender from their names, and was also programmed even though when they do, as in the case of Salman Rushdie, they may very well face real negation.
to strongly declare that ‘she’ is female. For example, she “appears to be premenstrual, or to mention her period in some way, about two days a month”. The real people online seem to treat her as a sexual being as a result. Foner remarks “A large percentage of Julia’s code deals with detecting and deflecting passes”. One given example of interaction features a man demanding that she take off her clothes. “Julia gets a lot of this kind of ‘attention’” Foner writes, and the most well known example of the bot in sustained interaction centres on a man’s persistent attempts to pick her up, which says something about gender and the way that it is used to resolve ambiguities and structure behaviour. Rather than give up, people try sex.

**Public and Private— gender, intimacy and property**

Another ambiguity which is important to online life and which is often used in asence reduction, is the division between ‘public’ and ‘private’. This division although treated as a polarised dyad in the West is more accurately a shifting matter of context. Often researchers will pronounce that online it is clear what is public and what is private and then seem surprised when other people define things differently. Meyrowitz (1985) has argued that new media/communication technologies often shift previously stable public and private divisions, and that it takes a while for new conventions to be worked out. It is also reasonable to assume that people may construct these divisions differently depending upon their social position and their aims.

This online unclarity reflects ambiguities in the divisions offline as well. For example, in the offline world people can dispute whether the actions of a private company dealing with the Government are of public concern, and thus open to criticism in the public domain, or whether it should it be protected by defamation laws and privacy agreements. Issues of power are fairly overtly involved here. Other ambiguities may be less overtly connected to power, but can be more paradoxical. Legal theorist James Boyle, among others, argues that under current information capitalism there are constant collisions between concepts of the public

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5 This frequently seems a matter of debate on the Association of Internet Researchers Mailing List. Although the ‘Code of Ethics’ promulgated by the Association treats these issues carefully there always seem to be researchers who will claim that anything which can be found on the Web, or even sometimes in an open Mailing List, is in the public domain and should be quotable according to legal fair use provisions. Some appear to claim that if people who use the internet do not realise this then they are foolish, rather than that they are using a different criteria of public and private.
sphere of largely unconstrained and uncharged information exchange, and ideas of private intellectual property and copyright. It seems that a central contradiction of modern capitalism is that wide free, or easy, distribution is essential for the movement and development of knowledge, while constraint is necessary for profit.

Boyle claims that what he calls “the romantic notion of the author”, is central to the way the system works, as the author stands between these problematic public and private realms, “giving new ideas to the society at large and being granted in return a limited right of private property in the artefact he or she has created” (1996: xxii). Thus the border between public and private in the information capitalism appears liminal and shifting. The individualistic notion of the author is even used to give employers the right to strip the ownership implied by creation from their employees. The author is where the supposedly originary magics of creation flow into society as a whole, and where they are appropriated or claimed. These separates areas of public and private are deeply unclear, and in tension, while the construction of the author bridges between them, ‘authorising’ the constrained sellable information-product. A method of economic reproduction is grounded in these ambiguities.

This claim of authorship and origination acts to suppress any claims of sources and audience. As, it is impossible to not use the public domain of prior ideas and discoveries to create, this regime is in some senses paradoxical. It is neither obvious nor natural, and might completely stultify any kind of creativity.

The public/private distinction is not just important for property and space; but surfaces continually in the agitation for protection of privacy against the accumulation of digital records and ‘transparency’ of access; and in the political arguments over what people should be allowed to do in private as opposed what they can do in public. In some ways this can focus on the most influential virtual body we have, namely the almost invisible records compiled on us by corporations and governments which can affect how we are treated as much as our ‘real’ body does, and which is exploited in ‘identity theft’.

The public tends to mark the domain of politics and action and the private of intimacy. As such it is intertwined with our ideas of gender and of being oneself. The public tends to be
classified as male, artificial and open, and the private tends to be classified as female, genuine and ideally protected (Strathern 1990: 88-9)⁶.

Online it can seem that these ambiguities are more marked. In an email, for example, words written by one person can be overtly intertwined with another, the borders of property and authorship are markedly unclear – not just because people constantly confuse who is who, but because it shows that any innovation arises out of others. Although people complain that they might be being observed by invisible others they still behave as they normally might in private. Similarly, on lists the normally private can spill over into the List despite the relatively easy provision of invisible communication.

Furthermore, most of the life of an online group may not be public. The list can be surrounded by what Cybermind list owner Alan Sondheim calls the *aura* of personal communications and meetings in other online forums, and yet all one can perceive is the public, the offlist is completely hidden. Again in offline life much may be hidden but we may be able to observe that something is going on. Online group dynamics are not completely available for study, they are always gliding away into invisibility. They are subject to asence.

I remember one person on a Mailing List describing to me at length how their own off list interactions gave particular onlist messages ‘different’ and personal meanings. Public mail could contain ‘secret’ references to offlist correspondence. I was unsure how common this was, and whether it was a personal or social phenomena, but it seems reasonable to assume that offlist contact provides another context with which to read messages.

On a mailing list there are basically two forms of sociality; ‘on list’ and ‘off list’. If we take private/intimate and public/communal as divisions which come easily to us then it is worth investigating whether the traditional association of women with the private/intimate (or off-list sphere), and men with the public/communal or (on-list sphere) has any effect upon modes of exchange and performance.

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⁶ What Strathern sees as the ‘infantile’ domestic, is more likely connected with a need to protect intimacy and gentleness. She appears to be polarizing, and making one side good and the other bad, rather than perceiving counterpositions, where sometimes one is ‘good’ and sometimes ‘bad’ depending on situation.
We can certainly read how the onlist sphere is constrained by gender, how in many places women are relatively silent in comparison to their numbers and that concerns posed by women are not followed up as much as they are by men. This does not seem to be the case everywhere (Cf Marshall 2000: Appendix I), but nevertheless it may imply that in many online groups women could well avoid the onlist, being more comfortable offlist – the offlist being apparently more intimate. It seems to be the case, from an admittedly small sample, that men can be more open offlist, than offline, when the other is female (Bennett 1998), which also stresses the importance of identifying gender. Anecdotal evidence in my own fieldwork suggests that most continuing offlist exchanges involve at least one woman, and that intimate exchanges will also tend to involve a woman. It is possible the intimacy value of ‘being a woman’ can be exaggerated online – this may be one of the things that contribute to harassment – men seeking inappropriate intimacy from ‘ideal women’ – but it may, in turn, mean that males, from these cultures, have a tendency to become less intimate with each other online. This conflation of women with intimacy and men with publicity, is one reason why it seems to cause more panic that a man may be impersonating a woman than the other way round – as it potentially betrays the intimate.

So, we can hypothesise that: a) public and private divisions can be shifting, ambiguous, and sometimes conflictual; b) the public life of the list may be embedded in a primarily female centred set of off-list exchanges; and that c) these exchanges do serve particular functions for women such as allowing expression and intimacy and comment on the onlist proceedings (this may also be the case for men); and hence d) they effect the group as whole. If this is correct- then we must be aware that ethnographies could simply be a study of male or ‘public’ behaviour passing itself off as the behaviour of a group.

**Gender: Paradoxes of Authenticity, Body and Intimacy**

Communication on the list was bound up in a degree of conflict or paradox, between demands for openness or authenticity, and the kinds of hiddeness which actually resulted.

Contrary to early expectations that online we could easily express multiple selves in some kind of postmodern manner (Turkle 1995: 178-180, 263-4; Reid 1994), there seems to be a
demand that we are to be ‘authentic’ (Marshall 2000: Chapter 7). What we present should be true to ourselves, we should not deceive or misdirect. We should be open and aboveboard, etc. It would be considered odd for me to write proposing something to any online group which I did not believe, even though this might be interesting. I might be derided as hypocritical at best. Observationally people seem to spend quite a lot of time and effort in trying to figure out the identities of others, and it seems that gender is one of the things that people are most eager to discover.

The closer and more intimate we are to someone, the more the relationship involves ‘trust’, then the more authentic it seems we should be. This is produces problems because authenticity is not just ‘as is’, it has to be recognised and conveyed, so it is surrounded by conventions, such as:

Convention No.1: Conventions undermine authenticity. We are caught in paradox almost immediately. In this society, as the relationship becomes important, ritual (particularly public ritual) tends to be discarded as inauthentic or contrived. Deuel suggests that pre-programmed MOO actions are used less, the more that netsex or the relationship becomes ‘real’ (1996: 140). The more emotional involvement increases and becomes private intimacy, the more authenticity becomes important and indications of direct typing are taken as transparency.

Convention no 2: strength of feeling denotes authenticity. Who believes someone who loves them ‘mildly’, or that this is really a good basis for relationship? However modes of coding emotion as being strong can also be decoded as anger, which can then pull people apart, and undermine the appearance of group harmony, rather than join them together.

Convention no 3: Emotions and body states, are irrational, underlying, largely uncontrollable and real. This allies with the second convention. It might be said to encapsulate the psychoanalytic theory of the id. In consequence, sexual behaviour, and sex, always displays something genuine about people. Continued mood can be important for the ways that people will interpret mails and interpret the ambience of the list as usually list mood is quite fragmented, strong moods like anger, or mourning, are easily over-generalised. Reports of body pain seem to be usually taken as genuine as well, but they are perhaps not as popular.

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7 See in particular the work of Susan Herring listed in the Bibliography.
Convention no 4: Secrecy and unpleasantness equals truth. If you find something out about someone which was hidden you are more likely to believe it. This perception of truth increases with the unpleasantness of the discovery. Few Westerners seem to believe that anyone is troubled by underlying and secret niceness.

Convention no 5: On the Internet no one knows if you’re a god. Tales of betrayal and deceit abound. Therefore it becomes imperative to discover what is authentic about the others. The conventions appear to be that the more private (secret), and close to the offline world the communication then the more authentic it is. Thus a statement has the least effect online in public, more so offlist in private, more so via offline mechanisms such as telephone, and finally face to face. Even though, in reality these can be equally deceptive. You don’t know that the person you are meeting offline is, in fact, the same person you have conversed with online.

To some extent these conventions can gather around the idea of the practice of netsex (Marshall 2002). Netsex is supposedly revealing – because of its ‘rawnness’ and because people’s truth is supposedly anchored in their body. However it can be caught in different interpretations of public and private and whether it is a game or intimate. Discovering deceit about the other’s body undermines every other truth they may have communicated and body includes gender. Netsex is a marked and reiterative communication anchored in bodily response and continued mood. It can help restore closeness when people move into areas of mutual disinterest. It also reduces asence. It is not possible to simply be together online you must emit messages to mark your presence.

Sometimes this latter point can appear to be a good thing, as when one of my informants claimed that men actually speak with women on MOOs as opposed to at them offline, because they have to get her to respond to prove they are not talking to themselves.

Netsex and online gendered intimacy is also ranged with paradox. It is frequently alleged that you can express yourself as you are online, however to confirm this expression as authentic it has to go offline (into a still more genuine private), where you apparently cannot be who you are. Furthermore, people tend to use exaggerations, especially exaggerations of gendered discourse, in order to trigger sexuality, and these exaggerations can be perceived as deceits.
and set up problems of reality and authenticity: is your partner really as they described themselves in the moment of passion? So a mode of producing truth also becomes a mode of producing uncertainty.

Within this framework love seems to be a process of revelation, of exposing more of one’s truth to a trusted other. But what happens when all is said? Either the process ends and love ceases, or you continue but the other is tested – can they survive this uncovering, will they retreat? Online the responses needed to confirm, need to be strong, but it is not always clear what the response is. Are they still there? People constantly express some of these ambiguities – not only around whether their ideal net partner is of the gender they portray themselves, whether they are as they described themselves, but as to the effect of netsex itself, whether it is liberatory, whether netsex with a married person is adultery, whether netsex is destructive, and even whether netsex is more intense than ‘ordinary’ sex or just boring.

Emoticons tend to play a part in these bodily ambiguities, smileys are used to show when something is not hostile, or is ironic to diffuse wrath or offence. However, sometimes these emoticons are thought to indicate offence ironically. No response, or intent, is entirely certain. People can also gender themselves with emoticons or emotional statements, especially as women are believed to be more prone to indicate emotion.

Obviously we need to know whether different cultures find the need for different emoticons, or different visible punctuation.

At another level we can argue that gender itself becomes paradoxical or dislocating when it is treated as if it was an opposition (as in the formulation of ‘the opposite sex’) rather than a difference. Thus if we assume that women and men are logical opposites and thus that women are not-men, and vice versa, then we effectively delete the areas of commonality from our experience and leaving us incomplete. We are simply defining by negation and creating a gendered emptiness.

The value of online and offline bodies is not stable and changes with the context of comparison. Thus the offline body can be considered female when compared with the male spirit which is liberated online, while the offline body can be considered to be virile and masculine if compared with ineffective, or fantasy, bodies online (Marshall 2004b).
Paradoxes of Online Community

‘Community’ is not so much a ‘thing’, but a term with political and social import which carries ideals of legitimacy. It is, as a result, more interesting to look at how the term is used in a situation or among a group, than it is to try and identify its characteristics (Marshall 2000: Chapter 12 part 1).

On Cybermind, it seemed that a sense of what people called community was built up, partially at least, by the redundant off-topic mails which rendered the list more ‘personal’. In this case, expressing the personal was identified with the communal – as the personal is more ‘real’ by convention. However, the off-topic mails which built this sense of ‘community’ and ‘belonging’ could also drive people away by swamping mails dealing with the topic which they had joined the list for. Another problem which arose was that the more the personal ties between people become strong, then the more these ties will tend to go offlist, and thus remove the presence of posts which give presence to the list and its conviviality. In a way, the List itself can become asent through intimacy.

Increased levels of off topic and offlist mails could also make it hard for new members to understand the relationships between people, and the content of these messages could often require knowledge of previous encounters to interpret.

Thus a technique which generates feelings of closeness in a group, can make it hard to maintain levels of membership, especially given that people continually drop out. Nothing forces people to stay on, or be involved with, a group.

On the whole, a very small proportion of the group was responsible for most of the emails to the group. This has been true of every Mailing List I have been on, and is generally necessary. If even half of a List of 300 people post once a day, the List would become unreadable. There was also a constant tension between off stated desires for every list member to participate, and this need to keep the list traffic at a manageable level. High volume might indicate community and activity, but it would also lead to people skipping mails and missing much of what was going on, thus fragmenting people’s contact with the
group and diminishing their understanding of what was happening. It could also result in people leaving the list as they could not cope with the volume.

Attempts to build a space for ‘free and friendly discussion’ also increased the need for some kind of social control to remove obstacles and disruptions to this discussion. These attempts at control frequently resulted in flame wars, demonstrating unity between those on particular sides, increasing difference between those on opposing sides, and lowering the chance of free and friendly discussion which was supposedly the aim. People also tend to interpret what is aggressive behaviour or flaming differently (and this difference of interpretation can be gendered), and Lists can frequently be disrupted by arguments as to whether an argument is happening or not.

Flame wars tended to cluster around external world fractures (such as politics, gender, race, nationality and so on), which were used to interpret what was going on, or what people were writing. These interpretations did not always seem relevant to what people were trying to say. External world identity factors often overpowered any sense of identity as an Internet grouping – perhaps because it is hard to build up group identity as an Internet group by acting in relation to other such groups. To some extent it can be alleged that flame arises in many cases, not because of people’s anonymity or lack of responsibility, but because of absence. Flame guarantees a response and thus confirms that you exist and have presence and encourages exaggeration. Paradoxically such ‘exaggeration’ can lead to a greater sense of involvement at the same time as the bonds may be being destroyed. Such ‘war’ does not require that people are naturally aggressive, merely that the situation magnifies the possibility of such a response.

The sense of the group as ‘community’, with a ‘group style’, with a status or popularity hierarchy reflected in the visibility of persons, needs continual prestation, as it only exists in this prestation. An influx of new members can change the group identity, as they would not be aware of this identity or the ways it is maintained. They might post in unusual ways on different topics and great volume (inappropriate to their status as ‘newcomers’), and cause other more established members to leave or go no-mail.

**Summarising Gender and Ambiguity**
Gender functions as a category reference to the body, it is linked to both constructions of intimacy and privacy, and in opposition to itself.

It, like any other form of presence online, is asent and bound up with uncertainties and suspensions. Particular forms of unclear opposition which are important to online life and gender include the distinction between public and private, authenticity and deceit, and community and anomie.

Demands for authenticity, usually tied to the offline body, override acceptance of multiplicity, especially when it is necessary to show intimacy. Attempts to identify offline gender are common in these situation, but often fraught.

Attempts to resolve these binaries can produces paradoxes as when gendered characteristics are exaggerated to generate the sexual tensions which build gendered intimacies and a sense of mutual presence and reference, while these exaggerations are also recognised and negotiated as deletions of presence, or even as betrayal. Likewise the conventions used to indicate authenticity and truth also undermine it.

**Cyborgs**

Famously Donna Haraway has proposed that the model of the cyborg (“a cybernetic organism, a hybrid of machine and organism”) is a way of transcending gender writing:

The cyborg is a creature in a post-gender world; it has no truck with bisexuality, pre-oedipal symbiosis, unalienated labour, or other seductions to organic wholeness through a final appropriation of all the powers of the parts into a higher unity (1989: 150).

Why bisexuality, or not being influenced by the gender of your potential sex partners, is a seduction to wholeness is not explained.

My understanding is that Haraway wrote the original article as a polemic against mid-80s back to nature goddess feminism, and as such it was intended to show that humans have always been tool users and, in that sense, ‘unnatural’. However it has been transported out of that limited context and considered to have far wider, almost universal, implications. Balsamo
suggested that the “cyborg provides a framework for studying gender identity as it is technologically crafted simultaneously from the matter of material bodies and cultural fictions” (1996: 11), while an exuberant conference announcement which was posted to Cybermind declared that Haraway’s Manifesto:

interrogates and/or collapses the differences between the sentient and the non-sentient, the human and the non-human; it engages and undoes a wide range of binary oppositions from Cartesian dualism to culturally coded distinctions of gender, class, and race; and it exemplifies the breaching of boundaries and frontiers in social, ethical, legal and technological issues from disability to genetic engineering to computer privacy.

However, it is doubtful whether it quite fulfils these welcome aims. ‘Cyborg’ is not a value neutral term, it already has its ties and complexes. Myths, even ‘ironic’ ones, have their own directions, and those directions are part of the myth. Myths, and many other things, cannot entirely be disembedded or extracted from their defining social context, from within that social context.

Haraway writes that her essay is “an effort to contribute to socialist-feminist culture and theory in a postmodernist, non-naturalist mode and in the utopian tradition of imagining a world without gender, which is perhaps a world without genesis, but maybe also a world without end…” (151). However, a world without genesis may very well be a world without women, and may well presume a hidden unity for its generation. We all become machines, with the flesh simply a remnant of weakness. Davis-Floyd (1998) makes the point in some detail in her study of the increasing cyborgisation of birthing practices, which primarily function, whether intentionally or not, to give the medical establishment and hegemonic cultural forces more power, while alienating the woman giving birth.

Haraway argues that the cyborg, can be a model for re-imagining liberation.

In the traditions of “Western” science and politics...- the relation between organism and machine has been a border war. The stakes in the border war have been the territories of production, reproduction, and imagination (1989: 150).

In particular, the borders concerned are those between animal and human, human and machine, physical and non-physical and presumably male and female. The cyborg is held to challenge these divisions, without leading us to the ‘seductive’ desire for some kind of organic wholeness. As a result, by a never explained logic, nature ceases to be simply a resource appropriated by or incorporated into culture – perhaps because it is already
incorporated and there is no nature, tool, human distinction.

Yet it could be argued that the border wars have already been won by extending the rule of programs and human models into the world, and running work schedules according to ideals and theories rather than according to constantly gleaned ‘realities’, and indeed overriding those realities. This suggests that cyborgs do not necessarily transcend gender, in any way other than the way that males, in the West have always transcended gender, by relegating the female to nature, deleting it from the human and over riding it according to will and spirit. It may be that organic wholeness is actually a radical position, especially when it incorporates the ambiguities of actual life, and such an idea might suggest that human will cannot always be directly implemented via technology or effort without unforeseen consequences.

Further, statements such as:

Our best machines are made of sunshine; they are all light and clean because they are nothing but signals, electromagnetic waves, a section of a spectrum, and these machines are eminently portable, mobile ... Cyborgs are ether, quintessence (1989: 153),

suggest that cybermachines are already homes for disembodiment and etherealisation, and possibly enable a destruction of our bodies and their homes. This is not post gendered but a transcendence of gender via pure spirit. In this sense, cyborgs encourage the ideas of people like Moravec and the extopians in which the human is purely the mind or the spirit and we can overcome death by burying the body and copying our mind to a machine. The immortality claimed for such cyborgs also contradicts Haraway’s desire for positions of finitude and mortality (Haraway 1991: 16), showing that the cyborg is not inherently untranscendental. Kull’s post-Haraway cyborg theology also finds it easy to use cyborgs to discuss transcendence (2001, 2002), as does the film *The Matrix*.

The connection of the intellect with etherealisation is also suggested by Haraway’s admission that her cyborg has no disruptive unconscious. She explains this by her reluctance to embrace the totalising explanations of psychoanalysis (Haraway 1991: 9), as if that was the only theory of the unconscious, but it further shows the alienation of the flesh within the cyborg model, there is no room for ambiguity.

Haraway suggests that the cyborg might simultaneously enable the visioning of a system in which people “are not afraid of their joint kinship with animals and machines, not afraid of
permanently partial identities and contradictory standpoints” (Haraway 1989: 155). We might wonder if the cyborg, who has slain their ‘mere’ flesh (as per the mental immortalists), would inevitably see some kind of kinship with animals? Such an identity is only partial to the outsider who queries it, the insider with such an identity sees no diminuation. In an interview Ellen Ullman tells how she bought a little robotic cat:

it was advertised as having Artificial Intelligence and as having an ability to learn and respond to you…. And so I just left it on, and left it around the house and what bothered me was that after spending time with this very primitive robotic cat, I began to see my cat as just a set of robotic tricks. And I began to see her responses, which are really very complicated,… as a set of simple, programmed modules, and it really diminished her, and that’s what shocked me more than anything else, how would it change my thinking about a living creature (Ullman 2002).

In some ways this experience seems to be reductive of tensions and differences rather than leading to exploration of them.

The cyborg might, she claims, further destabilise the categories of class or gender, which have previously lead the political Left to fission into different identity movements – “Cyborg feminists have to argue that ‘we’ do not want any more natural matrix of unity and that no construction is whole” (Haraway 1989: 157). Cyborgs supposedly allow us to:

not think in terms of essential properties, but in terms of design, boundary constraints, rates of flows, systems logics, costs of lowering constraints…. no ‘natural’ architectures constrain system design (1989: 162).

Perhaps all this does is allow natural systems to be overridden by conscious will (as in conventional capitalism), creating a repressed which then sabotages what is supposedly determined.

Haraway famously argues that Cyborgs are post-gendered, but if gender is vital to “Western” self regulation and framing online, as argued before, then this seems improbable, and thus useless as a libratory tool. Portrayals of cyborgs on the Internet tend to be thoroughly gendered (DeVoss 2000). Silvio (1999) demonstrates that an apparently radical cyborg anime, also portrays control of female body by male spirit. Wilkerson writes:

from the standpoint of feminist bisexual identity… I contend that this [cyborg] myth evades the very issues of race and sexuality which it seems to be addressing’, and suggests that ‘it is vitally important to keep tensions of race and sexuality present rather than to blur the boundaries (1997: 164, 172).
If energy arises from opposition, then smoothing it out might lead to somnambulance.

In some ways the cyborg could be thought of as a surrender to boundaries broken by others – “becoming one with the borg”. Locating oneself in the ‘belly of the monster’ (Haraway 1991: 6) is also a good way to be digested and assimilated. Finally it seems that Haraway’s statement “the Subjects are cyborg, Nature is trickster” (1991) reintroduces a nature and culture, or self and world, divide – even if place for us has gone (‘geography is elsewhere’). Nature, or parts of nature, have regained their agency, as independent of humans and technology.

Those oppositions which the cyborg was to overcome have re-emerged within the attempt to find a third term combining both or acting as a bridge.

Exploring the way these category borders are used would seem more interesting than transcending them as hybrids, or by describing the current by models of a posited future. I hope a more modest word like asence which draws attention to the process of boundary uncertainty, of suspension and oscillation; that does not act as a bridging third; and which leaves the categories with the force that they have, is more useful than a hybrid like cyborg which already has its own drives, elisions and politics in place.

It certainly seems the case, that to our mythic imaginations the danger of machines taking over the machine/human counterposition, is more pronounced than that of us becoming one with them in an empowering sense. In particular the cyborg seems placid before the destruction of the natural world, and the incorporation of people as tools into information capitalism. It is placid before these events because these are the events which make cyborgisation possible. The Harawayan cyborg does not dispose of mythic directions, ignores the problems of systemic interaction, does not overcome conceptual polarities, does not provide a radical political strategy, and does not seem to portray the complexities of online, or cyborg, life and its varieties of interaction.

The model of the cyborg does not transcend gender, rather it hybridises and presents a model of gendered unity subservient to the system of machines caught between destruction and repair.
It is more profitable, and truer to online experience, to conduct a politics of online gender by observing these tensions than smoothing them over, or proclaiming they no longer exist.
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Title:
A Structural Analysis of Medical Bureaucracies: What the Nurses Have to Say

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Abstract:

This research examines the structural dynamics of medical bureaucracies and more specifically explains how understanding organizational structure will provide insights into the problems faced in healthcare today. I will discuss the more traditional literature on organizations and then examine how a feminist analysis of medical bureaucracies will expand our knowledge of the problems in care giving organizations and help us to create more effective bureaucracies. I focus on the role of nurses in workplaces to provide empirical evidence of how structure impedes efficient functioning.
PURPOSE

Though the recent child decreases, on the scene of the education in Japan, which problem with school refusal becomes the past maximum. A problem at the school is pointed out as the location of the cause. It says that the class doesn't function successfully. By increasing, in individually depending compatible of the class person in charge, it isn't possible to be solved. The way of taking up a problem includes two tries. In the process of class management’s becoming difficult, it describes that various tries which the school does are a teacher by the time series. It analyzes an individual state mainly in the relation between the child and the teacher. It increases and it draws the personality of the class. The trend of the research moves from ? to ?. This change is the one to dig up the match of the teacher who is buried in the place of the practice from the attitude to have esteemed to make take up only the present situation as the problem and compose and to head for the restructuring of the common understanding.

In this research, it consulted the viewpoint of the school clinical psychology. It made that the capability forming by the teacher could be more independently achieved in the process of the research an aim. To realize it, it utilized an investigation activity by the expert from the outside at the school. The purpose of this activity was that the teacher notices that it does relation with the child and searched the growth of the teacher as the vocational person.

METHOD

The cooperator

The school which cooperated with the research is the public elementary school to have integrated five school into in 1995 in the city part and to have been born at it.
After establishment, it receives the specification of the studies and development school. It is the school which does a cutting-edge try to the problems of the modernistic education. It recruited a cooperator from the teacher at this school. It got three teachers who do 5 graders at the person in charge as the cooperator. As for them, to know a characteristic below by the observation of the class to make investigation before and behind back and forth was made.

The A teacher is the man teacher who continues a teacher over 16 years. Then, it takes the gathering duty of this teacher group. It is bighearted nature as the overall atmosphere. It thinks much of the guide of the whole class from the tutoring and it thinks much of child's growing in whole class atmosphere's changing.

The B teacher is the woman teacher who continues a teacher over 14 years. With the hope of the very person, it often takes charge of the amount grade. It speaks to the one child alone of the class and it thinks much of the tender concerning by the individual texture. Also, it is showing the posture to have judged personally, too, severely to up raise the child where to keep a rule is made.

The C teacher is the man teacher who continues a teacher over 3 years. Before becoming a teacher, it has the experiencing of work in the corporation. The story is trying to be made in the relation which is as near as possible for the children. 1/3 of the activity goal which the child wrote down gets "to insist on the sport" and only in the learning activity of the child, the effort to try to know a figure of doing that it is possible to see difficulty being can be guessed at. The C teacher notices a value for the overall activity to rise.

The way of the investigation

The way of the investigation which was used by this research is RCRT for the teacher which repeated revision for the school teacher. A procedure is composed of 4 steps below the most part.

1. The teacher extracts the child of his class in the order to imagine at the head.
2. It extracts the child of the affinity who doesn't go successfully respectively about several persons with the child with good affinity.
3. It creates and it shows 15 sets of sets of one set, three, of children to the teacher in order. The teacher chooses two which have the characteristic to resemble among three the thing comes out and shows the characteristic to be common. It increases and the degree of the opposition is described.
4. As for all child, it evaluates the degree of the characteristic according to the expression of ...
The time of the investigation

In this research, it implemented investigation with twice in the interval of the about half year to the same class. It implemented the 1st at the end of the grade of 3 graders. The 2nd was the summer vacation of 6 graders. During this research period, there was not a difference of the teacher and the child.

It did feedback interviewing and group discussion every each investigation and it made the recording data research material. The analysis and the feedback on information was shown in the profile data of the child by 15 expressions which were gotten as the investigation result. Next, it did the factor analysis the variable of which was an expression every class.

It computed a simple answer using the varimax rotation method after fixing the number of the dimensions and it put an expression in order every teacher. Next, it computed the factor point of the child and it showed the characteristic of the child in the figure.

The RESULT and CONSIDERING

The characteristic of the teacher

Here, it shows mainly the interviewing record of the feedback. A result by the factor analysis was shown in the attached list. In the interviewing scene, it discussed the key word which gathers those expressions up every factor with the teacher. The expression which contains an affirmative meaning in the table for the teacher was shown on the left side whereas the expression which contains a lot of negative meanings was shown in the right.

The case of the A teacher

The expression of the A teacher gathered mainly up by two groups in the case of the 1st implementation. If supposing that an expression is gathered, it became "quiet" vs. "jejune", "pleasant" vs. "silence". It is in the characteristic that these pairs don't always become an adversative like Japanese. It resulted in the structure which has an opposite meaning in the meaning space to have completed in the relation with the child of each teacher.

In the case of the A teacher, the figure of the child in case of the whole school life is roughly shown first. It was using specific expressions such as "the silence" repeatedly and the condition which receives the characteristic of the child was supposed not to
differentiate. It was telling the introspection to suggest the simplification of "... of
difficult really in it was difficult to become a word to extract the characteristic of the
child. " and its viewpoint to.

In the 2nd implementation result behind the half year, it was mainly gathered
up by three groups. " Being in shoes of the person and being thought of " vs. " making its
pace important ", " the effort can be made " vs. " jejune ", saying " becoming " " it seems
that it is a child " vs. " becoming pubescence ", the kind of the viewpoint increased. It is
the state to have been conscious in the pile with concrete relation with the child and to
have been thinking of the relation. The result appeared in the increase of the kind of the
viewpoint.

"After doing investigation in front, as for the child who did negative evaluation,
it was seeing slowly and carefully, it came and it thought that it does. It got to think of
the reason for the act, " Why was it so " which is in another back. It thinks that it was
changed from the condition which was gathering a viewpoint only around the actual
act. ... When finding that there is a reason, the feeling irritated often calms down. It is
possible to touch without becoming too emotional as the teacher. It thinks for the such
change to appear in the 2nd word use."

The case of the B teacher

The B teacher could gather the 1st expression to three. The B teacher could
gather the 1st expression to three. 15 expressions could be gathered to " the
independence " vs. " the behaving like the baby ", " being positive " vs. " the shade ", "
the responsibility " vs. " the spiritlessness ". The request how to want to have a child
grow up was very clear. There were many expressions " not to be " in the negative
expression and the B teacher made the height of the expectations to the child once more
what where many evaluative viewpoints occur in the fruit sense. Also, it reported a
change at the short time. The way of touching the child of the affinity who felt not good
changed.

It was a strange thing but behind the back of the investigation, it was changed
from the side of the child. Because I still changed, it thinks that the way of touching
from the child, too, will have changed. The posture that the strength of the influence to
investigation teacher himself is shown and that the B teacher tries to undertake a
change as his own happening was definite.

After the 2nd implementation, the B teacher told as follows. "Because it
understood its point of view in the investigation in front of this, it thought that it let's
attempt to see with the different eyes. It thinks for the way of putting on which the child
concerns consciously when it let's see with the different eyes to have been changed. On the other hand, it reconsidered the narrow of its point of view.

In this way, B teacher himself is the meaning to tell. The thing for which the introspection in the business that the daily life is busier simultaneously with the size of the effort of this teacher himself by the daily life in this talk is very difficult was supposed. It is easy for the reconsideration to reflect on it, being surplus to occur. The teacher needs the system building to guarantee the introspection which is useful for the practice while of this softening by.

The case of the C teacher
The C teacher gathered an expression to three about the 1st implementation. It was "activity" vs. "stillness", "quick on the uptake" vs. "slow", "burning" vs. "fragile". It attracted C teacher himself to the latter and of the whole it was moved. It is the fact that the image of that C teacher himself grows and the growth of the child overlaps in the teacher.

While seeing a figure, the C teacher told. "It is stillness, and it is but it has activity in. It is difficult to ascertain. The feeling becomes borrowing, saying not being because the child who is seeing extremely when seeing objectively is seeing only a side."

After the 2nd implementation, the C teacher told. "It knew that the existence of so-called class was very big for the growth of the child while discussing in the grade. It becomes big in teacher himself. When saying misunderstanding without fearing it, the class, too, was important to it but the recess time had weight. Now, it feels the importance of the experience which can release the idea to nourish the power to think of logically and order's XPOSs have stood. It is in the place of the class that it does it."

The change of the class view was linguistic-ized in this way.

The confirmation of the collaboration

It observed the state to share the information of the child each other among the teachers from the investigation interviewing. It was beforehand and as for the A teacher, the role of the elder brother and the share which can be compared to the family were causing the role, the C teacher of the mother about the role, the B teacher of the father of the grade. A communication by the viewpoint of each role was lively done beyond the frame of the class.

The remark of the A teacher
"The C teacher became a teacher, in 3, he began and took charge of the amount grade.
There was time to have thought that the truth must remark that it is various more. On the other hand, it sees from us and it has very good feelings. It invented when there would be to be it even if it entrusted. To nip never to do his bighearted in the bud, it was careful and it concerned.”

In this way, it admits each other each other as the individual among the teachers and the work which re-recognizes a mutual position was observed in the investigation. When expressing this in words and confirming it, the investigation played a big role. If there is not investigation, it seems that it is the place to be buried without being felt in the practice of the daily life. It seemed that it was useful for defining relation among the teachers by telling " that I of being this. can see so my viewpoint " before in the data which expresses the relation among children and teachers.

The C teacher: “It thinks that it pictures S and K more in this direction if being me.”

The B teacher: “It is so. It has been possible to be seen in this place by all means to, me. Why will the way of that it is possible to see be different from the C teacher? “

The C teacher: “Is to concern with the soccer related?”

The A teacher: “It is related to the nature of doing the favorite of the C teacher?”

Everywhere, it was seen and it thought that such exchange neutralized the leaning of the mutual point of view via the process of such a discussion.
1. **Title of the submission:**
Comparison between Teachers and Psychotherapists, on Each Viewpoint to Understand Infant Playing

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Comparison between Teachers and Psychotherapists, on Each Viewpoint to Understand Infant Playing

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Matsui Hitoshi : Kyoto University of Education

Abstract
Aims : The research objective is to make a comparison between nursery school’s teachers, psychotherapists and students on each viewpoint to understand the infant playing together. We used the ‘on-going method’ for investigating their processes grasping infants’ characteristics.

Method : We applied the way named ‘on-going method’. In practice, teachers, psychotherapists and students watched the videotapes that infants were playing in their infant school. They talked things that they were guessing on falling, while they fixed their eyes on.

Result : As a result, our data showed that the position and role as the specialist characterized their recognition, judgments and making relationships with infants. We expected to let the specialists know their own characteristics each other. These knowledge would be needed when the specialists in their different area work together.

Key Word
infant teacher psychotherapist collaboration on-going

Introduction
In Japan, school counselors have employed at junior high schools from 1995. It’s unusual for specialists except teachers to work in the field of education by then. Now school counselors’ employment spread over elementary schools, high schools and infant schools.

We think that it’s important for the specialists to know their characteristics and collaborate. Especially at infant schools, it’s needed for the specialists to know each viewpoint to understand the infant playing together.

Aims
The research objective is to make a comparison between infant school’s teachers, psychotherapists and students on each viewpoint to understand infants playing together. We used the ‘on-going method’ for investigating their processes grasping infants’ characteristics.

The ‘on-going method’ is adopted how to know the teacher’s recognition, judgments and making relationships with the children, while he/she is just teaching in the school. This method is purposeful to catch the teacher’s characteristics just now, not to catch them afterward. Ikuta(2002) used this method and researched about the difference how to recognize between the teacher and the professor, while they were watching the class of Japanese by their practice teacher.
In our research, the subject watched the videotapes that infants were playing in their nursery school. And they talked things that they were guessing on falling, while they fixed their eyes on.

**Method**

1. **Material and Subject**
   **Videotapes**
   We applied four videotapes that infants playing at their infant school in their daily life. We were named Videotape A, B, C and D. We edited A and B from training ones for infant school’s teachers, and C and D from ones that were filmed by us at the public infant schools. It took the subjects between three and a half minutes and five minutes to watch one videotape. The scene of A was to play with big blocks. B was to play with pretend scenarios. C was to play in the sand. And D was to play under a horizontal ladder. Each of the videotapes had the theme. The theme of A is to undergo a mental. The theme of B is to conflict with friends. The theme of C is to share pleasure with friends. The theme of D is to understand the infant from the position of each of the subjects.

   **Questionnaire**
   Whenever the subject watched one videotape, the subjects answered three questions and wrote them. Q1 ‘Please write the most impressed scene and the reason why you were impressed.’ Q2 ‘Please write things that you missed talking while you watched the videotape.’ Q3 ‘Please write the other information that you’ll want to know the infant, except for the videotapes.’

   **Interview**
   We interviewed the subjects, when they ended the last paper. Our question is ‘If the infant in the last Videotape D is playing in front of you, how do you make relationships with him?’

2. **Subject**
   The subjects were 10 infant school teachers, 10 psychotherapists of children and 10 teachers college students of fourth year.

2. **Practice**
   **Time for practice**
   The practice took from July to October, 2004.

   **Procedure**
   We practiced the individual interview. The procedure was as follows; (1) The subject watched the videotapes. He(She) talked anything he thought, felt and found, while he fixed his eyes on. We recorded all talking things. (We call this process ‘on-going’.) (2) As soon as he finished watching one videotape, he wrote in the paper to answer the questions. (3) He repeated (1) and (2) process, while he watched four videotapes. (4) Finally, he was interviewed about the infant of the last videotape. The practice took about one hour.

3. **Analysis**
   We analyzed talking things of ‘on-going’ and the Videotape D.

   We grouped talking things of ‘on-going’ by 12 categories and 45 subcategories. (Refer to
Next we made up them. And we picked up 'the subcategories of many talking things in same position'. Next we picked up 'the sub categories of many talking things by comparison with other positions'.

? We picked up `the terms' used frequently of `on -going'.

? We grouped the writing things about Q1 of Videotape D by five contents the subject wrote and four objects the infant worked on.

? We grouped the talking contents of the interview into six grades the subject made relationships with the infant and three grades how the subjects understood the infant.

### Table 1 Grouping talking things of `on-going method'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>«Category»</th>
<th>&lt;Subcategory&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Behavior / Situation</td>
<td>Doing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of leading character(s) of the infants</td>
<td>Behavior (just as the subject had watched it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stop doing/ Break making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Achieve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking</td>
<td>Talking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of leading character(s) of the infants</td>
<td>Word (just as the subject had heard it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tone/ How to talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not talking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appearance / Body</td>
<td>Body/ Build</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of leading character(s) of the infants</td>
<td>Habit/ How to move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appearance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expression / Eye</td>
<td>Expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of leading character(s) of the infants</td>
<td>Eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mental workings</td>
<td>Want to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of leading character(s) of the infants</td>
<td>Have interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Physical condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mental condition/ Emotion/ Mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cause for behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Had experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaking to the infant</td>
<td>Talk as the infant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By the subject</td>
<td>Reflect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Watch/ Prompt to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cheer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mental workings</td>
<td>Emotion/ Feeling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of the subject</td>
<td>Notice or Understand another time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prospect of the behavior of the infant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personality, Development, and Ability of the infant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Estimate of the infant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Degree of the behavior of the infant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thought</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Relationship of the infants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship Of the infants</th>
<th>Exchange/ Cooperation/ Help/ Exercise leadership/ Fight</th>
<th>Relationship in general</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Behavior/ Situation Of the other infant(s)</td>
<td>Join or Stop the playing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About The Teacher</td>
<td>About the teacher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About Playing</td>
<td>Beginning, Course and Change of playing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About Environment</td>
<td>Teaching material/ Making by the infant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Natural phenomenon/ Weather</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Danger</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2 The Number of Talking Things of `on-going`

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Videotape</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Psychologist</th>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Sum of each videotape</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1 61</td>
<td>1 54</td>
<td>1 15</td>
<td>4 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1 50</td>
<td>1 71</td>
<td>1 33</td>
<td>4 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>1 96</td>
<td>1 78</td>
<td>1 20</td>
<td>4 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>2 37</td>
<td>2 34</td>
<td>1 63</td>
<td>6 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>7 44</td>
<td>7 37</td>
<td>5 31</td>
<td>2 012</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Result

We made up the number of `on-going` talking things. (Refer to Table2.)

The results of talking things of `on-going` were as follows. (Refer to Table3 and Table4.) The subcategories of many talking things of the Teachers were < Want to do > and < Have interest >. They were going to grasp the infant's aim of playing and interest in playing. The talking characteristic of them was < Estimate >. This was the important role of them. < Emotion/ Feeling >< Thought > showed the characteristic that they declared their thoughts shortly.

The subcategories of many talking things of the Psychotherapists were < Doing > and < Behavior >. The talking characteristic of them was < Reflect >. And the subcategories of few talking things were < Cause for behavior > and < Estimate >. They were talking as they watched and heard then, but they didn't talk their thoughts soon. And they were going to understand the present state of the infant.

The subcategories of many talking things of the Students were < Doing > < Behavior > < Situation >. These were the states of the infant that they were watching. They were speaking < Cheer > well to the infant, for example `Yoshi!' 'Ike!'. And they noticed the infant was in bad physical condition. Besides they were interested in < Making by the infant >. From the above fact, it came out that they were in favor the infant and acted with one heart and mind easily. Through < Notice or Understand another time >, we knew the Students' understanding processes about the infant.
Table 3 The Sub-category of Many Talking Things in Same Position’s Subjects

- **Condition A**: The number of talking things in same position’s subjects amounts to more than 5%
- **Condition B**: The number of talking persons in same position’s subjects amounts to more than 40%

*The boldface satisfies Condition A and Condition B.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behavior/ Situation</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Psychotherapist</th>
<th>Student</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Talking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.Appearance/ Body</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expression/ Eye</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mental workings of the infant</td>
<td>Want to do</td>
<td>Mental condition / Emotion / Mood</td>
<td>Mental condition / Emotion / Mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaking to the infant</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cheer</td>
<td>Cheer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mental workings of the subject</td>
<td>Emotion/ Feeling</td>
<td>Prospect of the behavior Personality, Development and Ability</td>
<td>Estimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thought</td>
<td>Estimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship of the infants</td>
<td>Exchange</td>
<td>Cooperation / Readership</td>
<td>Cooperation / Readership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavior/ Situation of the other infant(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About The Teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About Playing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About Environment</td>
<td>Teaching material / Making by the infant</td>
<td>Teaching material / Making by the infant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 The Sub-category of Many Talking Things by Comparison with Other Position’s Subjects

*Condition C*: The number of talking things and talking persons amounts to more than double by comparison with other position’s subjects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>« Category »</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Psychotherapist</th>
<th>Student</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Behavior/ Situation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stop doing / Break making</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking</td>
<td>Stop doing / Break making</td>
<td>Tone / How to talk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appearance/ Body</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expression/ Eye</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mental workings of the infant</td>
<td>Expression</td>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
<td>Cause for behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cause for behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaking to the infant</td>
<td>Reflect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mental workings of the subject</td>
<td>Thought</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thought</td>
<td>Thought</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notice or Understand another time</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship of the infants</td>
<td>No relationship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavior / Situation of the other infant(s)</td>
<td>No relationship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About The Teacher</td>
<td>About the teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About Playing</td>
<td>Beginning, Course and Change of playing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About Environment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results of the terms used frequently were as follows. (Refer to Table 5.)

The Teachers used frequently ᴰ? hard? , ᴰ? do one’s best? and ᴰ? oneself? . They estimated the attitude acting with positive and independently And they wished the infant would acquire such attitude in the future.

The Psychotherapists used frequently ᴰ? collect oneself/ come around? , ᴰ? have one’s way? and ᴰ? tell the playmate / be understood by the playmate? . They noticed the infant’s conflict and how to cope the problem. And they used ᴰ? role? and ᴰ? on purpose? , too. They noticed whether the infant has sociability. Then the characteristic terms of them were ᴰ? the world of oneself? and ᴰ? playing on one’s own? . They thought that playing alone had both a plus side and a minus side.

The Students used frequently ᴰ? alone? , ᴰ? on purpose? and ᴰ? cooperation? . These behaviors were easy for them to notice. And they wanted to know the meaning of these behaviors.

**Table 5 The Terms used frequently**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Psychotherapist</th>
<th>Student</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hard</td>
<td>do one’s best</td>
<td>( do one’s best)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do one’s best</td>
<td></td>
<td>( How about that !)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How about that !</td>
<td>mind? intention</td>
<td>mind? intention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oneself</td>
<td>collect oneself/ come around</td>
<td>collect oneself/ come around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>playmate</td>
<td>have one’s way</td>
<td>can’t have one’s way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mind? intention</td>
<td>will have one’s way</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collect oneself/ come around</td>
<td>tell the playmate / be understood by the playmate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The world of oneself</td>
<td>The world of oneself</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>playing on one’s own rule</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rule</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We grouped the contents writing Q1 about Videotape D into five contents; Remark/Question?, Characteristic of infants?, Thought?, Interpretation? and Consciousness of the problem?. Besides we grouped the objects the infant worked on into four objects; Thing?, Person and Thing?, Person? and Self through the thing?. The results were as follows. (Refer to Table6.)

**The Teachers** wrote about Thought? and Interpretation?. They were going to understand the infant as great. But they demanded the development better than now. **The Psychotherapists** continued having Consciousness of the problem?, while they were watching the infant. They often understood that the infant was facing Self through the thing.

The Students wrote in apt terms for their mind. They began to know about a developmental stage and Characteristic of infants.

<p>| Table 6 The Contents of writing Q1 And The Objects working on, About Videotape D |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher?</th>
<th>Psychotherapist?</th>
<th>Student?</th>
<th>Remark</th>
<th>Characteristic of infants</th>
<th>Thought</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
<th>Consciousness of the problem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We grouped the talking contents of the interview into six grades that the subject made relationships with the infant; Do nothing/Just look/Follow behind, Sit his side/Do his same thing, Make a relationship through the thing, Touch him, Speak to him/Play with him, Play with him actively/Praise him/Invite him other playing. Besides we grouped them into three grades that the subject understood the infant; He enjoys, He feels like doing, He is content, He doesn't enjoy, He is dull, He is content. The results were as follows. (Refer to Table7.)

**The Teachers** were the position to work on the infant. But they had the conflict between
working on and acceptance. They hoped that the infant was playing with friends more than playing alone.

The Psychotherapists were the position to accept as the infant really is. But they confirmed the infant’s reaction to their behavior. They thought that the infant was enjoying alone and keeping a distance to other persons.

The Students were doing for the infant. And they did trial and error. Thinking of them was similar to one of the Teachers.

Table 7 How to make relationships with the infant And How to understand the infant, About Videotape

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Psychotherapist</th>
<th>Student</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do nothing/ Just look/ Follow behind</td>
<td>Sit his side/ Do his same thing</td>
<td>Make relationship through the thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Touch him</td>
<td>Speak to him / Play with him</td>
<td>Play with him active/ Praise him / Invite him other playing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusion

We knew that all subjects would grasp a mental state of the infant and work on the infant who would be grown up and happy. On the other hand, our date showed that the position and role as the specialist characterized their recognition, judgment and making relationships with the infant.

Discussion

In Japan the people are ready for various specialists to work in the educational system. But they make little exchange of their information. In future it will increasingly need for the specialists to know their own characteristics each other.
We think that Teachers can take in away of thinking of Psychotherapists. We would like to express our views for two ways of thinking of Psychotherapists.

First it’s often difficult for Teachers to ‘accept as the infants really are’, because they hope that the infants act as one of the group and grow up along a developmental stage. So it’s important for Teachers to perceive the limit of their role and sometimes leave the infants to other specialists.

Next we think that Teachers will be able to change their viewpoint to understand infants, if they will have consciousness about ‘facing themselves’. And we mean that they will notice for themselves to be concerned in making the situation of the class. Consequently they will think that infants will also need the time of ‘facing themselves’, and can follow them.

We expect that psychotherapists will explain their particular ways of thinking to teachers, and they satisfy teachers that they would like to do.

At present the applications of Students in the field of education are going to expand gradually. When the specialists are working with students and beginners, they can remember what state of mind they were in at first, and they can confirm what to do they were experienced in the work.

These knowledge would be needed when various specialists will work together.

References
The Movie

The movie *Clueless*, released in 1995, targeted young girls and women from middle school and up (Lawrence, Rudin and Heckerling, 1995). This film greatly summarized the clothing choices of teenage girls in the mid 1990s. It appeals to the typical girl who has experienced or is experiencing the social pressures of high school. These pressures include the desire to be popular or “fit in,” which often means the desire or need to follow certain fashion trends.

The Character: “Ty”

Ty is the stereotypical, bumbling outcast who can only be saved from herself and her boring, socially inept life by a popular girl. Cher, the main character, sees Ty as a means of fulfilling her own warped sense of community service. Ty is the new girl at school and as such presents the possibility that Cher can better the world by making over one fashion disaster at a time. Over the course of the movie we watch Ty metamorphosize into something of a social butterfly, with still shaky wings. It is Ty’s struggle to find a compromise between her personality and her choice of dress that defines her character in the movie, *Clueless*. The
costumer designer, Mona May (Lawrence, et al., 1995), does an excellent job of portraying Ty’s transformation through the costumes chosen. In all Ty undergoes thirteen costume changes, each adding a dimension to Ty’s evolving character (Table 1).

**Analysis of Fashions Symbolizing Personality and Roles**

Ty’s costumes reflect changes in status within her role of high school student and friend. As we first see Ty (Table 1: Scene 1), she is wearing grungy, sloppy clothing, which the audience learns is congruent with her role as an outcast in her previous school. Ty’s baggy clothing and untidy hair show her carelessness towards her appearance, as well as her self-consciousness about her body. This becomes obvious in the makeover scene (Table 1: Scene 2) when Cher cuts a long top at the midriff causing Ty to hide her stomach while looking in the mirror (Lawrence, et al., 1995).

At first glance, Ty’s dress and appearance lead classmates and the audience to identify her as skateboarder or “slacker;” an underachiever who dress sloppy and is not part of the popular crowd at Beverly Hills High (Lawrence et al., 1995). It is over the course of the makeover that the audience learns how unsure Ty really is of herself. Also, her pre-makeover dress does not distinguish her gender, as she does not choose to adorn herself with feminine form-fitting fashions.

After the makeover Ty’s gender role is clearly defined through her dress and appearance, which mainly includes wearing short skirts and tight midriff tops. This dramatic change from unkempt and unfashionable to preppy and trendy, affect’s Ty’s confidence, and as a result the boys in school take an interest in dating her and the popular girls want to befriend her. Ty’s overnight popularity and rise in the social hierarchy in the school reflect changes in Ty’s roles.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene</th>
<th>Scene Description</th>
<th>Adornment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1     | Ty’s first day at Beverly Hills High School | Plaid, button-down shirt  
Black T-shirt with a troll on it  
Yellow converse sneakers  
Brown baggy pants  
Unkempt bright red frizzy hair  
No Makeup  
Tattoo on hand between thumb and forefinger  
Simple bracelet and ring |
| 2     | Ty’s makeover | Tight light gray rib-knit top that Cher cuts to midriff  
Dark gray tighter-fitting pants with suspenders  
Yellow Converse brand shoes  
Auburn colored dyed hair that is less frizzy |
| 3     | End Result of makeover | Tight knit blue top with tie-dyed printed heart top  
Short red skirt (mid thigh)  
Black Mary Janes  
Makeup  
Curly, styled hair |
| 4     | Ty works out with Cher | Grey sports bra  
Matching gray bicycle shorts  
Orange plaid long-sleeved shirt tied around waist  
Tattoo on shoulder revealed  
Grey Airwalk brand shoes |
| 5     | First school appearance after her makeover | Mid-thigh gray plaid skirt  
Tight gray sweater  
Black tights Tan clunky Mary Jane shoes  
Hair is in a ponytail with a scrunchy  
Diamond earrings  
Makeup |
| 6     | Dinner with Cher’s father and party in the Valley | Red plaid blazer  
Red striped midriff crewneck  
Black tapered pants with suspenders  
White socks with black patent leather loafers  
Black choker with heart detail  
Hair styled down on her shoulders  
Makeup |
| 7     | At school after Elton breaks her heart and at the mall | Low-cut black sleeveless lace-up top  
Brown plaid pants with thin matching belt  
Necklace with dangling accents  
Tattoos on shoulder is revealed  
Half pulled-back hair  
Makeup  
At the mall, she adds a red v-neck sweater |
Table 1. Description of Ty’s Costume Changes, continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene</th>
<th>Scene Description</th>
<th>Adornment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Frat party with Cher, Christian, and Josh</td>
<td>Sheer loose-fitting embroidered button-up top Long sleeve pink crew neck Short-alls with patchwork bib Silver Doc Martin brand boots Makeup Blue headband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>At the mall when she gets attacked</td>
<td>Pink Guess brand jeans White Short-sleeve midriff crew neck polo shirt White headband White shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>A school the next day</td>
<td>Blue short-sleeve v-neck sweater white long White long sleeve button down shirt underneath Blue barrettes in her hair Bottom of outfit not shown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>At Cher’s house after Cher’s driving test</td>
<td>Tweed plaid pink and black jacket Matching mini-skirt White knee-high socks Black Mary Janes Pink Crew-neck shirt Pink headband Necklace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Travis’s skateboard competition</td>
<td>Braided pig-tails Striped short sleeve Union Bay brand v-neck Belt with big metal buckle Brown baggy pants Necklace Grey Vans brand shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Miss Geist’s wedding</td>
<td>Light blue short-sleeve crew-neck dress with sheer striped embroidered overlay White Mary Janes Sheer white hose Choker necklace with colored pearl accents</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although Ty tries hard to develop a new personality to match her new look, she struggles from time to time. While she develops into a more confident and outgoing young woman, some aspects of her past are still visible. For instance, her tattoos continue to communicate a former aspect of her personality, and can be seen throughout the movie no matter what type of apparel
she wears. As the movie progresses the audience is aware of Ty’s struggle to find a balance between her pre- and post-makeover self.

**Analysis of Fashions and Nonverbal Communication**

Cher’s first impressions of Ty were made based on her adornment. Her dress communicated that, without Cher’s help and fashion advice, Ty would fall victim to the ridicule of her peers. This is evidenced by a student who commented that “[Ty] could be a farmer in those clothes” (Lawrence, et al., 1995). Cher and her friends stereotyped Ty as the aforementioned “slacker” simply based on the way she was dressed.

Ty’s character uses nonverbal communication to gauge how she is being viewed as her transformation progresses. Ty is even attracted to Travis, a popular boy, most likely because he is dressed similarly to her. Since perception is culturally conditioned, Ty had to conform to the liberal California style of dressing in order to make a good impression upon the rest of the school. The most universal dress item used for communication is hairstyle (Storm, 1987). Ty’s unkempt hair in scene 1 (Table 1) communicated her grungy lifestyle. Later, her styled hair depicts her affiliation with the popular crowd.

**Analysis of Fashions and Status and Social Class**

The outfit chosen by Ty on her first day at her new school portrays her as lower class and status. The comment about her looking like a farmer shows evidence of this (Lawrence, et al., 1995). After her makeover, however, Ty’s status immediately changes. Ty uses brand name clothing to show prestige (Storm, 1987). However, Ty tries to portray a higher status than which she appears to be comfortable. This is apparent when she is not sure of how to wear a sheer
button-down shirt at the frat party (Table 1: Scene 8). She asks Cher’s opinion and changes it several times, from tying it around her waist to wearing it as a headband in exasperation. Ty’s desire to change her status is relative to her desire to impress her new friends.

**Analysis of Fashions and Dress Congruence**

Before the makeover, Ty did not appear to be interested in her appearance or things such as shopping and socializing with her peers. Afterward, her change in adornment paralleled her need to match her personality to her new look, which is known as dress congruence (Storm, 1987). As stated earlier, Ty’s personality and actions follow her change in adornment. She aligns herself with the popular crowd through her new look and therefore has to act as they do, although uncharacteristic to her old self. She acts much more confident with her new dress choices. She takes on a snobby attitude with her crush, Travis, telling him to go sit with the rest of the slackers, and even turns on Cher, calling her “a virgin who can’t drive” (Lawrence, et al., 1995).

By the end of the movie, as Ty reaches a level of self-actualization, she develops her own style by combining her old and new looks. This is shown in the outfit she wears to Travis’ skateboarding competition (Table 1: Scene 12). Her pants look very similar to the brown baggy pants that she wore on her first day (Table 1: Scene 1), while her fitted striped top shows off her feminine figure. The audience can sense that Ty is coming into her own, feeling confident enough to be a little different from the crowd.
Conclusion

Although exaggerated, the movie Clueless provides an excellent example of how dress and adornment serve as cues to those around us. Careful attention was given to the development of the character, Ty. The film gives a larger than life view of high school cliques and the lengths to which teens will go to fit in.

References


On March 1, 1912, the Votes for Women Club held its organizing meeting in Grand Forks, North Dakota, as a chapter of the Votes for Women League of North Dakota. The Club’s stated objective was “To advance the industrial, legal, and educational rights of women, and to secure suffrage by appropriate state and national legislation.” The Club remained active until North Dakota Governor Frazier signed the Susan B. Anthony Federal Suffrage Amendment to the Constitution and its subsequent ratification. After two years of inactivity, the Votes for Women Club held its last meeting on December 29, 1919.

Two ledgers containing the hand written minutes for each meeting, the club’s constitution, and membership roster are currently held in the Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections in the Chester Fritz Library at the University of North Dakota in Grand Forks, North Dakota. For this project, I transcribe the ledgers and ask the questions, who were these women and men? What was their educational, economic, and professional status? I also examine how the organization evolved from a group of women who held teas, to a movement where debates and rallies drew hundreds of people, including men, who became members of the movement. Another aspect of the club that I examine, is the manner in which the organization was publicized through newspaper ads and articles, booths at country fairs, and literature distribution. In this paper, I attempt to reconstruct the movement, not just through a transcription of the ledgers, but by examining all available literature from the time, and by researching the lives of the individuals who were leaders and members of the movement. I believe this information can not only offer insight into how the women’s suffrage movement gained momentum during the early 1900s in small towns across the United States, but can offer insight into how women’s movements of today might be mobilized.
THE EU ACCESSION OF POLAND, CZECH REPUBLIC, SLOVENIA AND HUNGARY: THE PROBLEM OF FDI

Cristina Mocci, Giovanna Anselmi

ABSTRACT

This work analyses the role played by Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) in the development of four Central East European Countries (Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and Slovenia) become new members of EU from the 1st of May 2004. Preliminary points of discussion are on one hand the initiatives undertaken by the EU to support the adhesion of CEECs to the “acquis communautaire” through the European Programs PHARE, ISPA, SAPARD and EU Financial Institutions (EBRD, EIB); on the other hand the national markets liberalisation process, the privatisation of productive sectors and the actions adopted by each country to attract FDI. Further than at macroeconomic level, the FDI role in the transition economies is considered in relation to the degree of presence of foreign firms, the overall firm productivity, the internationalisation of economies and the labour market. FDI outflows and inflows between Italy and the four mentioned countries are reported For the analysis the data provided by UNCTAD and by national institutions and/or by scientific publications are used. The UNCTAD short – medium term forecasts on FDI in the four considered countries are also included. In the conclusion the main socio-economic policy implications related to the FDI in transitional economies are synthetically discussed.

1. Introduction

After Berlin Walls shut down in the 1989, stronger relationships were established between EU and CEECs (Central and East Europe Countries) with particular attention to trade and economic and political cooperation. In 1989, to support financially and technically the economic transition, it was launched the PHARE Program (Poland and Hungary Action for the Reconstruction of the Economies), addressed at the beginning to Poland and Hungary and in the following extended to all others CEECs. From 1994 to 1996 ten CEECs requested to adhere to the EU and among them Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovenia. At the end of 2002, having these countries mostly met the 1993’ Copenaghen political and economic criteria, the “Accession Threaties” were signed and ratified on the 16th of April 2003 in Athens. From the 1st of January 2000 additional instruments were implemented, like SAPARD and ISPA, to help the new countries to improve their management skills and administrative capabilities in agreement to the Criteria of acquis communautaire and to the objectives of the Social and Economic Cohesion Policies. Financial Institutions, like EIB and EBRD, were also involved to support EU initiatives. With the EU enlargement positive effects are expected to speed up the new comers economic development. At least same of the new members, namely Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovenia, show a relevant capability to attract FDI.
due to the favorable conditions of the labor market, the incentives provided by national policies and the higher dimension of the markets. To encourage foreign investors important legal modifications have been adopted by National Governments in the fields of the liberalization of capital transfers, the protection of foreign investments, the equal conditions between local and foreign investors. These manifold actions consolidate the transition towards a market economy and enlarge the privatisation process carried out until now.

2. The transition to the market economy

In the east European countries the opening of the national economies was preceded by a period of inner privatisation directed to the local operators. Only later, when the lack of resources and knowledge, needed to operate in a competitive global context, emerged, the foreign investors were also involved in the privatisation and restructuring of the national economies. As consequence of these process, these countries are facing the same problems the EU is facing: the lack of labour market flexibility, the high level of taxation and the social welfare sustainability. To compete in the enlarged market, production costs have to stay low and the productivity must increase, with a high risk to push up the unemployment. In addition the EU budget regulations restrict more and more the margins of national development policies and the new members are obliged to contribute, from the beginning, to the financial budget of the EU.

In conclusion there are different ambivalent conditions on the one hand, characterized by the relevant difficulty to realize new socio-economic asset and a sustainable development, and on the other hand by the benefits expected from the adhesion to the EU (the shut down of barriers to the commerce and to the investments development, the free movements of goods and workers, the easier transfer of technological innovations, the partnership in european programs for research and development).

3. The privatisation process

Further the maximization of the selling price, the main objectives of the privatisations as seen by the government agencies have been the reduction of the firms bankruptcy risks, the fast economic growth and the integration of the national economies in the global context. For the managers of the privatized firms the main reasons to open the privatization process to the foreign investors were the long term development of the firms, to find new funding and expertise in marketing and management, to get new technologies and to introduce firms into the international markets.

The incidence of FDI in the privatisation process of the mentioned countries is reported in Tab. 3.1 a) and Tab. 3.1 b) for the period 1991-1999. Both in Czech Republic, in Poland and in Hungary the total FDI has rapidly grown from 1991 to 1995, with a share related to privatisation, respectively of the 100% in Czech Republic, of the 27% in Poland and of the 68% in Hungary in 1995. After 1995 FDI remained important for privatisation in Czech Republic (respectively 92% in 1996 and 80% in 1997). In Poland the highest share of FDI in privatisation was in 1992 (72%).

4. FDI role and national policies

International institutions define FDI as the creation of durable interests among subjects residents and operating in different economic national systems,
characterized by a relevant power of control of the foreign investors on the firms of the host country. So the investments are not characterized just for the financial profile, but become expression of entrepreneurial actions taken by Multinationals to create in foreign countries firms directly managed and financially controlled. Among the benefits expected from FDI, some are direct and immediate (on the balance of payments, on the balance of investments, on the employment growth). Others are indirect and referred to all the economy (Spillover Effects generally classified in Horizontal and Vertical Spillovers).

The Horizontal Spillover are due to relations and competition among the national firms and the foreign affiliates operating in the same production sector, they act through the training or retraining of the local manpower; the adoption of higher management standards, the stimulus to realize modern infrastructures and efficient communications systems.

The Vertical Spillovers are instead related to the productivity improvements achieved with transfer of knowledge from foreign producers to local suppliers (backward linkages) and to the firms utilising the semi-finished products of the Multinationals. The choice to open to FDI become effective in different times for the new EU members. As Hungary was the only country having strong previous relations with the rest of Europe and with the nearest countries, she was the main FDI beneficiary during the '90s. Poland, Czech Republic and Slovenia were more cautious in liberalizing their economies, due to discordant inner political orientations. More recently, the Czech Republic and Slovenia liberalized, and became much more attractive for FDI. Due to a more restrictive policy versus FDI Slovenia has still difficulties to reach permanently high level of foreign investments.

5. FDI statistics
The main statistics on FDI reported in the following, concern the size of stocks and flows of FDI and the impact at the firms level and on the labour market.

a) Size of stock and flows
The growing cumulative amount of FDI clearly shows the relevant role played by the FDI in the considered economies (Fig. 5.1). FDI stock in the Czech Republic has joined the 60% of the GDP; Hungary follows with 42%, Poland with 26% and Slovenia with 19%.

In Fig. 5.2 FDI stocks Inwards and Outwards are reported. Remarkable differences appear between the high level of the stocks generated by foreign investors in each country and the low stock levels generated by national investors abroad. FDI annual flows are reported in Fig. 5.3. Czech economy attracted about the 15% of the GDP in the 2002, about the 5.8% in the 2003 and 2004. In recent time Hungary presented a strong uncertainty in attracting FDI: as inflows have been about 1.5% of the GDP in 2002 and in the 2004, against a negative value in the 2003. Poland has reached a FDI inflows level of the 1.8% of the GDP in the 2002. More far appears to be Slovenia. FDI inflows are mostly directed to the secondary sector (36.8 - 42.5%) and to the tertiary sector (57.3 - 61.7%) of the national economies. Globally, in the years 1996-2000, the contribution of EU to the FDI in the considered countries has been dominant (70-85%). European countries who mostly invested in this area were Holland, Germany, Austria, Italy and France. Holland has been present especially in Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary, Austria operated mainly in Hungary and in...
Slovenia. Italy is more present in Poland, Slovenia and in Hungary, with a very low activity level in Czech Republic; France mainly directed his investments to Poland and Slovenia. Germany is the only country having permanent relations with all East European Countries considered.

Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovenia are limitedly present abroad with their FDI (1% of GDP) due to different factors: the lack of funds and of capability to operate in a free and competitive market, the firms small size and the reorientering of the economic flows from the CEECs to the EU. These investments abroad are due to competitive advantages in some economic sectors and to the exploitation of existing commercial relations.

b) Impact at firm level

Further the macroeconomic level, FDI impact has been relevant also at firm level in all the four considered countries.

The foreign firms have consolidated shares of the manufacturing sector, especially in Hungary where the share overcomes the 70% and play an important role in these countries both for turnover and productivity (added value/worker) (Fig. 5-4).

In Czech Republic foreign firms represented in the 2002, the 32% of the total number of firms in the country, produced the 48% of the output, gained the 46% of the profits and kept the 35% of the employment.

The average productivity in the manufacturing industries is increased in the period 1993-2001 relatively to the USA values, growing from 10% to 28% in Poland, from 15% to 27% in Czech Republic, from 16% to 34% in Hungary.

In Potential Purchasing Power values, the average the added value/worker in the year 2000 was equal to 46.3% in Poland, 62.7% in Czech Republic, 76.9% in Slovenia, 61.1% in Hungary.

The FDI contribution to the firms fixed capital composition (Tab. 5.1) was in the 2000 the 23% in Poland, the 35% in Czech Republic, the 15% in Hungary and the 4% in Slovenia (9% in 2001).

In 2000 the foreign affiliates operating in Poland were 4340, with a total asset value of about 45330 Mil EUR, a selling’s amount of 62 BIL US$, an average asset value of 10,44 Mil EUR, an asset value/employer of 69,9 KEUR and an average number of employers of 149,4. In Czech Republic, the foreign affiliates had in total, a selling’s amount of 45 BIL US$ of which 10 BIL US$ were exported. In Slovenia the 1617 foreign affiliates had a total asset value of 7229 Mil EUR, the asset/affiliate was 4,47 Mil EUR with a asset/employer value of 154,5 KEUR and 28,9 employers/affiliate. In Hungary were operating 26,645 affiliates with a total asset of 26981 Mil EUR, an asset/affiliate of 1,01 Mil EUR, an asset/employer of 44,5 KEUR and 22,8 employers/affiliate.

The concentration level of the production activities can be examined looking at distribution of selling volumes among the firms. In Poland the first five foreign affiliates weighted, in 2000, for 14,3% of the total, the first ten for the19,8%, the first fifteen for the 24%. In Czech Republic the first five foreign affiliates covered the 29% of the total, the first ten the 34,5%, the first fifteen the 38,4%. The corresponding figures were respectively 24,7% - 31,4% - 35,5% in Slovenia and 14,1% - 18,2% - 20,9% in Hungary.

c) The labour market

The intensive transformation, privatization and restructuring activities, carried out in CEECs, have produced deep and alarming changes in the labour market. Many local
firms submitted to privatisation process, reduced the staff to attract enough foreign investments. In 2003 the unemployment levels joined 19.8% in Poland, 7.8% in Czech Republic, 6% in Slovenia, 5.8% in Hungary. Employment levels are now relatively increased due to the recent Greenfield foreign investments. The trend of the labour cost per unit in manufacturing is reported in Fig.5.5. As shown, it strongly decreased in Poland after 1998 (-12% in 2002), while it has grown recently in the other considered countries (+13% in Czech Republic and in Hungary). In general social disparities are increased with the entry of the multinationals as foreign firms employ the most skilled manpower.

6. The main problems with FDI
Further the employment reduction a new problem rose more recently in the considered countries in relation to the high share of profits come back to the multinational motherfirms from the affiliates. The amount doubled in Czech Republic during the last two years. In Hungary it rose in 2000 25% relatively to the year before and in 2003 decreased to the levels of 2001. Globally the back profits going out for all the considered countries amount to 50% of the FDI annual flows. In addition to raising unemployment and to the back profits, other not least problems are related to FDI development. The integration with multinational nets leaded to a strong specialization of the local productions and to a limited attribution of decision capabilities to the local firms. Strategy decisions, in particular, were transferred to the “head quarters” of the multinationals and it become real the risk that reorganizations decided too far can affect economical efficiency of local firms. The national economic policies are coping with the risk to be exposed to sudden capital movements, unexpected job cut and heavy pressure of foreign lobbies. The presence of foreign firms is introducing important and new problems to economic policy. The main challenge for host countries is to try:
- to limit collateral negative consequences on the labour market and on the national economic system
- to maintain the long term benefits coming from FDI
- to keep the foreign investors on site in spite of raising labour costs
- to spur the foreign firms to reinvest FDI profits instead to send them back out.

7. Expected developments
In spite of the negative international economic trend that UNCTAD and several other national institutions have foreseen, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia will maintain and strengthen their advantageous positions in attracting foreign investments. The FDI Confidence Index 2003 (A.T. Kearney), evaluating the attraction capabilities of different economic systems, attribute respectively the fourth, the thirteen and the seventeen position respectively to Poland, to Czech Republic and to Hungary.

The UNCTAD survey undertaken at world level with the IPAs (Investment Promotion Agency) of each country (158) about the future perspectives for the period 2004-2007, shows a strong degree of optimism versus FDI increase in the short (2004-2005) and in the mid-term (2006-2007). More than 90% of the IPAs in the European East countries believe in this perspective for the short term, the 80% for the mid-term.

As to the mode of admittance of FDI, in the short term, both greenfields (55%) and Mergers and Acquisitions (32%) are foreseen.
In the 2004-2005, the sectors attracting the most of FDI will be the Manufacturing Industries (electrical and electronic tools, others manufacturing, metallic and mineral products, motor-cars, machinery) and, in the tertiary sector, financial services, Information Communication Technology (ICT), education and health, building and transports. In the primary sector mining and oil activity mostly will attract FDI. Germany and USA are mentioned frequently as the main investors in the short term. To stimulate the process, all the mentioned countries introduced recently meaningful measures to attract and keep FDI, in the fields of taxation of firms and personal income, real estate and creation of technological development poles.

8. FDI and italian firms.
The Italian FDI abroad are still mostly due to the large size enterprises; however the contribution of SMEs to the international production is growth in the last decade from 4% to 17% of the total manpower of the Italian foreign affiliates. In the geographical distribution of the participation, similarly to what happened in the export trade, the share of the CEECs countries is increased with a concentration on some countries in the area.
The Tab. 8.1 reports the FDI flows from Italy to the four new members, that in the year 2000, rose to the 13,2% of the relative country total, and the flows to Italy, from the four countries, that were 3.8% of total.
The FDI trends follows the adverse conjuncture going down from 1996 to 2000 both for flows to Italy and to the four Countries. The Czech Republic only seems to reach a better condition for the outflows to Italy in 2000, being their FDI increased to 2.5%.

Conclusion
Privatisation and FDI have played a fundamental role in liberalization and restructuring process happened in the last fifteen years in the economies of CEECs. FDI stock as a percentage of GDP has reached 60% in Czech Republic, 42% in Hungary, 26% in Poland, 19% in Slovenia. In the Czech Republic the foreign affiliates represented in 2000 the 48% of the output, 46% of the profit and the 35% of the employment. In Hungary over the 70% of the total turnover in the manufacturing sector is due to the foreign firms. The overall contribution of the EU to the FDI of the mentioned countries is about 70÷85% of the total.
Such process of internationalisation of the economies has produced meaningful levels of unemployment that in 2003 reached 19,8% in Poland, 7,8% in Czech Republic, 6% in Slovenia, 5,8% in Hungary. Others specific problems emerged recently in connection to FDI, namely the increasing share of profit back to multinationals, that has reached the 50% of the total FDI annual flows, the sudden capital movements and the employment loss due to the economic decisions taken abroad by the multinational firms.
Thought these problems are difficult to manage and with the enlargement CEECs have assumed new obligations as to balance equilibrium, environmental policies, social security and EU financing, they have got also new channels for modernization and finding capitals for investments and strong advantages are expected from the economies internationalisation with FDI, both direct (on the payment balance, on the investments, on the employment) and indirect due to the Spillover Effects, spread out in all the economy.
The FDI confidence Index 2003, that evaluates the FDI attracting capabilities of different countries, ranks Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary respectively at the 4th, 13th, 17th place in the world and the Survey carried out by UNCTAD with 158
The EU Accession of Poland, Czech Republic, Slovenia, and Hungary: the problem of FDI

IPAs in the world, expressed 90% positive forecasts for the FDI in CEE Cs as to the next future, mostly realized through Greenfield Investments (55%) and Merger & Acquisitions (32%)
The EU Accession of Poland, Czech Republic, Slovenia, and Hungary: the problem of FDI

Source: UNCTAD: FDI in brief

Fig. 5-1 Stock FDI/GDP (%)
The EU Accession of Poland, Czech Republic, Slovenia, and Hungary: the problem of FDI

Source: UNCTAD: *FDI in brief*

Fig. 5-2 Stock development of FDI (Mil US$)
The EU Accession of Poland, Czech Republic, Slovenia, and Hungary: the problem of FDI

![Graphs showing FDI Inflows and Outflows for Poland, Czech Republic, Slovenia, and Hungary](image)

Source: UNCTAD: *FDI in brief*

Fig. 5-3 FDI Inflows and Outflows (Mil US$)
The EU Accession of Poland, Czech Republic, Slovenia, and Hungary: the problem of FDI

Fig. 5.4 Turnover and added value/worker in foreign firms

Source: OECD, Economic Survey 2002-2003

Fig. 5.5 Relative labour cost in manufacturing

Source: OECD, Economic Survey 2002-2003
### The EU Accession of Poland, Czech Republic, Slovenia, and Hungary: the problem of FDI

#### Tab. 3-1 Privatization and flows in CEECs - a (1991-1999)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
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<td>105</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>505</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>63</td>
<td>36</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>48</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>591</td>
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<td>2,769</td>
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<tr>
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<td>...</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>92</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>451</td>
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<td>88</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>83</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>869</td>
<td>2,562</td>
<td>1,428</td>
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<td>2,540</td>
<td>4,877</td>
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<td>...</td>
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<td>99</td>
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<td>92</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>Total FDP</td>
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<td>1,471</td>
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<td>1,146</td>
<td>4,453</td>
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<td>199</td>
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<td>577</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Macedonia, FYR</td>
<td>Total FDP</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>...</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>54</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>35</td>
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</table>

Unit: US$ Mil

Source: Hunya G., Kalotay K, Privatization and FDI in Central and Eastern Europe

#### Tab. 3-1 Privatization and flows in CEECs – b (1991-1999)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>...</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td>70</td>
<td>57</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>39</td>
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<td>161</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Total FDP</td>
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<td>298</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>1,180</td>
<td>2,145</td>
<td>2,695</td>
<td>2,783</td>
<td>3,323</td>
<td>14,604</td>
</tr>
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<td>213</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>464</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>Romania</td>
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<td>37</td>
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<td>207</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>1,146</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>3,240</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>315</td>
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<td>1,604</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>49</td>
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<tr>
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<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1,211</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>1,451</td>
<td>1,822</td>
<td>5,014</td>
<td>1,378</td>
<td>1,240</td>
<td>12,756</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>2,155</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2,156</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: UNCTAD-FDI/INC database.

a) FDI equity inflows paid in cash only.
b) Including reinvestments and additional investments.

Note: The data presented in this table are not strictly comparable because the definition of “privatization-related inflows” varies from country to country.

Unit: US$ Mil

Source: Hunya G., Kalotay K, Privatization and FDI in Central and Eastern Europe

#### Tab. 3-1 Privatization and flows in CEECs – b (1991-1999)
### Tab. 5.1 Features of foreign affiliates (2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>GFC Share %</th>
<th>Assets Mil EUR</th>
<th>N. Firms Units</th>
<th>Asset/Firm Mil EUR</th>
<th>Employer/Asset K EUR</th>
<th>Firm/Employers Units</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Poland</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>45330</td>
<td>4340</td>
<td>10,44</td>
<td>69,9</td>
<td>149,4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>7229</td>
<td>1617</td>
<td>4,47</td>
<td>154,5</td>
<td>28,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>26981</td>
<td>26645</td>
<td>1,01</td>
<td>44,5</td>
<td>22,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Elaboration of UNCTAD’ data
The EU Accession of Poland, Czech Republic, Slovenia, and Hungary: the problem of FDI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FDI from &amp; to ITALY</th>
<th>INFLOWS% 1996</th>
<th>OUTFLOWS% 1996</th>
<th>INFLOWS% 2000</th>
<th>OUTFLOWS% 2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POLAND</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUNGARY</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.3 (1999)</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CZECH REPUBLIC</td>
<td>1.8 (1997)</td>
<td>0.1 (1997)</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLOVENIA</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tot. EU-15</td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Elaboration of UNCTAD’ data

Tab. 8.1: FDI flows from Italy to Poland, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Hungary & FDI flows from the Four to Italy. (1996-2000)

---

The EU Accession of Poland, Czech Republic, Slovenia, and Hungary: the problem of FDI

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The EU Accession of Poland, Czech Republic, Slovenia, and Hungary: the problem of FDI


The EU Accession of Poland, Czech Republic, Slovenia, and Hungary: the problem of FDI

**KEYWORDS:**

FDI, DETERMINANTS, PRIVATIZATION, NATIONAL INCENTIVE POLICIES, ACCESSION COUNTRIES

**CURRICULUM**

**Dr. Cristina Mocci** has taken her degree in Political Sciences the July 2004 with the thesis on “L’ADESIONE DI POLONIA, REPUBBLICA CECA, SLOVENIA E UNGHERIA ALL’UE: IL PROBLEMA DEGLI INVESTIMENTI ESTERI DIRETTI”. She gained the ENEA (Italian Agency for New Technology, Energy and Environment – Rome - Italy) hospitality to prepare her study, having had several grants by ENEA for the University and for the high schools. During her University studies, she worked in European program Helios I and II (1994-1996), presenting papers at international conferences as speaker of Italian AURORA CONSORTIUM.

She worked out to e-government proposal project “La vetrina del quartiere Esquilino” for Rome Municipality (IT) in the 2004, (the Project win the Prize the 14th January 2005 and was funded by the Municipality of Rome to realizing); for the implementation and management of the web site [http://www.roma6tu.it](http://www.roma6tu.it) (2001-2004).

She win the scholarship for the IInd Level Master in Public Economy and Welfare for the Academic Year 2004 – 2005 at the University La Sapienza of Rome.

She was selected for the IInd Level Master MEEFI “Master in European Economy and International Finance”, for the Academic Year 2004 – 2005 at the University of Roma “Tor Vergata”.

**Dr. Giovanna Anselmi** graduated in Political and Social Sciences at the Catholic University of Milan in 1970. Until 1983 she conducted research into Economic Planning and Social Politics at ISPE (Italian Economic Planning Studies Agency). Since 1983 she has been Senior Technologist Researcher at UDA/Advisor Unit at ENEA (Italian Agency for Energy, Environment and New Technologies), where she has been responsible for several research activities and evaluation in national and international projects. Her professional interests concern the Impacts and Changes in Economic, Social and Cultural Scenarios of ICT Technologies, Technology Assessment and Sustainable Growth Studies.

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Economic growth ans social progress: The citizens’ perspective portrayed in a survey in Hong Kong

Social Work

Paper session

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Abstract

Economic growth and social progress: The citizens’ perspective portrayed in a survey in Hong Kong*

Hong Kong’s economic growth in the last 20 years has been impressive in terms of its GDP and other economic indicators, despite the recent global economic downturn that affected almost all economies. The affordability theory and diswelfare propositions support that economic prosperity is likely to result in a higher degree of social development, shown notably in better and more social services. However, the social indicators depict a mixed if not contradictory situation: for instance, public spending on social welfare is increased drastically and yet the gini’s coefficient also jumped to an unprecedented high level. What do the ordinary citizens think? How do they evaluate the social development in Hong Kong in terms of/ in light of the social welfare development? This survey found that while the people of Hong Kong felt that the provision of social welfare was adequate, they failed to combat the rising social problems and meet mounting needs. This paper discusses the possible reasons behind their thinking and the implications for social policies.

*The work described in this paper was supported a grant from Direct Grant, CUHK (Project code: 2020726) and the Research Grant Council, Hong Kong (Project No.: CUHK 4237/02H)
INTRASTATE CONFLICT IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD AND ITS ECONOMIC STIMULI

Student Paper
Topic Area: ECONOMICS
Presentation Format: PAPER SESSION

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Intrastate Conflict in the Developing World and Its Economic Stimuli

Economic motivations contribute to the occurrence of political conflicts in the developing world. The focus of this paper will be to illustrate the economic and developmental stimuli for political instability in developing countries. The discussion will: a) define the notion of political instability within a given nation, while distinguishing two unique but not necessarily exclusive conflict scenarios; b) explore the economic factors which contribute to each scenario; and, c) recommend policies intended to address these pejorative economic characteristics. Although the relationship between economic and security factors is reciprocal (that is, political instability contributes to poor economic conditions as logically as poor economic conditions contribute to political instability), this paper will focus on instances of political instability whose roots are economic in nature.

I. Political Instability

In order to properly address the developmental economic settings for political instability, it is first necessary to define what one means by the term political instability. Several economists have taken unique approaches to this discussion, each with its distinct conclusion as to the “problem” for which economic “solutions” are proposed. E. Wayne Nafziger speaks of “humanitarian emergencies” in developing nations, and the detrimental economic conditions which may bring them about.1 Frances Stewart concentrates on threats to “individual security,” or violent acts on an individual (in opposition to the idea of national security, for example). He also highlights state civil war as a serious conflict which frequently arises from economic

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Susan Rice illustrates political instability in terms of the potential threat of a state to “international peace and security”; a politically unstable state could, potentially, instigate conflict with its neighbors, harbor terrorists, or support the proliferation of deadly weapons. For the purposes of this paper, however, the definition of political instability shall be confined to intrastate conflicts which trigger the failure of a state or a civil war. The state of a humanitarian emergency, as discussed by Nafziger, will also be included in this clarification, definitively indicating the emergence of a failed state. Despite the global security implications of a failed state, which include the threat of international terrorist support, weapons proliferation, or interstate war, it will be necessary to focus on conflicts within state borders in this paper, since the basis for conflict will be constructed within the realm of national economic policies and the supporting domestic social structures.

Two distinct scenarios will be discussed to represent possible inter-group conflicts which could escalate to an eventual civil war or failed state. In this way, conflict between citizen and state will be distinguished from conflict between citizen group and citizen group. While the motivations of both conflict scenarios differ, the foundations of each can be traced to economic shortcomings, whose repercussions with respect to the political instability of a developing nation are grave.

II. Economic Motivation for Conflict Between Citizen and State

A civil war or failed state can result from the discontent of a people with its government. This conflict scenario, between citizen and state, arises when a state fails to deliver socially acceptable economic benefits and social programs. This concept can be demonstrated as a rupture in the “social contract,” a proposition originally presented by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in The Social Contract; Rousseau stresses the implicit submission of the individual to the “general will” with the expectation of a governing body whose sole interest is that of its citizens: “Further, the Sovereign, being formed only of the individuals who compose it, neither has, nor can have, any interest contrary to theirs.” Frances Stewart elaborates:

[the social contract] derives from the view that social stability is implicitly premised on a social contract between the people and the government: according to this (hypothetical) contract, people accept state authority so long as the state delivers services and provides

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reasonable economic conditions (employment and incomes). With economic stagnation or decline, and worsening state services, the social contract breaks down, and violence results.\textsuperscript{5}

The deterioration of the social contract is a pivotal crisis in citizen/state conflict, for as economic conditions which are not deemed “reasonable” persist, civilian compliance with state norms dissipates, the social contract dissolves, and violent conflict will ensue.

\textbf{A. Government Spending}

Mismanaged or poorly-directed government spending can negatively effect the state of the social contract. This trend is most commonly attributed to excessive military expenditure, which, while justified in many cases by the persistence of civil war or state conflict, can greatly detract from social programs, including spending toward health- and education-based initiatives. Nafziger and Auvinen notice the trend in relation to the occurrence of humanitarian emergency: “Military centrality, as indicated by the ratio of military expenditure to GNP, contributes to humanitarian emergencies through several alternative dynamics.”\textsuperscript{6}

Misplaced government funds weaken state institutions by diverting resources from special programs and investment; in the case of military expansion, the effect can be cumulative. In other words, military spending which forces cutbacks in social spending can enrage a population, sparking social unrest and forcing the ruling regime to reinforce the state military by increasing spending. This cycle can dangerously persist until public outrage explodes at the invisibility of social support and the blind focus of state spending on the military. In these scenarios, as Nafziger and Auvinen point out, “the regimes are afraid to cutback military spending.”\textsuperscript{7}

Many governments in developing nations are also hindered by ineffective means of taxation. A blatant inability to collect government income puts pressure on state budgets and prevents the government from providing even the most minimal functions. In Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Sudan, for example, the state has been unable to provide defense, law and order, public health, and economic stability to its citizens, all the most basic of state responsibilities.\textsuperscript{8} These conditions cripple the legitimacy of the government, erode the social contract, and can ultimately lead to conflict.

\textsuperscript{5} Stewart, Frances, p. 14
\textsuperscript{6} Nafziger, E. Wayne, and Auvinen, Juha. 2001. “Economic Development, Inequality, and Humanitarian Emergencies.” Kansas State University, University of Helsinki. Abstract. p. 16
\textsuperscript{7} Nafziger and Auvinen, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{8} Nafziger, p. 12.
B. Vertical Inequality

Vertical inequality surfaces when a ruling upper class enjoys significant financial and economic advantages over lower class citizens of the same nation. This ruling elite typically receives significantly greater incomes, which can be outwardly resented by the working lower class. In this instance, a small, privileged percentage of the population reaps financial and material benefits while the poor majority suffers. It is for this reason that many economists consider the measure of GDP per capita to be an inaccurate method for collecting economic data, as it fails to consider income inequalities. The prevalence of vertical inequality is above all a concern in developing nations, where typically, few individuals have access to political or financial power, a colonial legacy underlying many former European possessions.

In most instances, vertical inequality is exacerbated by corruption. With a predatory state in control, individual interests and political gain take precedence over social and national reinvestment. A ruling elite will seek to further distance itself from the working class by feeding its advantages: “Predatory rule involves a personalistic regime ruling through coercion, material inducement, and personality politics, tending to degrade institution foundations of the economy and the state. Elites extract immediate rents and transfers rather than providing incentives for economic growth.”

Corruption from government officials ultimately steals from the lower class individuals, undermines social programs intended to achieve social and economic equality, and delegitimizes the ruling government.

Stewart points out that “High (vertical) inequality might be associated with such a failure [of the social contract], unless accompanied by populist measures to compensate the deprived.” The myopic social sentiment of a ruling class serving its interest is in direct conflict with Rousseau’s initial assertion (see above), and remains an integral motivation for citizen/state conflict in place.

C. Economic Stagnation and Poverty

High poverty levels, which are affected by the level of national income, or GDP per capita, and the distribution of income, represented by vertical and horizontal inequalities, are direct results of inefficient economic practice. Slow economic growth, high inflation, and high unemployment are devastating factors of an economy suffering from economic stagnation. Decreased incomes for the working lower class, unemployment, and “relative deprivation”, or the “perception of social injustice from a discrepancy between goods and conditions

9 Nafziger and Auvinen, p.5.
10 It is important to note, however, that frequently, citizens from every echelon of a developing nation participate in corruption. Middle and lower class individuals can evade paying taxes, or partake in black market or other illegal moneymaking activities, for example.
[individuals] expect and those they can get or keep,"\(^{12}\) all discourage the majority of the population not part of the ruling elite.

Stagnation can be triggered by any combination of policy measures. Excessive government intervention in economic practices can hinder growth and economic efficiency while maintaining the elite’s control of national resources. However, high-pressure demands from the IMF, World Bank, and other international NGOs to fully liberalize developing economies can be equally damaging, as national industries can be subject to a direct disadvantage while competing with OECD countries. As developing countries are most often one-export economies, supported by a sole primary commodity market, they are extremely susceptible to price fluctuations and the advantages of mature industries in developed countries. Most developing nations’ regimes adhere too closely to either a neo-liberal or state control policy, and face dire consequences in terms of economic efficiency and income distribution. Institutions also play a role in the effectiveness of economic policy. Nafziger stresses the need for developing nations to establish “monetary and fiscal institutions; capital, land, and exchange markets; [and] a statistical system,”\(^{13}\) to reduce the risk of humanitarian emergencies. This institutional reform should include drastic regulatory reform which could bolster growth by encouraging foreign direct investment and domestic entrepreneurship.

The impoverished conditions which accompany economic stagnation threaten the political stability of a nation as a representation of the failure of the social contract. As Stewart highlights, “[along] with economic stagnation or decline, [...] the social contract breaks down, and violence results. Hence high (and rising) levels of poverty and a decline in state services would be expected to cause conflict.”\(^{14}\) In many developing countries, the state fails to provide its citizens with the efficient, productive economy, consistent employment, and effective, accessible institutions and social programs they expect to receive. In a scenario of this nature, the social contract between citizen and state dissolves, and what remains is civil war and intrastate conflict.

**III. Economic Motivation for Conflict Between Citizen Group and Citizen Group**

An alternative stimulus for political instability is intrastate conflict between groups of citizens. Along with the struggles between upper and lower class groups mentioned above (also known as vertical inequalities,) struggles between groups can also include divergent ethnic or racial groups, geographic regions, and religious groups. These horizontal inequalities, while at

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\(^{12}\) Nafziger and Auvinen, p. 3.

\(^{13}\) Nafziger, p. 11.

\(^{14}\) Stewart, p. 14.
times coinciding with vertical inequalities, can be equally as disruptive in a civic society where a particular group deems itself to be in an exploited or minority position. Since every individual in a given state identifies himself or herself with various groups, distinct bipartisan fractures can result in the collapse of government programs or institutions, and even bring about civil war.

A. Horizontal Inequality

Inequality between particular social groups in developing countries, or horizontal inequality, can have severe consequences for political stability. In short, a group of citizens who earns less income, or owns less land than a particular group will be motivated to initiate conflict in the state. It may be particularly implicit in the social contract that the state provide equally beneficial services and opportunities to all citizens, and in this way, horizontal inequalities may be considered the responsibility of the government. However, these conflicts do not manifest themselves as citizen/state but as citizen/citizen conflict scenarios, since the resentment is reasonably directed toward the opposing group.

The most clear instances of inequality are economic. Most minority or disadvantaged groups are deprived of equal employment either in public or private sectors opportunities (Uganda, Malaysia, Fiji, i.e.), equal land ownership opportunity (Cambodia, El Salvador, Haiti, i.e.), equal foreign aid shares (Sudan, Rwanda, i.e.), or equal income (South Africa, Malaysia, i.e.)\(^{15}\). Many times, this inequality is representative of state policies aimed at protecting the interests of the ruling elite. In this way, horizontal and vertical inequalities overlap, in that certain ethnic or regional groups also occupy the most prominent political, military, or financial positions in a society. Nevertheless, underprivileged groups who experience inequality are strengthened by their common lot as socially neglected individuals and motivated to create change- and violently if necessary.

Other horizontal inequalities contribute to the discontent of the disadvantaged. The Inaccessibility of fair political representation (Burundi, Uganda, Bosnia, i.e.), health services (Burundi, i.e.), food and water supplies (N. Uganda, i.e.), educational opportunity (Rwanda, Haiti, South Africa, i.e.), and housing (Northern Ireland, i.e.) all promote intrastate conflict.\(^{16}\) As Nafziger claims, both economic and social factors play into the citizen/citizen conflict scenario: “Communal factors contributing to conflict include educational discrepancies, regional and ethnic employment differentials, interregional revenue allocation, and language discrimination.”\(^{17}\) Indeed, “Where some groups suffer economically, socially, or politically compared with other groups in society, leaders can use the resentments caused by the

\(^{15}\) Stewart, p. 13.
\(^{16}\) Stewart, p. 13.
\(^{17}\) Nafziger, p. 15.
deprivations experienced by many of the members of the group to mobilise support. Where political redress is not possible, they may resort to war.”

B. Group Motivation and Competition

As noted above, inequalities can spark groups, ethnic, racial, social, or otherwise, to take arms and attempt to attain that which they feel is not being provided for them. This juncture, when the interest of the state is overridden by the interest of the group to retract or reverse the advantageous circumstances established by the ruling group, critically threatens the level of security in a developing nation. The group association allows the individual to feel justified in his revolt for a just society, at the expense of political stability.

In nearly all developing nations, the largest economic group consists of the agricultural sector. At a heavy disadvantage in terms of income, opportunity, and standard of living, the poor, working class farmers have the potential to be the most influential group in the society of a developing state. In this way, violent conflict between groups is likely to emerge if the unjust conditions persist. Poverty can influence the attitude of the individual toward the state, as the social contract deteriorates (see above), but it can also direct a growing anger and resentment toward the ruling group, not as members of a corrupt or unjust government, but as individual representatives of a certain race, ethnic group, or geographic region, for example.

A scenario dominated by inequality is an ideal climate for group competition, especially for natural resources. If certain services, like educational and health programs, are at a premium, groups are forced to compete, sometimes violently if necessary, in order to claim a stake in the state system. This occurrence is solidified in the case of natural resources. Since developing countries primarily export primary goods (agricultural and mineral commodities), the possession of land and mineral resources becomes crucial to the acquisition of economic and political power. “The struggle for control over minerals and other natural resources are important sources of conflict,” according to Nafziger, as in the case of Congo-Kinshasa, where Mobutu monopolized and exploited the Congolese citizens through his strangling possession of national mineral wealth. Today, rebel groups, both within the Congo and from neighboring nations are competing and fighting for the abundant caches of cobalt, copper, diamonds, and uranium.

Competition and group motivation, caused by horizontal inequalities tacitly incurred by unjust government practices, can be a serious source of political instability, as economically disadvantaged groups express their dissatisfaction with a unified proclamation of violence toward advantaged groups.

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18 Stewart, p. 12.
IV. Policy Recommendations

The following recommendations for policies are aimed at economic stabilization. The goals illustrated are not just economic growth or an increase in GDP per capita (goals most frequently stressed by the IMF), but include reducing unemployment, poverty, and income disparities, while ameliorating the quality of life in the nation. Development is not a solely economic factor, and its achievement should be considered in terms of the improvement in the daily life of a citizen and his protection, by the state, from the threat of political instability.

A. Planned Stabilization

Nafziger greatly emphasizes the need for “greater international support for domestically planned macroeconomic stabilization and structural adjustment,”20 and while this may refute the liberal policies stressed by the IMF and World Bank, planned stabilization is certainly the most effective recommendation to developing countries. The neo-classical model of development, which is supported by the IMF and other NGOs, can be extremely detrimental to a fragile, developing economy. The free market fails to benefit a developing nation with young industries, less skilled labor, and weaker infrastructure, rendering it susceptible to competition from mature, developed economies. Also, a policy of complete trade liberalization, as advocated by the IMF, leaves the state with few tools to handle economic stagnation or recession, an occurrence all too common in developing countries. And as Nafziger asserts, “Countries that failed to adjust were more vulnerable to an emergency. Non-adjustment can contribute to poverty, displacement, and humanitarian crises.”21 Therefore, economic stabilization could be achieved with the establishment of an effective, central government who can a) efficiently manage industrial and commercial investment, money supply, taxation, and interest rates; and, b) gradually privatize national industries as they become increasingly capable of sustaining productivity and growth in the free market.

B. Attraction of Foreign Investment

FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) is an integral component to economic development. Rostow’s Linear Stage Model of development emphasizes the role of investment in the efforts of

19 Nafziger and Auvinen, p. 13.
20 Nafziger, p. 4.
21 Nafziger, p. 4.
technological progress and the adjustment of the national economy from a traditional to a mature industry. Lewis also stresses investment in the modern sector of the economy to fuel the reallocation of labor to industry and spur growth in both the traditional and modern sectors. It is impossible, thus, to deny the importance of foreign investment to developed countries, as it is vital to the development of infrastructure, industrial technology, and supportive services in government.

However, as Nafziger shows, more than half of private capital flows to developing countries are loans; this shows the necessity of international institutions and OECD countries to create reasonable expectations in their loan stipulations and to be flexible with debt payments. Also, OECD nations’ willingness to write-off previously incurred debt would be a crucial component to developing countries’ recovery. It would be impossible for a developing nation to rehabilitate its economy or establish economic efficiency with a cloud of foreign debt hovering above.

Opportunity for FDI, nevertheless, is great at this time. The presence of multi-national corporations, or MNCs, makes access to foreign industry, labor, and capital very open. Regional associations have also helped to attract FDI from developed countries by unifying the interests and resources of neighboring countries. Increases in foreign investment in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia have benefited the economies of those nations attracting capital, though they only achieved this with tremendous structural reform.

**C. Institutional Reform**

As Nafziger points out, “stabilization and adjustment programs, foreign aid, and foreign investment are not likely to be effective in spurring a country’s economic development and reducing the risk of humanitarian emergencies if economic and political institutions are poorly developed [italics mine].” Regulations can reduce predatory acts from ruling elites and decrease complication in business transactions- both crucial components to attracting investment from a developed nation. An article in The Economist states that “an often-ignored fact is that poor countries frequently hurt themselves by strangling business with red tape.” These reforms can include developing an effective banking system, trustworthy legal establishments, land reform, and the allocation of certain resources, including investment and foreign aid; the development of efficient institutions in a developing country will lead to more investment, generate growth in industry, and stimulate the developing economy. In this way,

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22 Nafziger, p. 10.
23 Nafziger, p. 11.
poverty may be reduced (although it is important to note that economic growth, measured in GDP growth, is at best minimally related to the reduction of poverty.)

D. Distribution of Growth and Income

Since economic growth does not necessarily translate to poverty reduction or equal socioeconomic distribution, growth must be directed to targeted, underprivileged groups in the societies of developing countries. Nafziger characterizes affirmative action-type initiatives which include “targeting programs for the poorest regions and communities and employment and educational preferences for disadvantaged communities.” He shows how “a number of countries, including India, use industrial incentives and subsidies to help economically backward regions and train business persons from underprivileged groups.” Both vertical and horizontal inequalities play a clear role in the emergence of the “failed state” and the disruption of political stability. Therefore, programs which would target disadvantaged groups with directed capital, educational opportunity programs, and land reform would be supremely beneficial. They can help close the gap between rich and poor by increasingly providing incentives to small business owners, improving the conditions for social mobility through education, and securing the property rights of all citizens.

E. Commitment of OECD Countries

The commitment of developed countries in these policy recommendations cannot be understated. There is a heavy dependence on the dedication of developing nations to support the top-to-bottom development of a developing nation. The community of OECD nations must be willing to accept the process of “planned stabilization” as an acceptable economic procedure. It must also be willing to commit considerable investment in developing industries, while resisting the urge to take capital earned and run (a growing phenomenon known as capital flight). The OECD community must also be willing to work with developing nations to reform structures and regulations, write-off debt owed from these nations, and support an increase in the developing nations’ export-led growth.

It is clear, unfortunately, that, as Susan Rice indicates, “The fundamental problem is simple to define but very difficult to correct: it is a lack of political will on the part of concerned governments- in both the developing and developed world- to tackle the problem seriously.”

\[25\] Nafziger, p. 15.
V. Conclusion

In a developing nation, intrastate conflict, or political instability, can surface from tension between the state and its citizens, or from tension between two opposing groups of citizens. The tension is typically, though not necessarily exclusively, economic in nature: state mismanagement, in terms of fiscal policy, institutional regulations, and internal corruption, can lead to economic stagnation and the contagious spread of poverty. Thus, inequalities, both vertical and horizontal, will emerge, generating animosity and sparking conflict. While this paper suggests several economic policy measures addressing the economic pitfalls in developing countries, they can only be executed with the full-fledged, long-term commitment of the G-8 Nations and the entire community of the developed world. For certain, however, the ultimate amelioration of economic conditions in a developing state will help to ensure political stabilization in each nation and improve the quality of life for every man, woman, and child in the developing world.

26 Rice, p. 4.
a. Title of the Submission:
Social, Cultural, and Psychological Characteristics of Children and Adolescents in Mental Health Systems of Care

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Abstract

The Systems of Care approach augments traditional mental health services by providing families and children a holistic mode of culturally competent interventions in a community setting. This paper is a descriptive study of a System of Care Program in Georgia entitled the Peachstate Wraparound Service Initiative (PWSI). The baseline data from a longitudinal study on families with severely emotionally disturbed children is analyzed. Sixty-nine caregivers with children ages 5-18 completed the Demographic Interview Questionnaire (DIQ), the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL), and the Child and Adolescent Functioning Assessment Scale (CAFAS). Twenty-two children over age 11 completed the Youth Self Report (YSR). Caregivers reported more problems in psychological functioning on the CBCL than the youth reported on the YSR. The severity of the social and emotional problems of the children is indicated by the CAFAS. Results demonstrate moderate to severe behaviors in the areas of school, home and behavior with others. The subscales for moods/emotions and thinking reveal mild to moderate functioning in the children.
Districts of Hope: A Socio-Urban Account of Jeddah Slums, Saudi Arabia

Topic Area: Sustainable Development
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Abstract

For the last fifty years, the urban and social fabric of Jeddah, a major and most populated city in Saudi Arabia has been dominated by slums. It is estimated that the city consists of more than fifty slums scattered throughout the city. While many domestic and international urban planners and designers find it hard to comprehend the presence and continuous growth of these districts in the light of the tremendous efforts made by the government to improve the urban and social quality in Saudi Arabia, these slums seem far away from being controlled or at least redeveloped.

Based on a fieldwork, this paper analyses the history of Jeddah slums, their emergence, scale and classification. It also discusses measures taken by the relevant authority, namely Jeddah Municipality, to deal with these physically and socially deteriorated areas and the associated problems. Regardless of their decaying conditions, these districts are inhabited by families who are eager to and dreaming of the day when they could leave the slum to a better life/built environment.

The paper also focuses on al-Sabeel, a major slum in Jeddah, as a case study. This consists of an examination of the slum's current urban conditions such as land uses, building states, utilities, road network as well as economic and social circumstances of residents. Toward its end, the paper studies the obstacles faced by both Jeddah Municipality and the residents themselves to improve the urban and social conditions of the slum. The potentials this and other slums embody for development are also highlighted.

1. Introduction

Slums or squatter settlements are a major socio-urban feature of many cities around the world, especially developing countries. Saudi Arabia, an oil-rich country, is not an exception. The Saudi city of Jeddah has been suffering from presence of slums for decades.

Exploring the extent of the slum problem, this paper starts with a brief history of the urban development of the city. This is followed by a discussion of Jeddah slums from socio-economic and urban points of view with some focus on al-Sabeel, a major slum in Jeddah.

2. Evolution of Jeddah and its Urban Development

The history of Jeddah is linked with that of Mecca, which was a major trading center between Yemen in the south and Syria in the north before Islam. When trading activities in the inland city of Mecca increased, there was a need for a seaport on the Red Sea. That port was Jeddah, which is located 80 km west of Mecca.

In the 6th century, the Persians built a wall around Jeddah. Within that wall, the urban fabric formulated, reflecting local environmental, social, and economic aspects. As a result, the wall had various gates oriented toward major trade routes of that time. The northern gate faced Syria, the eastern Mecca, and the southern Yemen. That was in addition to the sea connection with the outside world on the west side. The gates had fundamentally influenced the city urban morphology and growth even after the
demolishing of the wall in 1947, when the city continued to grow toward the north, east and south (Fig. 1).

![Fig. 1. Rare pictures showing the historic wall around Jeddah before being demolished in 1947.](image)

As far as the urban growth before demolishing the wall, Jeddah grew beyond the wall in a half circular form. New districts appeared outside the wall but with strong physical connection with the city inside. Most of the population of these districts were of tribal background. They migrated to Jeddah for a better life and worked on fishing as well was commercial activities related to the port.

Climatically, the high temperature and humidity has greatly impacted the urban form of Jeddah. This explains the city compact urban fabric that featured attached buildings and narrow irregular streets. Certainly this form was in line with the traditional social system of that time, where social and family ties were extremely close. Above all, this form was of human scale and facilitated the circulation of that time.

In the 1930s and 40s, the growth of the districts outside Jeddah wall intensified. This reduced the spatial gaps between these districts and the city inside, thus the urban form became more circular. This was followed by some urban development during King Abdul Aziz, the founder of Saudi Arabia, who in 1949 ordered the construction of public water network in the city as well as an airport.

The well-known oil boom of the 1970s was associated with tremendous rapid urban development in Jeddah. As a result, the city grew haphazardly and slums started to appear.

2. Socio-Economic Aspects

Current Jeddah master plan reveals that the monthly income of 2% of the population is 501-1000 Saudi Riyals (USD 134-266) (1 USD = 3.75 Saudi Riyals) per family, 50.2% receive USD 267-533, and 28% receive USD 534-800/month. In general, it is estimated that the monthly salary of 25% of Jeddah population is less than USD 1,333. Another study states that any Saudi family consists of 7 members living in a large city such as Jeddah and its monthly income is less than USD 1,333, is living under poverty line. This means that 25% of Jeddah Saudi population is living in poverty. The other income groups are distributed as follows: 64.8% receive USD 1,333-2,660/month and 10.2% receive over USD 2,660/month.
It is worthy to mention here that 59.6% of Jeddah population are Saudis while 40.39% are non-Saudis. 60% of the Saudis have an income from a job or employment. This means that 40% of the city Saudi inhabitants are unemployed.

As far as the non-Saudi population of Jeddah, 60% of them have a monthly income of less than USD 1,067 SR.

The income of more than 50% of the inhabitants of Jeddah slum areas such as the central district is less than USD 1,067 [1]. Again, this indicates that more than 50% of slum residents are living under poverty line.

3. Jeddah Slums

There is no doubt that the rapidly growing slums of Jeddah severely impact the urban and social fabric of the city. This is in addition to security, health, economic and environmental problems these slums create. Indeed, the presence of these slums has already deteriorated the image of the city, which is considered the main seaport of Saudi Arabia and gate to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. The government has spent large sums for Jeddah’s infrastructure and urban development and prosperity.

In order to reach a solution for the problems associated with the presence of slums of Jeddah, below analyses these areas in terms of the reasons of their emergence, growth as well as location.

3.1 Classification of Slums

Jeddah slums vary in location, size, and urban characteristics. Yet, they can be categorized according to their location as following:

1. Infernal slums: They are the old slums that developed immediately outside the city wall, adjacent to the historic part of Jeddah, in middle of the last century.

2. External slums: They are mainly located beyond the highway or ring road on the east side of Jeddah (Fig. 2). This highway was supposed to be the limit of Jeddah urban growth toward the east in the 1980s. It connects Jeddah international airport with Mecca passing along the city on the east. The slums of that part are scattered between the desert and mountain areas far away from the city center.

3. Slums between the ring road and the city center.

3.2 Reasons for the Emergence of Jeddah Slums

During the last 5 years, Jeddah has been adding two slum areas every year. According to 2004 statistics, Jeddah consists of 52 slums of a total area of 66,329 km² (Fig. 3). They represent pernicious spots to the city, which is supposed to be of a vital importance to the government, society and Muslims around the world, being a major entrance to the holy cities.

The reasons for the emergence of these slums are as follows:

1. The city wall: The presence of the wall around Jeddah in the past restricted the city growth. This has led to creation of districts, such as al-Sabeel, al-Hindaweyah, and al-Sahaifah, randomly grew outside the wall. After the demolishing of the wall in the middle of the last century, these districts became an extension of old Jeddah and at the
same time slums since they were built with poor construction materials and techniques and without any planning.

2. The growth of the city without a master plan: Before 1963, when the first master plan was set up for Jeddah, the city expanded toward north and east. This has generated some slums along the growth paths.

3. Absence of fund: The master plan set up in 1963 comprised development proposals that demanded funds to execute. Nonetheless, the absence of such fund worsened the physical conditions of the city by allowing more slum growth and appearance. Jeddah Municipality had an essential role for this dilemma as it concentrated its efforts in maintaining new suburbs in the north on the account of the rest of the city.

4. Time gap between master plans: The period from 1963 and 1978, when the first and second master plans were developed, was wide enough to allow the city to expand without any building ordinances or/and planning policies. Again, more slums emanated in various parts of the city.

5. Large scale immigration: During the last 40 years, the city population has tremendously increased due to migration. The oil boom of the 1970s was associated with mega-scale projects in major Saudi cities such as Jeddah. Accordingly, workers from all over the world came to Jeddah to participate in the development process of that time. In 1978 the city population reached one million inhabitants, 47% of them were Saudis and 53% non-Saudis. Residents of surrounding villages and small cities immigrated to Jeddah in immense scales for better life and economic reasons. This has
increased the population number and in turn s the demand for low-cost housing. This has also led to more growth and appearance of new slums.

6. Large increase in property prices: The high raise of prices or rentals of residential properties in Jeddah has forced Saudi and non-Saudi families to look for cheaper or illegal means to acquire lots. As a result, dwellings in various slums attracted those families. This also resulted in the emergence of new slums beyond the city urban growth limit.

7. Previous lifestyle: Some Saudi families who migrated from rural areas to Jeddah used to live in large lands instead of small apartments. The new and different lifestyle experienced in Jeddah has driven them to unlawfully acquire properties in desert areas east of the city, which they use as a second home during the weekend or holidays. Such norm has induced gradual appearance of new slums in the desert and mountain areas where land is cheap or with no value and naturally beautiful and healthy.

8. Absence of police power: The elimination of the growing attitude of illegally acquiring public lands by citizens requires the use of police power. Unfortunately, the Municipality of Jeddah, which is responsible for the protection of such lands and assuring the application of building regulations, lacks such power. This in turn has encouraged the growth of slums throughout the city.

9. Delay in dealing with slum problems: The rapid growth of slums in Jeddah, faced with financial limitation and absence of serious solutions from the Municipality side, has turned the slums into a permanent problem, whose solution has become out of control.

3.3 Authoritarian Measures to Address Slum Problems

Despite the Municipality negligence and slowness in facing the rapid emergence and growth of slums, there have been some efforts made by this authority to tackle slum issues. These efforts are as follows:

1. Detailed plans of action areas of some slums prepared by the Municipality in 1993. These plans were set up despite the shortage of technical manpower and experience the Municipality has been suffering from for years. They proposed some minor physical modifications in street width, function and direction of the slums in order to integrate them with the rest of the city and disclose their compact urban form.

2. Establishing an administration responsible for dealing with slum matters on daily bases. The major task of this new administration, which is called "Administration of Slum Affairs", is to set up strategic proposals for slums problems.

3. Assigning private consultant firms to set up detail maps of the existing urban and socio-economic conditions of some slums. Two slum areas have been dealt with in this regard so far. However, these maps are merely a survey of urban, social and economic conditions of the slums. They do not provide any recommendations or solutions.

4. Proposing to higher authority (Ministry of Rural and Municipal Affairs and Emirate of Mecca Region) budget needed to deal with the deteriorating urban situation of some slums.
5. Seeking professional assistance from urban planning faculty members of King Abdul Aziz University, Jeddah.

4. Al-Sabeel District

One of the largest, oldest and most populated slums in Jeddah is al-Sabeel. Its location in the heart of the city makes al-Sabeel as important as the historic area of Jeddah. Below is an analysis of the urban and social aspect of the slum.

4.1 Urban Issues

4.1.1 Location

Al-Sabeel is located in the center of the city of Jeddah. Though it is a slum, al-Sabeel is one of the most important areas of the city due to the commercial activities that surround and penetrate its boundaries (Figs. 4 and 5).

The buildings of Al-Sabeel are old and physically in bad conditions, and the population density rate is considered the highest in Jeddah. While the road network is functionally inadequate, the rate of building occupancy is extremely high.

Fig. 4. Location of al-Sabeel Fig. 5. Al-Sabeel master plan

4.1.2 Land uses

The gross area of al-Sabeel is 75.8 hectares, and the land use varies from purely commercial (31.44%) to residential mixed with commercial (17.91%). Commercial buildings concentrate on the major roads of the district (Table 1). Regardless of the compact urban form of al-Sabeel, which is the highest built up area in Jeddah, there are vacant lands scattered throughout the district. They represent 2.38% of al-Sabeel.

Table 1. Land use distribution in al-Sabeel
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Use</th>
<th>Area m²</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>238348</td>
<td>31.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>34363</td>
<td>4.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial/Residential</td>
<td>135745</td>
<td>17.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storages</td>
<td>6460</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public facilities</td>
<td>14878</td>
<td>1.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Utilities</td>
<td>836</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads and parking</td>
<td>309006</td>
<td>40.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacant lands</td>
<td>18010</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>758000</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.3 Building characteristics

Al-Sabeel building conditions differ according to their age. 69.5% of the buildings were built more than 25 years ago; therefore, they are physically in extreme deteriorating conditions (Figs. 6-8). Only 5.83% of al-Sabeel buildings are in reasonable conditions.

Fig. 6. Building age in al-Sabeel
Good
Fair
Poor
Very poor
5.83
26.88
64.91
2.38

Fig. 7. Building conditions in al-Sabeel

The majority (45.81%) of the buildings are one floor high while 30.88% are two (Table 2 and Fig. 9). As far as construction materials, 68.54% of the buildings are built from cement bricks and 29.94% from reinforced concrete (Table 3 and Fig. 10).

Fig. 8. Views of two of many old and physically deteriorated dwellings of al-Sabeel

Table 2. Building heights in al-Sabeel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Height</th>
<th>No. of Buildings</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One floor</td>
<td>1423</td>
<td>45.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two floors</td>
<td>959</td>
<td>30.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three floors</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>15.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Four floors       152  4.89
More than four floors  82  2.64
Total             3106  100%

Fig. 9. Various qualities and heights of al-Sabeel dwellings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material</th>
<th>No. of Buildings</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reinforced concrete</td>
<td>930</td>
<td>29.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cement block</td>
<td>2129</td>
<td>68.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3106</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 10. Cement bricks and steel used in the construction of al-Sabeel dwellings

4.1.4 Facilities

Al-Sabeel seriously suffers from shortage of facilities such as education, health, administration/municipal and recreation. Currently, the facilities provided cover only 1.96% of the district.

This shortage is faced with high rate of population (5,0715 inhabitants), which is serviced by only one primary school and another elementary for male students. The case of females is even worse. There is only one primary school and another for religious studies for females. The rate of schools in al-Sabeel, either for male or female students, is way below planning standards.

As far as health facilities, the population of al-Sabeel is provided with a small clinic. Nonetheless, religious services, such as mosques, are considered in proportion with population number although they are not well distributed according to planning principles to evenly cover the entire district.

4.1.5 Street network

Al-Sabeel is contained within roads that form a ring around the area. Some of these roads, such as King Khalid in the southeast, are considered major traffic spines of Jeddah. It should be noted here that while these roads benefit the city as they link different parts with each other, they have no impact on traffic circulation inside the district, where streets have emerged as needed and without any planning standards (Fig. 11). The district streets vary in width and volume of traffic, and with a total length of 36.5 km. 67% of them are not paved or covered with asphalt. And of course they lack sidewalks, illumination and parking spaces (Fig. 12).
Studies by Jeddah Municipality reveal that current street network of al-Sabeel is incapable of handling the district need of traffic circulation and totally unsafe. The major roads are extremely congested during the day.

Fig. 11. Al-Sabeel road network. Notice the irregular and compact urban fabric, which resembles that of most of traditional Islamic cities.

Fig. 12. Unpaved streets of various configurations in al-Sabeel

4.2 Social Issues

The total population of Al-Sabeel is 5,0715 inhabitants with a density of 669 person/hectare. This exceptionally high rate of density is reflected in the number of dwelling occupants. It is estimated that the average occupancy per house is 5,63 persons.

A socio-economic study, also conducted by the Municipality, explores that only 36.5% of Al-Sabeel residents are employed (Fig. 13). The number of Saudi
householders there is 58% and non-Saudis is 35%. The average monthly income of residents of a dwelling is USD 754 [2].

4.3 Major Obstacles for Socio-Urban Development

According to Jeddah Municipality, there are many factors making any socio-urban development of al-Sabeel difficult.

1. The high population density of the district.
2. The presence of around 70% of district buildings that are in very deteriorating physical conditions.
3. The existence of high-rise buildings (around 23%) mostly built with reinforced concrete.
4. The urban compactness the district features.

Regardless of these factors, there is still an opportunity to improve the urban and social conditions of al-Sabeel and other slums in Jeddah. This opportunity is based on the observation the author made during surveying Jeddah slums, including al-Sabeel. The author noticed the great willingness of residents to improve the environment of their slums and living by any means. This explains the hope these residents have: to leave the slum as soon as possible. The author believes that Jeddah Municipality or any relevant authority should work or set up plans on the ground of that hope. The plans should consist of programs that would teach residents how to improve the physical conditions of their dwellings themselves. Such programs have succeeded in slums in Asia and South America where residents renewed their house using simple materials and techniques the municipal authority taught them (Fig. 14). Moreover, Jeddah Municipality should capitalize on the free time residents have due to their unemployment. It could build small training schools/classes or turn a few dwellings into workshops where dwellers could learn handcrafts or artwork and produce products to higher income groups of Jeddah. This way the residents will generate an income that would allow them to attain a better life, thus their hope/dream, but without leaving the slum.

5. Summary and Conclusions

Jeddah slums are a serious issue that is threatening the urban and social life of the city. These slums have emerged due to various factors, and with time, they have grown to a scale beyond control. Despite the efforts Jeddah Municipality have been making to tackle the city slum problems, they are still far a way form the level of the urban and social crisis of the slums. Al-Sabeel, a major slum area in Jeddah, experiences deteriorating physical conditions and a high rate of inhabitants who are either living in poverty or unemployed.

Nonetheless, the conditions of al-Sabeel and other slums in Jeddah could improve if relevant authorities empowered the residents by educating them new and practical means of sustainable living.
Fig. 13. Though it is rare, homelessness has been noticed in al-Sabeel.

Fig. 14. Poor residents of a village in the central area of Bangladesh taught to prepare building materials for their dwellings [3, p. 77]

References


The Adoption of New Peanut Nutrition Technology in the Philippines: 
A Socioeconomic Impact Assessment

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Vitamin A deficiency is one of the leading causes of blindness among Filipino children. Vitamin A deficiency is still considered a public health problem among preschoolers and pregnant and lactating women. Research and development funded by the Peanut Collaborative Research Support Project (USAID) was previously conducted to develop a process to reliably fortify peanut butter with Vitamin A. In 1999, the first industry collaborator agreed to adopt the technology and subsequently began marketing it throughout stores in the Philippines. This research assesses the impact of the introduction of vitamin A fortified peanut butter on consumers.

The specific objectives of the study were to: (1) estimate the current impacts of the fortified peanut butter on the consumers in the relevant market areas; (2) compare the knowledge, purchase, and use of vitamin A fortified peanut butter in low and middle income groups for enhancing planning for future impacts; (3) estimate the consumption of peanut butter with vitamin A among children to determine impacts on the most vulnerable age groups; and (4) examine family patterns of consumption of vitamin A fortified peanut butter.

The results are based on an analysis of data collected in a stratified random sample of middle and low income households in Cebu, Laguna, Tarlac, and 10 Metro Manila urban barangays (communities). A total of 176 middle-income households and 185 low-income households participated in the survey. Only households that purchase peanut products and have children were included. Over 90 percent of the households consume peanut butter, by far the most commonly consumed peanut product.

Over 40 percent of the households buy peanut butter at least once a month. The vitamin A fortified brand is purchased by about 20 percent of households (17 percent of middle income households and 23 percent of low income households), making it the second largest selling peanut butter. Among persons 2 to 20 years of age, 76 percent eat at least one-half tablespoon of peanut butter per week. About 15 percent of children in the sample are estimated to be consuming at least one-half tablespoon per week of the vitamin A fortified peanut butter. For children 2 to 6, one-half a tablespoon is 25% of the RDA. Roughly 17 percent of the children 2 to 6 receive at least this amount per week or more.

The results suggest that the potential for increasing the intake of vitamin A through peanut butter fortification is substantial. Since peanut butter is by far the number one choice among peanut products and that the survey respondents indicated a strong willingness to purchase the fortified peanut butter, considerable gains could be made though effective education and advertising. Providing Filipinos with this source of vitamin A will help diminish deficiencies and its debilitating effects. However, aggressive marketing and a more extensive vitamin A information dissemination campaign on the part of the government is needed.
Sleepless in the Sceptered Isle:
English Protestantism, Anomie, Disenchantment,
and Religious Suicides During the Reign of Henry VIII

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ABSTRACT

Research explores the behavioral effects of anomie (religious disunity) and disenchantment (decline of magic through sacramental deritualization) in the reign of Henry VIII: did the loss of religious unity and the magical rituals, sacraments, and enchantments that enhanced Tudor subjects’ chance for salvation lead to anomie, that is, a suicidogenic social structure that induced despair and religious suicides? The first part of my project involves reviewing quantitative data from other researchers to assess the evidence and reliability of suicide rates. The second (and future) part of my research involves a primary analysis of archives from the London Public Record Office to obtain evidence of religious suicides. Such research might shed light on the prevention of violence—and other social problems—in contemporary societies undergoing political conversion from below and interventionist institutional and cultural change from above, such as nation building, democratization, or the transition from communism to capitalism.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Emilé Durkheim is a foundational sociologist; his key concept is anomie, explored in his three major works, The Division of Labor in Society (1893/1964), Suicide (1897/1951) and The Elementary Forms of Religious Life (1912/1995). Anomie is a social fact external to and coercive of the individual, explained by other social facts. Anomie is a property of the social order which exerts a force upon the individual so that he or she may define his or her life as not worth living. Integration, social solidarity, and regulation are aspects of anomie. Integration is the degree to which the collective consciousness is shared—
values, norms, beliefs, and ideas—and possess coercive power; in this function integration either attaches citizens to society or, in its absence (anomie), provokes deviance. Anomie is disunity plus deviance. Social solidarity is our feeling of unity (a “we-feeling”), our sense of belonging, that we are all members of society, a community, a neighborhood, etc. Moral regulation refers to the potency of external constraint; when moral regulation declines external constraint dissipates, since they are essentially synonymous. These three constituent aspects of anomie are not distinct but overlap; empirical data supports the argument that all three are inextricably related to each other, that is, they each entail the other (Pope 1975). Not sharing in society’s collective consciousness entails a lack of belonging and feckless social control. To put it positively, the more we share in, identify with, society’s collective consciousness, the more we feel we belong (a “we-feeling”), and the more likely we are to follow the rules. Integration, social solidarity, and moral regulation are highly dependent on rituals that reconstitute the values and norms that socially reproduce a we-feeling and external constraint. Durkheim’s theory predicts that when anomie is present—normative disunity combined with a loss of social control and moral regulation—suicide rates will rise. Suicide is a social fact; its patterns illuminate the effect of social forces. Though suicide is always an individual act, its trajectory can tell us much about the power of cultural and institutional change upon a population (MacDonald and Murphy 1993). The data traditionally used to measure the extent of anomie are officially adjudicated suicides from coroners’ inquests. But problems with corners’ inquests and official suicide statistics abound (Douglas 1967; MacDonald and Murphy 1993). Thus, qualitative data that illuminates the mentality, the subjectivity, of individuals who kill themselves is invaluable to complement the crudeness and inaccuracy of official statistics.

Max Weber also is a foundational sociologist; his key concern was the rationalization and
disenchantment of the modern world that began with the rise of Protestantism, expounded in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1933), his most famous work. Disenchantment is the process of eliminating mystery, magic, miracle, and superstition from institutions and everyday practices. The disenchantment that arises from the elimination of magic and enchantment within Catholic ritual and ceremony engenders individualism and “a feeling of unprecedented inner loneliness of the single individual” (Weber 1993: 104).

[It] is with the lonely individualism of the Protestant faith that the process of disenchantment begins in earnest. Divorced from his priests and the Church, with its elaborate hierarchy that served to explain the most minute details of everyday life within the sacred precepts of revealed doctrine, Western man fell back upon . . . painful and ‘inhumane’ individualism (Greisman 1976: 496).

As Weber argues:

[Protestants] even rejected all signs of religious ceremony at the grave and buried [their] nearest and dearest without song or ritual in order that no superstition, no trust in the effects of magical and sacramental forces on salvation, should creep in. There was not only no magical means of attaining the grace of God . . . but no means whatever (105). This, the complete elimination of salvation through the Church and the sacraments . . . was what formed the absolutely decisive difference from Catholicism (104).

Profound cultural and behavioral effects can be inferred from disenchantment. “Carried to an extreme, [disenchantment] turn[s] life into a tale which, whether told by an idiot or not, would certainly signify nothing, having been evacuated of meaning” (Schneider 1993: xiii). “[T]he two dimensions of
disenchantment—intellectualization and rationalization—have rendered social life essentially meaningless. . . .

(Greisman 1976: 498), helped to create a barren and repressive world” (500). Two behavioral effects which can be hypothesized are despair and an increase in religious suicides, the former is unmeasurable, the latter can be empirically measured by officially adjudicated suicides from coroners’ inquests. If suicide rates go up during a period of religious disunity, then that provides some evidence that religious disunity causes suicide. However, it does not tell us why any individual committed suicide. Evidence that any particular suicide was a religious suicide, committed, for example, because of apostasy and despair, requires qualitative evidence, such as a suicide note.

Debunking rituals as superstition and magic unworthy of human veneration—disenchantment—leads to a falling off of such rituals, which detaches people from the moral values that provide integration, solidarity, and regulation. Deritualization through the decline of magical, mysterious, superstitious, and miracle-inducing rituals and practices, such as evangelical antisacramentalism, is a paradigmatic instance of disenchantment.

Thus, anomie typifies a social structure waning in integration, social solidarity, and regulation, which can be induced by disenchantment. Fundamental sociological research suggests examining the behavioral effects of both anomie and disenchantment during an historical period when they were pervasive.

A period of history when religious disunity and disenchantment compounded together more profoundly than at any other time in European history was during the rise of Protestantism and the Reformation. One country where religious disunity and disenchantment was profoundly contentious and resistance prevalent was England. Henry VIII in one fell swoop known as the Act of Supremacy (1534) (though other previous and future acts and injunctions were important) dramatically transformed religious
allegiance, ritual practice, and Tudor governance. Wherever there is repression there is resistance (Foucault 1979). The English Reformation was not just an “act of state”, but resisted by “struggles between state and people as well as struggles between Catholics and Protestants” (Haigh 1993: 18). Resistance and reflection rather than embracement (such as in Germany) can bring doubt, confusion, and anomie. The vast majority of the population “sat bewildered in pews or befuddled in alehouses; [additionally, there were] those who grumbled as well as those who greeted . . ., the Reformations came out of the clashes between them” (16). Both anomie and disenchantment can make life seem meaningless, confused, and, in a deeply religious culture, induce apostasy, despair, and suicide. Thus, the research project centers on the possible rise in suicide rates attributable to anomie induced by state-sanctioned disenchantment and popular resistance during the English Reformation that began in the 1520s in the reign of King Henry VIII (r. 1509-47). It is a quintessential period and place to test the behavioral effects of Durkheim’s theory of anomie and Weber’s historical process of disenchantment, that is, the extent of social, cultural, and behavioral aftermath from, on the one hand, evangelical conversion from below and state-enforced institutional and cultural antipapism from above and, on the other hand, resistance to changes in doctrine and practice in defense of “traditional piety” (Duffy 1992). Did suicide rates increase and is there evidence of religious suicides as a consequence of the contentious elimination of long-standing beliefs and rituals?

Giddens (1965: 5) argues that a “suicidogenic social structure” has both anomic and egoistic effects, both of which produce “high rates of suicide”. Historians on the English Reformation have been suggestive that a suicidogenic social structure—apostasy and despair—led individuals to commit suicide. The cause of suicide, according to contemporary theologians, was despair, the opposite of Christian hope. “The worst desolation was not poverty or the recourse it led to—begging, prostitution, and crime—but the mental
desolation of despair” (Brigden 2000: 83). Brigden suggests a link between religious disunity, despair, and suicide: “[I]n May 1532 there were fourteen suicides in London, by hanging or drowning, at the time that a traumatic assault on the liberties of the Church caused Thomas More to resign his office” (83). Concurring, MacDonald and Murphy (1993: 39) argue that nothing was more strongly emphasized in Reformation England than the “links between apostasy, despair, and suicide. Renunciation of religious truth in favour of false doctrine leads to diabolical temptations to despair and self-murder.” Thus one supposition might be that as one became an apostate to the Pope and the Church of Rome, yet was confused over or unconvinced of evangelical answers, despair set in and suicide became an option. The loss of moral certainty, salvation expectations, and afterlife assurances were disintegrative to religious unity and conducive to despair and religious suicide. Another supposition is that Protestantism’s moral deregulation embodied in its espousal of liberty of conscience, justification by grace through faith alone, the priesthood of all believers, and one’s freedom to contemplate Scripture, salvation, and the afterlife on one’s own, combined with the renunciation of sacramental rituals—disenchantment—led to a decline in social cohesiveness (integration, social solidarity, and regulation) and the increased likelihood of religious suicides. As Anthony Giddens (1971: 85) has argued: “Protestantism is the religious forerunner and primary source of modern moral individualism . . . .” Protestantism engendered anomie and disenchantment, both leading to atomization.

The Tudor theology was that the Devil instigated apostasy and despair, goaded one on to suicide, and even provided the instruments of self-destruction. In fact, the Tudor logic was “Satan, apostasy, despair, and suicide . . . .” (MacDonald and Murphy 1993: 40). Rival theologians argued that the wrong theological beliefs caused suicide. Certainly Protestant and Catholic theologians hammering away at the
laity’s psyche that their religion held the proper road to salvation and that the other one led to damnation could cause the type of moral confusion—apostasy and despair—indicative of anomie. Suicide was used as a social weapon in such propaganda. “Both Protestant and Catholic writers capitalized on . . . suicides . . . [as they] strove to prove that the creeds they hated were doctrines of desperation[; that] the antagonistic faith drove its members to a state of despair, the psychological equivalent of apostasy, and to suicide” (43). As Stephen Greenblatt (2004: 94) has stated:

[F]or those who believed that the fate of their eternal souls depended upon the precise form of worship—and that, after all, is what the strong claims were about—the shifts in official belief and regulated practice must have been excruciating. Local communities were ruptured, friendships were broken, families were torn asunder—parents against children, wives against husbands—and inner lives tormented with pity and fear.

Self-examination over the uncertainty of external means to salvation produced the tormented conscience, the guilt, dread, doubt, and despair (Anfechtungen)—the demons Martin Luther wrestled with—which caused his apostasy and unrelieved torment until he supplanted what he called the theology of glory with the theology of the cross (Marty 2004: 40). Historians have argued that many suffered despair, malaise, and angst; some of those committed religious suicide.

QUANTITATIVE DATA

The English are obsessive record keepers, and their records on suicides prove no exception.

A new law regulating the pay and performance of coroners was passed in 1487 that made them responsible for holding inquests on every violent or suspicious death that occurred in their jurisdictions. This statute was fine-tuned by a writ in 1509 and a second statute in
1510, and a regular procedure for returning inquisitions to the court of King’s Bench and recording their verdicts was established (MacDonald and Murphy 1993: 24). To ensure compliance with the law, they were required to return copies of the inquisitions at the semi-annual meetings of the assizes in their counties. The clerk of the assize subsequently forwarded them to the court of King’s Bench, where they were reviewed and enrolled (26). Because there are so many inquisitions in the King’s Bench series, and they are cross-referenced in the controlment rolls, it should be possible in theory to reconstruct an accurate yearly count of the suicides reported to the central government (360).

What is research without problems? To begin with, was a death suicide is enshrouded in intrigue.

Suicide was a terrible crime in Tudor and early Stuart England. Self-killing was a species of murder, a felony in criminal law and a desperate sin in the eyes of the church. Suicides were tried posthumously by a coroner’s jury, and if they were convicted as self-murderers, they and their heirs were savagely punished. Their moveable goods, including tools, household items, money, debts owed to them, and even leases on the land that they had worked were forfeited to the crown or to the holder of a royal patent who possessed the right to such windfall in a particular place. The suicide of an adult male could reduce his survivors to pauperism. Self-murderers were denied Christian burials; their bodies were interred profanely with a macabre ceremony prescribe by popular custom. The night following the inquest, officials of the parish, the churchwardens and their helpers, carried the corpse to a crossroads and threw it naked into a pit. A wooden stake was hammered through the body pinioning it in the grave, and the hole was filled in. No prayers for the dead were repeated; the minister did not attend (MacDonald and Murphy 1993: 15).

“For these reasons, evidence of suicide must often have been covered up” (Brigden 2000: 83).

A second problem is the idiosyncracy of coroners and coroners’ juries; a death to one might be a self-murder to another. However, administrative procedures were in place by 1487 and “fine-tuned” in 1509 and 1510 to standardize adjudication (MacDonald and Murphy 1993: 24). A third problem is that adjudication was susceptible to pressure from the crown seeking financial gain: “really rich men—usually
merchants—were occasionally convicted of self-murder” (27). Politics, a dead person’s status, ecclesiastical intervention, coroner competency, jury diligence, and who knows what, may have intervened in judgments. A fourth problem is, do complete records survive? and the thoroughness of the records available; absent or impaired records in one or two crucial years vitiate theoretical generalizations. A fifth problem is non compos mentis verdicts, which cannot be included to support any social theory. However, between 1485 and 1660 “fewer than 2 per cent [of suicides] were excused as persons non compos mentis” (16). Only felo de se, a felon of himself, verdicts will count, which, of course, included women. A sixth problem is ascertaining who the coroners were and when they changed office. A seventh problem is that the most important jurisdiction, London, will be missing. “Coroners in many cities and towns, such as London, Norwich, and Bristol, were not required to return their inquisitions to the court, and they did not normally do so” (360).

With all of these problems, the data can only be considered weak, impaired, and crude. Conclusions will be suggestive. A trenchant critique of relying solely on suicide rates has been stated. “Sociologists opposed to the ‘positivism’ of Durkheim and his students have long insisted that official statistics are bogus because the classification of suicidal death is a complex social process that results in verdicts more dependent on the attitudes of officials and procedures that they use than on what really happened” (Macdonald and Murphy 1993: 4). As a longtime proponent of humanistic/hermeneutical sociology, I agree with much of that. Yet I have always argued that an adequate sociology incorporate both structure and agency. Unless one is ready to abandon the concept of social structure and social facts/social forces (indeed sociology!), arguments about the effect of large-scale social forces must necessarily be inferred from behavioral data. Social facts are an ontological assumption of sociologists.
Epistemologically, sociologists argue they “know” this through data that warrants such an assumption, suicide rates being the paradigmatic example. In fact, only a page later MacDonald and Murphy (5) state that social forces affecting attitudes on and punishment of suicide were in play: “The intensification of hostility to self-killing in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was the result of the Tudor revolutions in government and religion—the rise of the modern state and the Protestant reformation.” Thus whatever the population’s attitude, especially the local coroner’s and the coroner’s jury, if the hostility to and punishment of suicide intensified and rates rose nevertheless (but whether they did or not is arguable), it must mean something—maybe that more people were committing suicide, and maybe they were in response to anomie and disenchantment; in this case, brought on by Tudor wars of governance and ecclesiastical ideology.

Assessing Tudor subjects’ mentalité, arriving at verstehen, is risky business. What it must have been like for Tudor subjects living through a spiritual crisis can only be gleaned from evidence such as letters, diaries, and pamphlets. But the vast majority of the population was illiterate. And for both the literate and illiterate, the 1534 Act of Treason “made it treasonable to call the King a heretic, a schismatic, a tyrant, an infidel or a usurper” (Brigden 2000: 120), “giv[ing] the King alarming new powers over conscience” (163). One way to indirectly tap into Tudor subjects’ historical mentalité to achieve verstehen is by following Durkheim, to infer that anomie exists by behavior, an increase in suicide rates. There’s the rub, since aggregate data cannot be used to explain individual cases; to do so commits the ecologicial fallacy. Other evidence of anomie and disenchantment is necessary to contextualize and complement such rates, especially evidence that England’s social structure was anomic, that it did experience a decline in social cohesiveness. This evidence exists through historians’ interpretations of the English Reformation. Also, salvation wars between Catholicism and Protestantism is, ipso facto, a crisis in the collective conscience, a
deterioration in social order. In fact, the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536), the most severe threat to the Tudor reign, was launched by a huge segment of the population opposed to the downslope of Catholicism. Personal narratives and suicide notes of self-murderers that demonstrate aspects of anomie (decay in integration, solidarity, and regulation) and apostasy would provide powerful qualitative support to the argument of a suicidogenic social structure. Aspiring to complementarity between quantitative and qualitative data, linkages between macrosociological and microsociological explanations, relationships between the public issue of a suicidogenic social structure and the private trouble of a self-murder, and connections between the history of a Tudor crisis and the biography of its victims, are goals. Achieving them is a horse of a different color.

Suicide rates are obtainable solely from coroners’ reports and problems with those reports have been noted, but the coroner’s report is the unit of analysis. Any biographical or personal information, for example, letters, diaries, suicide notes, etc., if attainable, will also be a unit of analysis. The research is longitudinal. Pre-Reformation rates have to be compared to rates after the onset of the Reformation. What were per capita suicide rates before the onset of the English Reformation during the early decades of Henry VIII’s reign, 1509-1530, and what were they from then until the end of his reign, 1530-1547? If anomie existed, then per capita suicide rates should have gone up during the 1530s, after numerous policies such as (though not limited to) the Acts of Annates, Restraint of Appeals, Act of Supremacy, Act of Treason, the Oath of Succession, the break with Rome, the stands on conscience by Fisher, More, Barton, and others, and the marriage to and subsequent beheading of Anne Boleyn.

Quantitative data and tables from other researchers to be provided at the conference.
REFERENCES


Title of the Submission: Context in Texts: An Exploration of Uses and Elements of Context in College Textbooks

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Abstract

There is frequent reference to the term “context” or its variants such as “contextual”, “contextually”, “contextualizing”, and “contextualization” in both speech and written communication. This reference is usually made in a variety of phrases such as “…in this context…”, “…in the context of economics…”, “…it depends on the context…”, “…in the historical context…”, “…in the international context…”, “…in the context of war…”, “…in the classroom context…”, “…taken out of context…”, etc., etc, ad nauseam.

The frequent reference to context or its variants tells us that knowledge of context is more important in human communication than knowledge of words per se. It also reminds us that words have no universal meaning. The meaning of a word is defined by the context in which it is used. Since there are different contexts, this means that words have multiple meanings. As used here, context refers to background information and meanings underlying verbal and nonverbal messages or physical acts, which a speaker or author provides in order to achieve communication efficiency and effectiveness.

Despite the frequent reference to context in speech and written communication, the literature review revealed no systematic study of the character and value of context. What kind of background information does a speaker or author need to provide in order for the listener or reader to understand clearly and to decode accurately the information and meanings embedded in verbal and nonverbal messages or physical acts? What kind of background information and meanings does the context provide that words alone do not? What is the nature of interface between natural language and context? This cross-sectional study explores answers to these and related questions with a content analysis of the uses of the term “context” or its variants in textbooks required in various college courses during fall 2000 semester. The quantitative data were analyzed via SPSS (11.5) for Windows and the qualitative data were analyzed via WinMax Pro 98: Software for Qualitative Data Analysis for Windows.

This paper will report: (1) the frequency of uses of context or its variants in textbooks of various college courses, and in academic domains (arts/humanities, behavioral/social sciences, and natural/physical sciences), (2) the structural interface between natural language and context, and (3) the specific critical thinking skills needed for uncovering information and meanings embedded in verbal and nonverbal messages or physical acts. The paper’s thesis is that context is a language on its own with its own grammar and that knowledge of the elements of this grammar is essential for efficient and effective speech and written communication.
Title of the Submission: An Evaluation of the Student Teaching Program of Selected Universities and Colleges: Basis for a Model Teaching Program

Topic area of the submission: Education

Presentation Format: Poster Session

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ABSTRACT

An attempt to evaluate the Student Teaching Program of selected universities and colleges in order to come up with a Model Student Teaching Program is the main concern of the research.

Specifically, it tries to answer the following questions:

1. What is the status of the Student Teaching Program of selected universities and colleges:
A. Philosophy of the program

B. Program objectives

C. Program content

II. General Performance of Student Teachers

III. General Performance of Teacher Training Instructors and Cooperating Teachers

IV. Program Efficiency

2. What are the strongest and weakest aspects of the program?

3. What best practices can be deduced from the existing program of said universities and colleges?

4. What model Student Teaching Program can be proposed?

The researcher will administer the Questionnaire to Evaluate the Student Teaching Program (QESTP) developed by Aribuabo (1992) to different respondent groups, namely: student teachers, teacher training instructors, cooperating teachers and principals, and college professors who are handling professional education courses. All of the respondents shall be randomly sampled. Triangulation will be done to selected samples. Data gathered will be tabulated and statistically treated using percentages. From the data gathered, a Model Student Teaching Program shall be proposed to improve the weaknesses of the existing program and to strengthen those aspects where the program is strongest in order to ensure quality pre-service education among would-be teachers.
Abstract:

The purpose of this paper is to conduct a comparative analysis of the development of securities markets in Asian Economies. This study focuses on nine Asian economies; Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, and China.

Securities markets in the nine Asian economies are relatively young as compared with those of the U.S. and the U.K. Among them, the Hong Kong Securities Market is the oldest and was established in 1891. In 1990, the youngest market was founded in China. Other markets were set up from the late 1920s to the early 1960s. The informal exchange, however, started far before the establishment of the stock exchanges.

From the history of these markets in nine Asian economies, the author points out four common features. First, many market systems were affected by experiences of the colonial era. In the early period of stock exchanges in these economies, colonists were the first people to exchange their shares and decided the rules and regulations for stock trading. Second, most governments of the nine economies took the initiative to facilitate the “formal” securities markets, including trading systems, settlement systems, legal institutions, rules and regulations, etc. Before setting up the official markets, governments maintained a “laissez-faire” approach. These governments however, started to recognize the significance of the securities markets
in order to achieve economic development. The third feature is that these markets have developed rapidly since the late 1980s. With economic development, the securities markets of these nine economies attracted a large amount of funds from abroad, further facilitating the functioning of the markets. The last feature was that most markets have been severely affected by the currency crisis in 1997. Because this crisis spread out to neighboring countries, they experienced sudden outflows of foreign capital. This had a great impact on stock prices.
Factors Affecting Utilization and Satisfaction With Recreation Opportunities at Ohio State Parks

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Abstract

Data were collected from a sample of Ohio residents to assess characteristics of visitors to Ohio State Parks during the 2004 recreation year. Satisfaction with specific recreation facilities and services made available at Ohio State Parks were also examined. The theoretical perspective used to guide the investigation was developed from selected components of social learning and opportunity theories. A structured questionnaire was mailed to 2,485 randomly selected Ohio residents during the late fall and early winter of 2004. A total of 980 questionnaires were returned which constitutes a response rate of about 39.4 percent. Of those returned, 737 questionnaires contained sufficient data to be used for statistical modeling. Study findings revealed that approximately 42.1 percent of study respondents had visited Ohio State Parks during the 2004 recreation year and that a large majority of the visitors perceived the parks favorably. Visitors to Ohio State Parks reported visiting the parks about six times during the 2004 recreation year and visiting approximately two parks during the recreation year. Discriminate analysis was employed as a means of identifying characteristics of respondents who visited Ohio State Parks during the 2004 recreation year. The theoretical model developed using socio-demographic variables and measures of structural barriers to predict visitor status was shown to have some utility for predicting visitation at Ohio State Parks. Several factors assessing the quality of facilities and services provided at the parks and all of the socio-demographic factors included in the statistical model were shown to be significant in terms of correctly classifying respondents into visitor and non-visitor categories. Approximately 70.6 percent of the respondents were correctly classified using the predictive model. Multiple linear regression modeling was used to examine factors affecting satisfaction with the State Park visited most often. The independent variables included in the regression modeling were shown to have limited utility for explaining variability in satisfaction scores. Study findings are discussed in the context of future program planning within the Ohio State Parks system.
Introduction

Assessment of satisfaction with consumer products has been an important component of marketing strategies for decades within the United States. It is widely recognized that manufacturers must monitor levels of satisfaction with their products to remain competitive in the marketplace. Market research makes it possible for producers to modify goods and services to be more congruent with the desires and preferences of client groups. Millions of dollars are allocated each year to ascertain how consumers perceive specific goods and services and study findings are employed to adjust marketing strategies and to modify products.

Public providers of outdoor recreation opportunities have also recognized the need to monitor satisfaction with recreation opportunities made available to the recreating public and to assess preferences of client populations (Anderson and Blahna, 1996; Bright, 2000; Jacobson, 2001; Napier, 1981). Such research provides resource managers with information for modifying recreational opportunities to better satisfy the perceived needs of client populations and to devise marketing approaches that will appeal to a broad range of clients.

The purpose of this paper is to present the findings from a state-wide study of Ohio residents that was designed to examine satisfaction with outdoor recreational opportunities provided by the Ohio State Parks system. Statistical models are presented that were developed to predict participation visitation at Ohio State Parks and to identify factors that are useful for predicting levels of satisfaction with various aspects of the Ohio State Park visited most frequently. The findings are discussed in the context of future outdoor recreation planning and development within the state.

Outdoor Recreation Satisfaction and Participation
Many factors have been shown to be significantly related with outdoor recreation participation and with satisfaction with recreational opportunities provided (Anderson and Blahna, 1996; Arnold and Shinew, 1998; Devine and McGovern, 2001; Lee and Scott, 2001; Tian-Cole, et al. 2002; More and Stevens, 2000; Napier, 1981; Raymore and Scott, 1998; Shelby and Heberlein, 1986; Stewart and Cole, 2001). Existing research indicates that satisfaction with recreational opportunities varies by a number of personal characteristics and by host of site-specific factors.

Personal characteristics such as age, health status, disposable income, number of children living at home, and location of residence have been demonstrated to affect satisfaction with recreational opportunities provided and with participation in specific outdoor recreational activities. Such findings are consistent with theoretical arguments advanced by proponents of “personal community theory” who assert that individuals must possess characteristics that facilitate accessing outdoor recreation opportunities (Napier and Maurer, 1981). The theory suggests that certain characteristics make it easier for individuals to participate in outdoor recreation activities while others impede participation.

Increasing age can impede participation in outdoor recreation activities because older citizens often are not able to effectively use recreational facilities and services that are often designed for younger people. Older people should articulate their lack of participation in outdoor recreation sites by being less satisfied with public outdoor recreation facilities that are not designed to accommodate the needs of older consumers. Inability to participate in outdoor recreation activities at recreation sites designed for younger people due to age should be reflected in higher levels of dissatisfaction with outdoor recreation facilities and services provided.

Health status can impede outdoor recreation participation because people who are physically
challenged cannot access outdoor recreation facilities and services that are designed for physically active people. If specifically designed recreation facilities for the physically challenged are not provided, then participation will be significantly constrained for individuals who lack requisite health status to participate. Inability to participate due to health status should be reflected in higher levels of dissatisfaction with outdoor recreation facilities and services provided.

Access to disposable income is often a requisite factor to participation in outdoor recreation activities. Most public outdoor recreation facilities and practically all private recreation facilities are financed by user fees. If an individual wishes to use a recreation facility that requires payment of a user fee, the person must have access to disposable income. Unfortunately, a rather large percentage of people within the US does not have access to sufficient economic resources to pay for access to outdoor recreation facilities that require payment of user fees and are excluded from participation. Inability to participate in outdoor recreation activities due to user fees should be reflected in higher levels of dissatisfaction with outdoor recreation facilities and services provided.

Children living at home can influence participation in outdoor recreation activities because most parents wish to provide their children with learning experiences and one means of doing so is via outdoor recreation outings as a family. While adults may place higher priority on more sedate indoor activities when making decisions about their personal leisure activities, the presence of children in the household can act as a motivator for the family to engage in more vigorous outdoor recreation activities because most outdoor recreation facilities are designed for enactment of active recreation activities. The presence of children in the household should be reflected in higher levels of participation in outdoor recreation participation and subsequently higher levels of satisfaction with outdoor recreation facilities
and services provided.

Location of residence can affect outdoor recreation participation because living in more densely populated areas will encourage parents to take their children to outdoor recreation sites for the learning experiences that can only be achieved in rural environments. Children can learn skills in rural outdoor recreation settings that they cannot learn in urban environments. Children cannot experience natural environmental settings in densely populated urban environments and parents should be motivated to take their children to outdoor recreation sites so their children can access new outdoor educational experiences. Urban location of residence should be reflected in higher levels of satisfaction with rural outdoor recreation facilities and services provided.

Other factors that can affect level of satisfaction and participation in outdoor recreation activities are characteristics of the recreational facility and the services provided. Social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) argues that human beings learn from experience and develop perceptions about phenomenon encountered in their physical and social environments in the context of those experiences. If the learning experiences at the outdoor recreation sites have produced positive consequences, then people will develop favorable orientations toward the outdoor recreation sites being assessed. Social learning theory argues that individuals tend to repeat behaviors that have generated benefits for them and avoid situations that they believe will generate negative consequences for them.

In the context of outdoor recreation participation and satisfaction, people will participate in outdoor recreation activities when the facilities and services being made available to them satisfy their perceived needs and preferences. Therefore, characteristics of outdoor recreation facilities that individuals perceive to be relevant to their recreation needs will be significantly related with participation
and level of satisfaction with facilities and services provided. Factors that make outdoor recreation experiences more rewarding will be significantly related with participation and satisfaction with outdoor recreation facilities and services provided.

In sum, the theoretical model basically argues that personal characteristics of the outdoor recreation participant and characteristics of the recreation facility and the services provided at the site will be significantly related to levels of satisfaction with outdoor recreation opportunities provided and will be significantly related with frequency of participation at the recreation site.

**Research Methods**

*Data collection:* Data were collected from a sample of Ohio residents during the late fall of 2004 using a mail questionnaire to assess the merits of the theoretical perspective outlined above. A systematic random sample of 2,485 Ohio residents was drawn by a professional sampling firm in the early fall of 2004. The lists of names and addresses maintained by the sampling firm are the most comprehensive source for developing random samples that exists within the state.

A questionnaire was mailed in mid-November to the selected sample. A cover letter explaining the purpose of the study and a self-addressed and stamped return envelop were included with each questionnaire. Approximately three weeks later a second questionnaire was mailed to non-respondents with a revised cover letter asking them to participate in the study. A third mailing was posted to non-respondents three weeks following the second mailing.

A total of 980 questionnaires were returned using these methodologies which constitutes a response rate of approximately 39.4 percent which is considered to be average when using a mailed questionnaire to collect data from general populations. Of the questionnaires returned, 737 were
sufficiently completed to be used for statistical analyses.

*Measurement of study variables:* The questionnaire used to collect study data was developed to accomplish the following objectives: to assess location and frequency of visitation at Ohio State Parks, measure satisfaction with facilities and services at the park visited most often, to examine barriers and facilitators of State Park visitation, and to collect socio-demographic characteristics of study participants. Variables included on the questionnaire that are examined in this manuscript were measured as follows:

**Visitation at Ohio State Parks** was measured by asking respondents to indicate the number of State Parks they had visited during the 2004 recreation and the total number of times they had visited them. Respondents were also asked to indicate the anticipated number of times they would visit Ohio State Parks during the 2005 recreation year. The values entered for these questions were used in the statistical analysis.

**Level of park satisfaction** was measured by asking visitors to Ohio State Parks to report their level of satisfaction with six characteristics of the park visited most often. The characteristics assessed were as follows: cleanliness, appearance, employee helpfulness, condition of buildings, safety and security, and programs and activities. The Likert-type responses (Edwards, 1957; Nunnally, 1978) to the satisfaction scale items were as follows: excellent (weighted 5), good (weighted 4), average (weighted 3), poor (weighted 2), and very poor (weighted 1). The weighting values for each respondent were analyzed using item analysis to determine if the items were sufficiently inter-correlated to justify combining the weighting values for all items into a single variable. Item analysis produced an alpha coefficient of reliability of 0.87 (Cronbach, 1951) which indicates the items are highly intercorrelated. An alpha
coefficient of this magnitude indicates the weighting values can legitimately be summed to form a composite measure of satisfaction with the Ohio State Park visited most often. The weighting values for the six satisfaction items were summed to form a composite measure of satisfaction and the computed value was used in the statistical analysis.

Time and distance to Ohio State Parks was measured by asking respondents to indicate the time in minutes and the distance in miles required to travel to the Ohio State Park they visit most often. The values entered for these two variables were used in the statistical analysis.

Facilitators of park visitation was measured by asking all study respondents to assess factors that could encourage them to visit Ohio State Parks in the future. Respondents were provided a list of 14 things that could affect park visitation. Factors evaluated were as follows: quality of park facilities, relevance of park programs, user fees, access to park information, crowding, park safety, helpfulness of park employees, quality of food service, children education programs, programs for physically challenged, access for physically challenged, rental equipment, entertainment for children, and adult education programs. Respondents were asked to check all of the factors that would encourage them to visit Ohio State Parks more often in the future. All factors checked by respondents received a value of 1 and all factors not selected received a 0. The weighting values were used in the statistical analysis.

Socio-demographic characteristics were measured by asking study respondents to provide information about themselves and their family. Information was collected for age, number of children living at home, location of residence and monetary expenditures per trip to state parks during the 2004 recreation year. Age of the respondent was measured using four categories which were as follows: under 18 (weighted 1), 18-34 (weighted 2), 35-60 (weighted 3), and over 60 (weighted 4). Number of children living at
home was measured as the number of children living at home below the age of 18. The possible range of children was from none (0) to five or more (5). Location of residence was measured using 7 categories of community size. The categories used are as follows: rural farm, rural non-farm, village (<2,500 people), small town (2,500 - 10,000), small city (10,001-50,000), city (50,001 - 250,000), and large city (> 250,000). Weighting values of 1 through 7 were used to represent the categories with rural farm receiving a value of 1 and large city a value of 7. Total expenditures for park visits was measured by asking respondents to indicate the amount of money usually spent on five categories of purchases per recreation trips to Ohio State Parks during the 2004 recreation year. The values submitted for each of the different types of purchases were summed and multiplied by the total number of trips to Ohio State Parks during the 2004 recreation year. The product of the calculation was used in the statistical modeling.

Statistical analysis: Study data were examined using frequency distributions, means, and standard deviations to assess general trends within the data set. Discriminant analysis was used to compare characteristics of visitors and non-visitors to Ohio State Parks for the purpose of identifying variables that could differentiate park visitors from non-visitors. Multiple linear regression modeling was used to examine the utility of the theoretical model developed to guide the investigation of satisfaction with the State Park visited most often. Means substitution was used for missing data which has been shown to be the best method for salvaging cases when the number of observations is high, the intercorrelations are low and the amount of missing data is very low (Donner, 1982). All of these conditions were satisfied in the data set.

Study Findings
Of the 737 useable questionnaires returned by the study sample, a total of 310 reported they had visited Ohio State Parks during the 2004 recreation year which indicates that approximately 42.1 percent of the study respondents had visited Ohio State Parks during the past recreation year. This value is probably a good estimate of participation in the state because it replicates findings from previous research conducted in Ohio. The previous study reported that approximately 42 percent of respondents had visited an Ohio State Park during the recreation year assessed (Carr and Chang, 2000).

Respondents were requested to provide basic socio-demo information about themselves and their families. Characteristics of the study sample are presented in Table 1 and show respondents are mature adults with relatively few children living at home. A large percentage of respondents lived in cities.

(Table 1 here)

Respondents were asked to provide information about visitation to Ohio State Parks during the 2004 recreation year. Of the 310 respondents who indicated they had visited Ohio State Parks during the 2004 recreation year, a large majority provided detailed information about their park visits. These data are presented in Table 2 and show that visitors to Ohio State Parks visited about 2.1 parks during the 2004 recreation year and that they visited the parks a total of 6.5 times. Respondents also indicated they would maintain basically the same level of participation during the 2005 recreation year.

Respondents who reported visiting Ohio State Parks reported they traveled about 36.2 miles to the State Park visited most often and that it took them about 46.8 minutes of travel time to reach the park. They also reported using Ohio State Parks for about 23 years. This means that park visitors
have considerable personal knowledge about Ohio State Parks.

Data collected about expenditures during visits to Ohio State Parks revealed that the average respondent spent about $599.17 to visit the parks during the 2004 recreation season. The expenditure per household data indicate that visitation of Ohio residents to Ohio State Parks generated an estimated 1.1 billion dollars in recreation spending in Ohio during the 2004 recreation year.

(Table 2 here)

Level of satisfaction with the Ohio State Park visited most often is presented in Table 3 and show that respondents who reported visiting State Parks were satisfied with services and facilities provided at the State Park visited most often. Findings revealed that respondents were most satisfied with the appearance of the State Park followed closely by cleanliness and safety and security. Respondents reported the lowest level of satisfaction with programs and activities provided at the State Park visited most often. However, a mean value of 3.6 indicates a relatively high level of satisfaction with the programs and activities provided.

(Table 3 here)

Respondents were requested to indicate what would encourage them to visit Ohio State Parks more often in the future. A total of 14 options were provided to respondents and they were requested to select all of the options that would encourage increased visitation in the future. The findings are presented in Table 4 and reveal considerable differences for visitor and non-visitor respondents.

*Improved facilities at parks, lower user fees, access to information, programs for children, and entertainment for children* were the facilitators chosen most often by respondents who reported visiting Ohio State Parks. *Facilities for physically challenged, programs for physically*
challenged, and availability of rental equipment were seldom selected by respondents who indicated they had visited Ohio State Parks.

*Access to information, lower user fees, and improved facilities at parks* were most frequently selected by the non-visitor group, however, the percentage of respondents selecting these options was much lower than the visitor group.

(Table 4 here)

The sample was divided into visitor and non-visitor groups to assess the merits of the theoretical perspective used to predict factors that would differentiate visitors to Ohio State Parks from non-visitors. The findings are presented in Table 5.

The findings demonstrate that the factors included in the discriminant analysis were significant in differentiating visitors from non-visitors. The findings show that 14 predictive variables were significant at the 0.02 level in differentiating visitors from non-visitors. All of the socio-demographic factors were significant at the 0.01 level while 11 of the 14 facilitators to greater participation at the parks were shown to be significant beyond the 0.02 level.

A canonical correlation is a measure of strength of association in discriminant analysis and the square of the value is an approximation of the variance explained by the predictive variables. The square of the canonical correlation of 0.44 is 0.194 which means the model is fair in terms of predicting visitor and non-visitor status using cross-sectional data. The statistical model was shown to correctly classify 70.6 percent of the respondents into appropriate categories which is considered good.

(Table 5 here)

Linear regression analysis was used to assess the merits of the theoretical perspective used to
guide the investigation focused on satisfaction with the Ohio State Park visited most often during the 2004 recreation season. The summed scale scores for measures of satisfaction with park visited most often was selected as the dependent variable and 10 variables hypothesized to affect satisfaction were included in the modeling to predict variability in satisfaction scale scores. The findings are presented below in standardized regression coefficient form. Significant coefficients are identified with an asterisk.

\[ Y = -0.170X_1^* + 0.158X_2^* + 0.153X_3^* - 0.137X_4^* - 0.130X_5^* + 0.067X_6 - 0.057X_7 \\
- 0.037X_8 - 0.019X_9 - 0.009X_{10} \]

\[ Y = \text{Level of satisfaction with park visited most often} \]
\[ X_1 = \text{Improve facilities at park} \]
\[ X_2 = \text{Access to information about parks} \]
\[ X_3 = \text{Location of residence} \]
\[ X_4 = \text{Programs for physically challenged} \]
\[ X_5 = \text{Increased safety patrols} \]
\[ X_6 = \text{Age} \]
\[ X_7 = \text{Lower user fees} \]
\[ X_8 = \text{Outdoor education programs for children} \]
\[ X_9 = \text{Number of children living at home} \]
\[ X_{10} = \text{Total dollar expenditure during 2004 park visits} \]

Regression findings revealed that five independent variables were significant at the 0.05 level in reducing the unexplained variance in satisfaction with the state park visited most often during the 2004 recreation season. Only one of the socio-demographic factors was shown to be significant in the regression model. Respondents who reported living in more urban areas tended to be more satisfied with the park visited most often. Individuals who indicated that better services in terms of improved facilities, increased safety patrols and programs for physically challenged people would increase participation tended to be less satisfied. Individuals who perceived a need for more information about State Parks tended to be more satisfied.
The squared coefficient of determination for the computed regression model was 0.097 which means that only 9.7 percent of the variance was explained by the predictive variables included in the model. While the amount of explained variance was very low, the observed significant relationships were consistent with research expectations.

**Conclusions**

Research findings basically supported the theoretical perspective used to guide the investigation about factors influencing visitation at Ohio State Parks. Discriminant analysis revealed that predictive variables chosen for investigation were fairly good for correctly classifying respondents into visitor and non-visitor groups.

Examination of the mean values for the visitor and non-visitor groups (Table 5) reveals that the visitor group is consistently higher on park related concerns than non-visitors. Improvements in park characteristics such as improved facilities, better programs and food service, lower user fees, and improved safety will probably have greater impact on the visitor group than the non-visitor group. This suggests that barriers to visitation of non-visitors is probably not related to services and facilities available at the parks.

Study findings strongly indicate that respondents were satisfied with the services and facilities made available to them at Ohio State Parks visited most often during the 2004 recreation season. The mean scale score for satisfaction with State Park visited most often was 23.3 which indicates a very positive perception of services and facilities provided at the park visited most often. Unfortunately, the findings are much less supportive of the theoretical perspective used to guide the investigation of satisfaction with the Ohio State Park visited most often during the 2004 recreation year. While
directions of the significant relationships observed within the regression model were consistent with research expectations, the magnitude of the explained variance indicates the statistical model is poor for predictive purposes. The failure to identify socio-demographic factors that predict satisfaction with services and facilities at the State Park visited most often suggests that visitors from all socio-economic groups perceive the managers of the parka as providing good quality services and facilities to the recreating public.
References


**Table 1:** Comparison of visitor and non-visitor socio-demographic characteristics presented in percentages (N = 737)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Descriptive data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Visitors (N = 310)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-34</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-60</td>
<td>63.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>missing</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children living at home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>53.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>missing</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural farm</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural nonfarm</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village (&lt; 2,500)</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small town (2,500 - 10,000)</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small city (10,001 - 50,000)</td>
<td>30.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City (50,001-250,000)</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large city (250,001+)</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>missing</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: Park visitation data reported by park visitors presented in percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor reported</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Descriptive statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of parks visited during 2004</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>Mean = 2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD = 1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of park visits during 2004</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>Mean = 6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD = 8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected number of park visits during 2005</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>Mean = 6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD = 8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of years visiting Ohio State Parks</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>Mean = 23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD = 14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miles to park visited most often</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>Mean = 36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD = 35.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minutes to park visited most often</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>Mean = 46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD = 39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditures per year for visitation at Ohio State Parks</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>Mean = $599.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD = $1,183.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Table 3:** Level of satisfaction with Ohio State Park visited most often reported by park visitors presented in percentages* (N = 310)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic assessed</th>
<th>Excellent</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Very poor</th>
<th>No data</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appearance</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleanliness</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety and security</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee helpfulness</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition of buildings</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programs and activities</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean scale score = 23.3  
Standard Deviation = 3.7  
Cronbach alpha = 0.87

* Percentages may not sum to 100.0 due to rounding error.
Table 4: Factors that would encourage more frequent visits in the future to Ohio State Parks reported by visitors and non-visitors (N = 737)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor assessed</th>
<th>Percent visitors selecting factor* (N = 310)</th>
<th>Percent non-visitors selecting factor* (N = 427)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Improved facilities at parks</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Park programs relevant to my needs</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Lower user fees</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Access to information about parks</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Reduced crowding at parks</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Increased safety patrols</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. More helpful park employees</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Better food service</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Outdoor education programs for children</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Programs for physically challenged</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Better access for physically challenged</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Availability of rental equipment</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Entertainment for children</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Adult outdoor education programs</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Other reason</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Percentages sum to more than 100.0 due to the opportunity to select more than one reason.
Table 5: Discriminant analysis comparing Ohio State Park visitor and non-visitor characteristics (N = 737)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Visitor Mean (N = 310)</th>
<th>Visitor SD</th>
<th>Non-Visitor Mean (N = 427)</th>
<th>Non-Visitor SD</th>
<th>Eigen Value</th>
<th>Wilk’s Lambda</th>
<th>Canonical Corr.</th>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Improved facilities at parks</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.38*</td>
<td>0.250</td>
<td>0.800</td>
<td>0.447</td>
<td>162.3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park programs relevant to my needs</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower user fees</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.40*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to information about parks</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduced crowding at parks</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.30*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased safety patrols</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.30**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More helpful park employees</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.18*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better food service</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.30*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoor education programs for children</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.28*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programs for physically challenged</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.18*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better access for physically challenged</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.21*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of rental equipment</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment for children</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.27*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult outdoor recreation programs</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.31*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>0.67*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location of residence</td>
<td>4.48</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>4.87</td>
<td>1.75*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of children living at home</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>0.84*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percent correct classification = 70.6 percent.

Priors in percentage: visited parks = 42.1 percent; did not visit parks = 57.9 percent.

* Significant at the 0.00 level.

**Significant at the 0.02 level.
Perception of One’s Own Prestige and Social Development, with Particular Reference to the Developing Countries

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Hamilton, NJ 08619, USA
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Introduction

In the activities of society, the objective and subjective factors are blended in a number of social concepts, such as stability, order and satisfaction. Though it is impossible to fully separate the objective and the subjective factors in such concepts, it is nevertheless possible to recognize, to a certain degree, the existence of such factors.

To achieve progress in the scientific, cultural, political and economic fields, it is necessary to recognize and take into account the objective factors in such concepts. Failure to do so is a major reason for a country’s social – including political, cultural and economic – underdevelopment.

Perception of one’s own prestige is based on objective factors – such as type of occupation, wealth, ownership of property and level of income – and subjective factors – such as family affiliation and place of birth.

Perception of one’s own prestige (social status) is a source of psychological gratification and a motivation to strive to retain such perceived prestige.

Often, a contradiction arises between the requirements of the subjective and the objective factors. To overcome social underdevelopment, one has to give priority to the requirements of the objective factors over those of the subjective factors in his (and “his” applies to the feminine gender) perception of one’s own prestige. Not to do so would inhibit social advancement. But the individual tends to regard the giving of such a priority as an infringement on his sense of prestige.

It is assumed in this paper that the subjective factors override the objective factor of professional specialized occupation in one’s behavior, contributing to the perpetuation of social underdevelopment from which peoples are suffering, particularly in the developing countries.
The paper sets as its goal to discuss the dynamic concept of the perception of one’s own prestige which, as mentioned above, consists of subjective and objective factors in a social-psychological setting. Examples will be drawn from the social realities of the developing countries involving the estrangement or contradiction between the requirements of the subjective and objective factors, thereby affecting the social setting.

In the activities of society, objective and subjective factors are blended in at least a number of social concepts, such as stability, order, honor, dignity and satisfaction. An objective factor is one that the nature of the subject requires to be accommodated or taken into account. A subjective factor is one that is not organically related to the objective factor. Though it is impossible to fully separate these two factors, it is still possible, to a certain extent, to identify them. The lower is one’s educational and intellectual level and the less developed is his sense of fairness, the more difficult it is, on average, to separate the subjective from the objective factors in one’s own sense of prestige.

Prestige is related to the exercise of influence. Sociologists and political scientists have made attempts to classify or isolate those who exercise influence. These may be seen in relation to some classification of structures of influence. One classification is that of wealth, power, status and prestige. Functionally and structurally, with the exception of wealth, it is difficult to distinguish between these concepts. These four dimensions, at the least, need to be considered in defining class. Thus, stratification systems rank people in more than one dimension. Remarking on the relation between ‘class’ and ‘status,’ Max Weber wrote, “with some oversimplification, one might … say that ‘classes’ are stratified according to their relations to the production and acquisition of goods; whereas ‘status groups’ are stratified according to the principles of their consumption of goods as represented by special ‘styles of life’.” (1)

Students of society differ regarding the degree of influence that prestige exerts. Gustave Le Bon wrote, “whether it be ideas or men, has in the main enforced its authority by means of that irresistible force expressed by the word ‘prestige’ … Prestige in reality is a sort of domination exercised on our mind by an individual, a work, or an idea …” (2) Le Bon remarked that
prestige “… can be worn away … by being subjected to discussion … From the moment prestige is called in question it ceases to be prestige. The gods and men who have kept their prestige for long have never tolerated discussion. For the crowd to admire, it must be kept at a distance.” (3)

Perception of one’s own prestige is based on objective factors – such as educational specialization, type of occupation, ownership of property and level of income – and subjective factors – such as respect for the elderly, reverence for one who is or believed to be descendant from a family, class or place of birth which is respected, the ascription of extraordinary actions to certain persons, and other cultural symbols. In some societies, belonging to a particular religion or race is a source of prestige; in other societies, birth into a celebrated family or attendance at a certain school is a source of prestige. (4)

There are two types of prestige with both objective and subjective factors: a prestige that people ascribe to a certain person or view as enjoyed by a certain person; and perception of one’s own prestige. The degree of prestige people attach to an occupation is heavily influenced by the education required for the job or the authority it offers its holder, as well as by income. (5)

Because of the intrinsic difference of perception, one’s own perception of prestige differs from that of others. In nearly all cases, however, some common ground exists; in other words, some subjective and objective factors of prestige are shared by both a person’s own perception and others’ perceptions of that prestige. In this paper, the focus is placed on the way one perceives his own prestige.

Lack of distinction, insufficient distinction or indifference to this distinction between the subjective and objective factors is one of the major reasons for the scientific, political, cultural and economic underdevelopment of peoples in all continents, particularly in the developing countries. For advance in the scientific, cultural and economic fields to be achieved, distinction between the objective and subjective factors needs to be recognized and taken into account, and objective factors need to be accommodated in policy formulation and implementation.

A perception of one’s own prestige is a source of gratification for one who has this perception. John Adams has remarked that, “… The rewards … in this life, are esteem and admiration of others – the punishments are neglect and contempt – nor may anyone imagine that these are not as real as the others. The desire of the esteem of others is as real as a want of nature as hunger – and the neglect and contempt of the world as severe a pain, as the gout or stone.” (6) This self-perception is a source of psychological
gratification, because it gratifies one’s ego. Prestige does not only gratify individual ego; it also buttresses power. It turns power into authority.

Because prestige is a tool to generate and exercise social, economic and political influence, one who holds prestige attaches great importance to it. Because prestige is important in the acquisition of power, the exercise of influence and authority and psychological gratification, a person with prestige always tries to keep, protect and promote it. The higher is the prestige the greater is the likelihood of one’s enjoyment of it and one’s determination to protect and enhance it.

In reality, the subjective factors often dominate, or have the upper hand over, the objective factors in one’s perception of prestige. This domination is one of the main reasons for the underdevelopment from which many developing peoples are suffering in the social, economic, scientific and cultural fields. Development is a process of change which involves, but is not limited to, a greater degree of specialization, functional differentiation, experimentation, and more realistic and objective readings of situations. Objective factors in one’s perception of one’s own prestige are of relevance to the achievement of development. Moreover, these objective factors are of relevance for the removal of the manifestations of underdevelopment, such as lack of functional differentiation and of specialization.

Objective and subjective factors differ in the extent of their presence in, or proportion to, one’s self-perception of prestige. This extent depends on such factors as the extent of one’s educational level, one’s professional and occupational level, one’s upbringing regarding the values placed on democracy or on totalitarian and patriarchal systems, and the extent of one’s respect for scientific approach.

In cases of contradiction, as usually happens between the subjective and objective factors in the perception of one’s own prestige, one has a tendency to accommodate the subjective factors and pays less attention to the objective factors. A person regards giving priority to the objective factors over the subjective factors as an encroachment on his prestige if his perception of his prestige depends on the subjective rather than the objective factors.

The overall effects of the contradiction between the two factors depend on the extent of their presence in one’s perception of one’s own prestige. The following is an example of that contradiction drawn from the field of development. Social and economic development requires the availability of a considerable degree of people’s participation in the process of development; this is unavoidable. However, one who holds the reins of authority – be he a governor, minister, mayor, chief of tribe, head of village,
police officer, army commander or university president – may take, proceeding from his desire to keep his prestige which consists, as mentioned above, of subjective as well as objective factors, a hesitant, cautious, indifferent, reluctant or hostile stand towards the idea of popular participation. He may think, depending on his social and educational background, that such participation is inconsistent with his exercise of authority, which constitutes, in his own view and the views of others, one of the strong bases of his prestige. It is obvious that this stand would be a major reason for preventing or delaying development.

One factor for educational, scientific, economic and technological progress is knowledge, which is an instrument of control. It is obvious that taking account of subjective factors in one’s perception of one’s own prestige is not conducive to the acquisition of knowledge; rather, knowledge is acquired through taking account of the objective factors.

As already mentioned, it is impossible to separate the subjective and objective factors in one’s perception of one’s own prestige. It is, however, possible to achieve a certain degree of separation. The stronger is the objective factors in the objective-subjective combination, the less difficult it is to acquire knowledge and vice versa.

(3) Ibid., p. 140.
(6) John Adams, Discourses on Davila (Boston: Russell & Cutler, 1805), pp. 28-29, 40.
ABSTRACT

This paper presents a qualitative study concerning Pacific Islander students with physical disabilities in education at an orthopedic hospital in Honolulu, Hawaii. This study included nine in-depth interviews. Of these nine interviews, four were of hospital classroom teachers and five were of other staff members including two social workers, one orthopedic therapist, one nurse, and a former nurse who now works in telemedicine. At this hospital children are flown in from areas in Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia for stays as long as one year with the average being about 22 days. While children are patients at this hospital they are required to attend the hospital classroom. It is argued in this paper that children with physical disabilities are challenged in four ways: they are experiencing multiple dislocating factors such as transitions and adjustment to a new environment, cultural changes, physical challenges, and different educational experiences. The study revealed that all four factors were possible reasons for low academic achievement. However, it was also noted that due to the nature of one’s disability and culture, academics may not play a role in one’s success or failure. Achievement of any kind pointed towards the idea of having a disability, but not being disabled as defined by informants.
ABSTRACT

This paper presents a qualitative study concerning Marshallese students with physical disabilities in education in Hawaii. This study includes ethnographic in-depth interviews of ten Marshallese with disabilities, ten interviews of Marshallese without disabilities who have experienced a U.S. education, ten interviews of professionals in the community, ten 1-2 observations of 3 Marshallese families, one year of unobtrusive observations in the Honolulu and Kona Marshallese communities, and a year’s gathering of local news artifacts. It is argued that due to military testing in the Marshalls by the U.S. government in the 1950’s and 1960’s led to a higher percentage of disabilities in this population, resulting in migration to the U.S. for better healthcare and education. It is argued that community history, migration, culture, and disability leads to marginalization and affects one’s education in the U.S. Theories from the research will be used to create practical applications for the classroom and will be later discussed.
Case Study/Report on Issues Related to Teaching:

Preparing Indigenous Teachers for Alaska Schools (PITAS)
Preparing Indigenous Teachers for Alaska Schools

Program Abstract

PITAS. Alaska Natives represent less than five percent of the educators in the state, yet Alaska Native students make up nearly twenty-five percent of the student body. In order to address the scarcity of indigenous teachers in Alaska, the Preparing Indigenous Teachers for Alaska Schools (PITAS) program was created at the University of Alaska Southeast (UAS) in 2000.

Goal. The primary goal of the PITAS program is to increase the number of Alaska Native teachers in Alaska Schools by increasing the participation of Alaska Native students in teacher education programs at UAS by 100%.

High School Component. Currently, there are fifteen PITAS Mentor Teachers recruiting future Native teachers in twelve communities throughout Southeast Alaska and the Lower Kuskokwim School District. The Mentor Teachers guide Native high school students through an independent study course that exposes students to the teaching profession and helps prepare them for college.

Summer Institute. Entering freshmen are required to participate in a two-week summer bridge program that includes placement testing, college orientation courses, a Tlingit language and culture course, and group activities.

UAS Scholarship. Students who are admitted to the program receive a scholarship that generally covers tuition, fees, books, and room and board at UAS. Students must be enrolled full-time and maintain a minimum 2.5 GPA in order to remain eligible for the scholarship.

Mentorship. Upon entering UAS students are matched up with continuing students who assist them in their transition to college life. The mentoring groups meet regularly and frequently throughout the first year.

Foundations Course. All PITAS students are required to take a year-long course that is designed to build leadership skills and strengthen Native identity.

Cultural Infusion. The Cultural Infusion component of PITAS seeks to make UAS a culturally responsive institution by integrating Native culture into the curriculum. Last summer five UAS faculty/staff members participated in Alaska Native subsistence activities in the traditional village of Kake as part of the Cultural Infusion program. Thirteen members of the faculty/staff are signed up for the camp next summer.
**Degree Programs.** PITAS students receive their teaching certificates through participation in either the Bachelor of Arts in Education or the Masters of Arts in Teaching (MAT) programs at UAS. There are currently 31 undergraduate students and 6 MAT students in the PITAS program at UAS.

**Partnership.** PITAS is a U.S. Department of Education grant-funded program designed to increase the number of Alaska Native teachers in Southeast Alaska schools. Sealaska Heritage Institute, the Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska, the Alaska Native Brotherhood, the Alaska Native Sisterhood, and School Districts from Southeast Alaska and the Lower Kuskokwim are partners in the project.

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The Hansen's Disease sufferers in Japan from life-span developmental psychological perspective

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Hansen's Disease (HD) is an infection caused by the Mycobacterium leprae discovered by Hansen of Norway in 1873. This bacillus has the capacity to invade the skin and peripheral nerves. But the infectiousness of this bacillus is very weak, and it is very rare that the symptoms appear even if infected. The chemotherapeutic drugs as represented by Promin developed in 1943 have been found to cure the disease. (The social education committee of Japanese Hansen's Disease society)

In Japan, the national policy which segregated compulsorily the people diagnosed as HD to remote leprosaria began in 1907 and continued even after the cure method had been established. It was finally abolished in 1996. Most of the HD sanatorium residents were obliged to live a life in which freedom, such as movement, career choices, etc. were restricted over many years.

This research seeks to determine the influence of this kind of social isolation on the life-span development by examining the entire life of the HD sanatorium residents in Japan who have now reached old age. This report is the result of analyzing the autobiographies that the residents themselves wrote, and examining the meaning of family, marriage, and work for them. The reason these items were taken up at this time is that we assume focusing on the most important roles of lifetime leads to a better understanding of the interactions between the residents themselves and the social context* in which they were embedded.

Method

Subjects and Materials: Four autobiographies written by the H D sanatorium residents themselves (hereafter called Autobiography A-D, respectively) are the materials of the present study. The subjects are the authors, Y. Hirasawa (A), M. Kunimoto (B), H. Kagata (C), and A. Hirano (D).

Analytic procedure: The parts referring to “themselves” “family” “marriage” and “society and work” were extracted from the autobiographies. These items were put in chronological order for each author, then matched with the principal events in Japanese society or in areas around the sanatoriums (macro- or exo-system level*), the principal events inside the sanatoriums (mezzo-system level*), and the changes in human relations of the authors (micro-system level*). Thus, we made four chronologies of every subject’s (author’s) life history and examined the interactions between the subjects themselves and the social contexts in which they were embedded. The following are the results of analyzing these life histories. In the analysis, we refer to the records of the interviews with the subject (author) and other residents.


Results

Social isolation:
The segregation was far too strict. Going out was strictly prohibited after being placed, and all sanatoriums were managed so that self-sufficiency of food, clothing and shelter might be possible. Thus, these sanatoriums were a society closed off from the outer world. Between 1945 and the middle of the 1950s, such restrictions were severest. According to the autobiographies, the severest situation depicted around the time of the Pacific War seems to be as follows:

- Only exchange tickets could be used for money in the sanatoriums.
- Mail reaching the subjects in sanatoriums was opened and censored, even if from family.
- Meetings with outsiders were strictly monitored and recorded in writing by staff members present.
- Residents wore the same uniform, made like a Japanese yukata with cotton.
- Residents served as workers at the sanatoriums, providing care and nursing, and
laboring on pig and chicken farms.  
- The above situation was common to virtually all the sanatoriums. ……etc.

The present residents’ average age is in the upper seventies. Most were segregated around the time of the Pacific War about 60 years ago, when they were only teenagers. Thus, the severest period of social isolation coincided with their adolescence and early adult stages.

In Japan, at the end of the 1940s, medical treatment for Hansen's disease was provided, and the national policy continued even after that. However, social education activities began, which aimed at abolishing discrimination over HD, and the prohibition on going out was eased little by little. Thus, some residents aimed at life outside the sanatoriums and at social rehabilitation. But even on the outside, the residents could not return to their home country and had to hide their illness. Although the policy was abolished finally in 1996, they were already aged then, so social rehabilitation was very difficult. Thus, it can be said that their social isolation has continued over 50-60 years or more even until now.

**Autobiography A:**

“I was segregated to the Hansen's Disease sanatorium one day in my boyhood when my heart was full of hope. Since then I have been confined in a concentration camp called a sanatorium for most of life. I was forced to put on a uniform like a prisoner, going out was forbidden, and I was kept under strict surveillance. I became a human being permitted to live under the Leprosy Prevention Law.”

“It was often said that we could return to society for the first time, only when we died, our bodies were cremated and we became smoke.”

**Meaning of family:**

Many of the present residents were isolated around the time of the Pacific War. In Japan in those days, suffering from HD meant that not only they themselves but also their family and relatives underwent discrimination and persecution. Therefore, when diagnosed as HD, most of the patients were ordered to break off from their family and were segregated to the sanatoriums under the pretense that they had died, had changed to another school, their occupation had been changed, or they were missing. To meet with one's family was allowed in the sanatoriums, but the families who came for the meeting were actually very few. And the residents, on their part, did not make contact with their families either. Therefore, most residents have had little
communication with their families for 50 years or more until now. Moreover, many are using a false name in everyday life. However, to judge from the autobiographies, it was not because they ever hated their family but because they had a strong desire not to cause their family problems that they used the false names and did not contact them. Moreover, the attachment to their mothers and the memories of their hometown in childhood still gives them ongoing mental support.

**Autobiography A:** “I do not let my hometown be known or my real name because my family had to undergo indescribably severe persecution, and I'm very afraid that my very existence will have a bad influence on my family trying to live peacefully now. “

“It is because I'm encouraged by my mother's belief and her way of life that I can do my best, though I expose my handicapped body on television or in mass communications this way. However, I could not see my mother's last moment, could not attend her funeral, and still cannot go to visit her grave.”

**Autobiography B:** “If our families did not cut their ties with us, we patients broke off contact with our families by ourselves and tried to protect our families.”

**Autobiography C:** “When I came back to my hometown to speak on the issue of Hansen's Disease, I felt the depth of human empathy and the warmth of my hometown fully, and I am very glad from the bottom of my heart that I survived to live a long life.”

After legal rehabilitation in 1996, some of the residents resumed the exchange with their family or relatives, but most do not still communicate with them. They only went past or looked at their first home from a distance even when they went back to their hometown for the first time in decades. The reason is that a possibility that their family and relatives will be troubled cannot be denied and they do not want to remember discriminative treatment undergone once and so on. And many of the residents have used assumed name and hesitated to reveal real name. This is also out of the consideration that they must protect their family and relatives from discrimination even now.

**Meaning of marriage:**
In general, many residents married at the worst time in the Pacific War days. Because the cure method was not established yet, and food was so little then, patients could not expect to live a long time. We infer from the autobiographies and the interviews that subjects recognized marriage as an event to be experienced in a short lifetime, and that they married because they hoped their partner to attend their death rather than have a
long life together. In the sanatoriums of those days, there was a custom that a person with a slight illness would care for a seriously ill person, and they seemed to have been intensely interested in the person they entrusted to their care.

Generally, in Japan, marriage has the meaning of constituting the social base for expanding social activity further and enriching it, leaving offspring, etc. But for male residents including the autobiography writers, sterilization was forced upon them in marriage. And it was a matrimonial condition for both sexes to give up having a child. Moreover, the marriage for them meant keeping to an isolated life of working in the self-sufficient organization of sanatoriums rather than making a base for a new departure in society.

**Autobiography A:** “Getting married meant giving up social rehabilitation... If I had a strong desire to make a comeback to normal life, I would not marry in the sanatorium. Although my social rehabilitation was to go home for me, I gave it up.”

**Autobiography C:** “It is natural to human beings that those who desire marriage appeared because we had the same illness and gave much attention to caring for one another.”

“I will have no posterity because of the sterilization operation. Although I regarded it all as determined, when I got on the operating table, an infinite feeling of lonesomeness welled up inside me.”

As surveillance became loose little by little and social rehabilitation went into the view after 1950s, meaning of marriage mentioned above changed a lot. Residents who got married after then gained foothold for social rehabilitation like A. Hirano, the author of **Autobiography D.**

**Meaning of work:**

From personal communication with the author of **Autobiography B,** the residents were divided into three types in terms of the following social activities:

1. Activities of the residents' association: the management of the sanatorium, the movement for affirmative action, PR activities to enlighten people on HD, etc.
2. Artistic activities: writing an autobiography and poems (including Japanese-style poetry Tanka and Haiku), calligraphy painting, photography, and Bonsai (Japanese-style gardening), etc.
3. Religious activities: There were several meeting places for Christians, and
Buddhists. Funerals were an especially important event among daily religious practice.

Seemingly, the above activities might be like leisure activities, but the residents were forbidden to go out, so they had no occupation. Activities inside the sanatoriums included the meaning of work for them.

Generally, work implies means of self-realization, as well as interaction with others and society. We assume this could apply to the residents. Each of the activities had functions to bind the residents together or to express “themselves” to the outside world or leave something to posterity.

Some of the residents came out of the sanatoriums and found a successful occupation after 1950s. The author of Autobiography D is one of them. He had various jobs and finally established a company by himself. But many residents who hoped to work continued to live inside the sanatorium while holding an outside job. It is interesting that they succeeded in obtaining the cooperation of understanding people around the sanatoriums. Most of them, however, had no choice but to come back to the sanatorium because they could not find a hospital other than the sanatorium when the complications of HD became very severe.
Title: Migration, poverty, and HIV risk of infection: An application of social capital theory.
Topic Area: Social Work

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Abstract

The 2003 World Bank data on HIV/AIDS for Sub-Saharan indicate that 26.6 million people are living with HIV, including 3.2 million who became infected in the past twelve months. AIDS killed approximately 2.3 million people in the same year. This makes this region by far the worst affected by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Current interventions are designed primarily after individual-based public health models. However, literature indicates that the root cause of HIV/AIDS in developing countries is poverty. This paper proposes a macro level conceptual model based for understanding the spread of disease by considering migration as an intervening factor. Migration, a by-product of Colonialism is a culturally accepted means of earning livelihood. However, migratory patterns and sexual interactions during the migration periods in combination amplify the risk of HIV viral transmission. An application of social capital theory is used to generate a framework for exploring how migration serves as a conduit for the disease. It specifically investigates male migrant laborers particularly in South African mines and argues that a migrant labor’s movement away from his village diminishes his social capital in terms of social networks, norms, and traditions. Further, individual coping and adaptation to the migratory lifestyle introduces new social networks, norms, and lifestyles that could prove to be conducive to the spread of the HIV virus. A leadership model approach aimed at building social capital among the male migrant workers is proposed as a macro level intervention.
The spread of disease in a particular society is influenced partly by the political, social, economic and cultural environments in which people live. According to Hunt (1996), there are several models that explain the HIV/AIDS patterns in Africa. The historical material model helps to explain AIDS related risk factors by the colonial past of Africa. For example, in sub-Saharan Africa “circular” or “oscillating” migration, which owes its origin to colonialism, is an integral part of the social norms. This phenomenon has been an important determinant and a contributing factor to the spread of disease. Typically, young men leave their rural homes in search of work in urban areas. There are also cases of forced migration, usually as a result of political conflict. In this new, unfamiliar environment, away from the cultural norms and village traditions, they may engage in sexual activity with high-risk women, thus exposing themselves to the virus. On their return they may carry with them the acquired virus and infect their rural partners (Lurie, 2000).

Literature identifies geographic mobility, migration and population displacement as significant risk factors to general well being. Several studies have shown that migrants are at a greater risk of HIV/AIDS along with other forms of STDs than non-migrants in the whole of Africa (Decosas et al., 1995; Jochelson et al., 1991, Lurie et al. 2000). Studies done in Uganda, South Africa, Botswana, Senegal among a few all point to a strong association between
migration and HIV (Decosas & Adrien, 1997, Pison et al., 1993). A study of male factory workers in Zimbabwe indicated that male migrant workers who have lived apart from their wives and have had several sexual partners were more likely to be HIV positive than their non-migrant counterparts (Mbizo et al., 1996).

All these studies arrive at the same conclusion that the social disruption, which characterizes migration, determines a migrant’s vulnerability to AIDS. Migration is predominantly a male institution in Sub-Saharan Africa. Typical camps for mine workers may provide accommodation for as many as 2000 young male migrant workers. In the rural environment where these men come from they are subject to very strict social controls and cultural norms of their villages. Social behavior is highly codified and privacy is an alien concept. However, in the camps this strict external control is suddenly loosened and is replaced by the culture of maleness. “Being male, young, at least temporarily single, and receiving your pay on the same day” (Decosas et al., 1995) are some of the causes that make this population vulnerable to the exposure to HIV/AIDS.

As stated by Doyal (1981) that in the case of male migrants disruption of the personal foundations attributed to family life often led to the disintegration of established marital and sexual patterns. Literature also point to a co-occurring phenomenon that is responsible for the rapid spread of the virus among the migrant workers. This is particularly true in the mining and plantation workers. On the weekend after the payday, a convoy of 30 to 40 sexworkers is
brought to these areas by the employers. Decosas et al. (1995) states that, “this incredible burst of sharing genital microflora is a powerful motor for the spread of HIV infection”. This phenomenon of frequenting sex-workers is not confined to miners and plantation workers only, but is true for any migrant worker.

Hunt (1996) presents a different theory on transmission of AIDS in Africa. He calls it the “truck transport theory” (pp. 1284) of transmission of AIDS. It argues that truckers in the process of frequenting prostitutes have transmitted the disease from community to community.

Other authors like Caldwell et.al (1989) have looked at cultural patterns, particularly with regard to sexuality and reproduction as an explanation for the AIDS epidemic in Africa. The primary focus of this discussion deals with migration as a conduit of transmission of HIV/AIDS, particularly in South Africa.

a. A history of migration in Southern Africa

Historically, the political and economic system of South Africa had been ordered around the migrant labor system and had been intimately linked to the structure and functioning of the system of apartheid. According to Zwi and Bachmayer (1990), both legal and illegal migrants were drawn to work in South African mines and farms from rural areas within South Africa and neighboring countries. Migration was both and integral and essential part of the way in which the government, with the support from industry (particularly mining), structured South African society that eventually culminated in the system of apartheid. During the early decades of the
20th Century, the apartheid movement was controlled with the aim to provide a continuous flow of cheap labor to agriculture, industry and commerce (Wilson, 1972).

Two laws were passed one in 1894 and the other in 1913 that formally established the migrant labor system. The Glen Grey Act of 1894 imposed a financial tax on black South Africans who were not primarily engaged in the monetary economy of then South Africa. This had the consequences intended by the policy makers in forcing a large number of Black South Africans to seek employment in the mines and other economic sectors to raise money to pay the tax. The Native Land Act of 1913, severely restricted black people’s access to land (even though the title of the Act relayed a different idea). This Act was enthusiastically supported by the mining companies who now could be assured of a constant supply of cheap labor. This Act was also supported by white farmers since this meant more land for them and cheap labor to work on those farms (Lurie, 1992, Davies, 1979).

The intended effect of both these laws was to have black South Africans ‘offer’ up cheap labor in primarily white owned businesses. By allowing them to live only temporarily in so-called ‘white’ areas, these laws ensured that black South Africans retained a rural base and did not settle permanently in their areas of employment. This rural base, however paltry, it might have been, allowed the industry to spread the myth that black workers had access to land and also allowed them to conveniently avoid any responsibility for the welfare of the workers. If a
worker was severely injured or too old or too sick to work, they were simply sent home (Palmer and Parsons, 1977).

The changing and dynamic nature of migration and how it became interwoven with the South African society can be best understood through the ways in which sources of rural livelihood in South Africa changed over the last century. Remittance of family members working in the urban areas gradually increased in importance and by the 1970s, only 10% of the total household income came from agriculture and the rest was accounted for by family members who worked as migrant workers.

b. **Social capital and health promotion**

Links between social capital and health have come into recent prominence through income inequality and health inequality literature. Kawachi and Kennedy (1997) had concluded in their research that income inequality led to a lack of investment in social capital which in turn led to increased mortality. Kawachi et. al. (1999) had indicated that a large gap between rich and poor can cause a breakdown in social cohesion which then transferred into higher mortality rates among the poor. Lynch and Kaplan (1997) maintained that income and other resource inequalities were indicators of other kinds of latent inequalities in the socio-political structures that might lead to health policies that adversely affect the poor. A study investigating the links between social capital, social support and health was conducted David J. Pevalin and David Rose. They measured social capital in terms of social participation, level of contact with friends,
extent of criminal activities in the neighborhood, and the level of attachment to neighbors. Social support was operationalized in terms of perceived support in times of need. Their study findings demonstrated that both social capital and social support had a positive effect on health of the individuals (www.renewal.net/Documents/Research/ Socialcapitalinvestigating.pdf – retrieved on 4/30/2004). Research conducted by Hawe and Shiell (2000) had identified factors that may influence the social capital value of community groups in relation to HIV prevention at the individual, group, and community levels. Campbell et.al. (2002) drew on Freire’s critical consciousness as a way of increasing social identity and social capital among a group of school children in South Africa and then using peer education as an HIV prevention strategy. Their obvious underlying theoretical assumption was the link between social capital and individual well-being.

This argument is based on the premise that migration leads to social disruption and that in turn increases the migrant’s vulnerability to AIDS.

I. **Theoretical Context**

The theoretical foundation used in this proposal is *Social Capital Theory*. As was noted earlier that there has been a current enthusiasm for the notion of social capital, particularly as it relates to promotion of health. Although social capital is a relatively recent addition to the social sciences, the term was coined by Hanifan as early as 1916 within the context of community involvement in a successful schooling system. Social capital refers to the
institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of an individual’s social interactions. Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions, which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds the individual members of a society together (Serageldin, 1998).

The central tenet of social capital, namely that membership of a certain group confers benefits and obligations on individual, has its roots in both classical sociology and economics (Portes, 1998). The recent interest is social capital can be traced back to one of the three sources: Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam. Although each of the authors provide a similar definition of social capital, there are significant differences in the meaning and implications that follow (Portes and Woolcock). This discussion is based on Putnam’s view.

According to Putnam, social capital represents the features of social life, networks, norms and trust. The Theory of Social Capital presumes that generally speaking the more an individual connects with other people, the more is the trust and vice versa (Putnam, 1995). According to Woolcock and Narayan (2000), the basic idea of social capital is that an individual’s family, friends and social networks constitute “an important asset, one that can be called on in a crisis, enjoyed for its own sake, and leveraged for material gains” (pp.226). The two important concepts in social capital theory are bonding and bridging. Bonding refers to strong intra-community ties with family, institutions, and networks within the community. Bridging on the other hand refers to extra-community networks (Woolcock, Narayan, 2000). According to Portes (1998), one way of synthesizing the growing body of work on social capital is to mean
that the concept will embody two components. One is a relational element within social organizations to which an individual belong and the other is the material element that relates to the resources that the individual has access to by the virtue of being a member. According to Woolcock (1998), there is a micro-level and a macro-level component to social capital. At the micro-level the concept refers to the extent to which an individual member is integrated into his/her social network. At a macro-level this refers to the synergy between groups of community networks and the interest of its populace.

From the above discussion it becomes apparent that social capital is not a homogeneous, bounded concept. It possesses relational, material and political aspects with their own effects on an individual or the community. It can take different forms for different individuals and community.

II d. HIV/AIDS and Prevention Programs

In the growing body of literature on HIV/AIDS among migrant men in Sub-Saharan Africa, heterosexual transmission has been identified as the primary means of the spread of the disease. Therefore, most of the intervention programs have been targeted at the sexual practices of individuals. Most of the programs fail to consider the context within which sexuality is negotiated (Joffe, 1996). HIV/AIDS needs to be dealt as a social and developmental issue and not a biomedical/individual (Campbell & Williams, 1999). Gillies et al.(1996) argue that the intervention programs have been informed by inappropriate social and psychological theories,
which assume that sexual behavior is guided by rational choices informed by health-related information. Evidence points to the contrary. Kippax and Crawford (1993) are of the view that sexuality is a far more complex phenomenon than what is acknowledged by current the prevention programs. It cannot be understood solely in terms of decontextualized and quantifiable individual behavior. Thus current research on prevention needs to be located within the context of societal, normative and cultural frameworks in order to identify individual risk and resiliency factors. Resiliency in this context refers to behaviors that counter exposure to HIV/AIDS risk.

The following case study provided by Campbell and Williams (1999) drives the point home regarding the importance of social capital within the context of risky behavior. The authors talk about a mineworker in the gold mines of Johannesburg. He comes from a rural district in Lesotho. He states that he misses his family and that single sex hotel life (where 90% of the workers live) provides very little social support. Away from the strict control of his parents and village norms and living an extremely high stress life of a miner, drinking and sex seem to be two of the most common diversionary activities that are easily available to him. Furthermore, the authors also allude to the strong association between alcohol and unprotected sex (Campbell and Williams, 1999).
This study while acknowledging the wealth of prevention work done so far at an individual level, attempts to explore a different dimension of prevention by looking at social capital as a possible factor in promoting resiliency.

**Building Social Capital through Leadership Mobilization**

The devastating impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic throughout Africa mandates that intervention must occur at both the micro and macro levels. These interventions must be science or evidence-based and must also be culturally amenable to the target population. One model, the Leadership Mobilization Model, seeks to create a united front in the fight for public policy enforcement and reform where necessary, advocate for funding to combat the proliferation of the disease, and to increase education and knowledge, and to utilize power and resources within community organizations to advocate for the resources to slow the progression of the disease. This indigenous leadership model is based on the “Council of Elders” model of community reform. It includes leaders in the clergy, public policy, health promotion, medicine, and community based, non-governmental organizations. The goal of implementing such a model is to bring together individuals who are considered local leaders within the community and educate them about their role or potential role in the fight against HIV/AIDS transmission.

Core elements or activities of the Leadership Model include: (1) identifying, educating and mobilizing African community leadership; (2) facilitate collaborations with all community entities and explore collaborations with other non-traditional entities who also have a stake in
addressing the problem; and (3). Create action plans that respond to World Health Organization’s, The World Bank’s, and the CDC’s initiatives-increase identifying high-risk populations, increase testing, provide continuum of care for HIV positive individuals, and reduce the spread of HIV infection.

**Core Competences and Skills Needed to Implement the Model**

The Leadership Mobilization Model is predicated on a set of competencies and skills that necessary to implement this model. Leadership must possess several core competencies, which include the ability to work with African leaders, the ability to collaborate with and engage other leaders; the ability to understand the role and value of macro or structural intervention. Although the Leadership Mobilization Model is a macro level intervention, Leaders must also understand the role and value of individual behavioral interventions. Lastly, each organization should have a sound infrastructure.

The organizational skills necessary to accomplish the tasks of the Leadership Mobilization Model include the ability to facilitate collaborations, the ability to teach HIV prevention, the ability to conduct social marketing campaigns, the ability to develop and implement action plans and the ability to monitor, evaluate, and ensure quality, integrity, and accountability among leaders.
Components of the Leadership Mobilization Model

The formation of an Advisory Committee that will identify leaders is the primary component of the Leadership Mobilization Model. According to the model, leadership identification is an on-going task. The leaders must also be educated on HIV/AIDS and its impact on local communities, which is second component. Leaders will also be educated on the role of the leadership and the need for aligning or realigning resources to target the problem. Another educative area involves educating the leadership about the collective benefit of collaboration with other leaders and community stakeholders.

The third component is the development of action plans. This activity involves the development of action items identified by the council of leaders. Action plans are the result of prioritizing local community issues, selecting the three most important issues to act upon, and a strategy for implementing action items that includes roles and responsibilities of each leader. Leader will also reach consensus regarding the collaborations sought and the resources needed to accomplish each identified goal.

The last component of the LMM is monitoring or evaluation of progress. The leadership will be held accountable to produce regular evaluative reports concerning the implementation and impact of the action plans. Evaluation will assess the capacity of the leadership to effect changes at the macro level that translates into significant and sustainable changes how HIV/AIDS addressed in local communities.
Using the LMM within the South African Context:

A participatory approach would be utilized to maximize active involvement of all the stakeholders in program design, implementation and evaluation. The first step would be to pull together a management team of various stakeholders that would constitute the Circle of Elders and the Advisory Committee. The various stakeholders in this model would include representatives of the provincial and the national health departments, the gold mining industry, trade unions, academicians, donor representatives and the community-based action group (particularly the elders of the villages that supply the labor force). The community action group could include medical workers, traditional healers, social workers, teachers, religious groups.

The success of this group would depend upon their collaboration and cooperation in building social capital among the miners as a way to prevent risk of HIV exposure. It also depends on maximizing local community participation and representation through grassroots involvement, particularly through the Circle of Elders.

Such efforts at social capital building may face several obstacles. Educating the stakeholders on the advantages of social capital and the presence of conflicting ideologies may come up as an issue. Building social capital could be a lengthy and arduous process and results may not as immediate as behavioral interventions. It may become a challenge to keep the stakeholders excited about the project and have continued faith in it. This model of prevention is
far more complex that individual intervention. To help understand these complexities and respond to them, ongoing process of evaluation is imperative.

**Conclusion**

HIV/AIDS is currently one of the most devastating health conditions affecting the health of millions throughout the world. UNAIDS estimates that approximately 60 million people have been infected since the beginning of the epidemic and in 2001 alone an estimated 5 million would have acquired HIV infection. A significant proportion of these individuals reside in Sub Saharan Africa.

The health and social implications of HIV/AIDS on human development are extensive and have resulted in an expanded national and international effort to respond to the HIV/AIDS epidemic with increased funding and expansion of prevention, care and intervention activities. In South Africa activities have expanded and funding of HIV/AIDS has increased significantly from the 2001/2 to the 2002/3 financial year.

As the literature points out the connection between migration and HIV/AIDS has been explored extensively and it has been established to be an important determinant of the spread of the disease. However, most of the interventions designed have looked at behavioral modifications. This study is an attempt to supplement the existing prevention programs by exploring the importance of environment as laid out by the social capital paradigm.
References:


Migration, Poverty and HIV Risk of Infection: An Application of Social Capital Theory
Soma Nyakoe and Denise Bacchus
Title: Relationships Between Multiple Role Commitment, Psychological Well-Being, Managerial Skills and Performance of Thai University Administrators: An Application of Multi-Sample, Non-Recursive Structural Equation Model

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Relationships Between Multiple Role Commitment, Psychological Well-Being, Managerial Skills and Performance of Thai University Administrators: An Application of Multi-Sample, Non-Recursive Structural Equation Model

Abstract

The purposes of this research were 1) to develop and to validate the non-recursive model displaying relationships between multiple role commitment, psychological well-being, managerial skills and performance of Thai university administrators, and 2) to test the invariance of the proposed non-recursive model across groups of administrators with different gender, age, educational levels and fields. The related documents, consisting of nine textbooks and more than twenty research and academic articles in social, behavioral, management sciences, and research methodology were thoroughly studied, analyzed and synthesized. The proposed model was developed employing the evidences from related documents and examined by the committee of seven academic experts. The sample of this study were 350 heads of department, randomly selected from the Faculties of Education, Arts, Anthropology, Medicine, Medical technology, and Nursing from eight government universities, purposively selected from the population. The three questionnaires were distributed to 350 department heads, or equivalent, 22 Deans, and 700 staffs by the researchers. The obtained data were edited, cleaned, and saved for analysis. Both the validation of the measurement model and the non-recursive structural model were performed using LISREL. Multiple group strategy was employed to test the invariance of the proposed model across groups of administrators with different gender, age, educational levels and fields. The developed non-recursive model displaying relationships between key variables, as presented in this research is being on the process of empirical validation. It was anticipated that the research results would be of great advantages to the universities executive management.

Background

The topic of multiple roles and their outcomes had attracted much attention of academics from many areas. The effects of multiple roles on person remained controversial. It was unclear whether the effects were beneficial or detrimental (Robinson & Swanson, 2002). Some research findings found that the interaction between work and family roles was a source of stress for many men and women (Simon, 1995). On the contrary, several researchers reported that multiple roles led to an increase of psychological functioning and work
effectiveness (Gottlieb, 1997; Marks & MacDermid, 1996; Robinson & Swanson, 2002; Ruderman et al., 2002). The mixed evidences from those research indicated that the balance involvement between multiple roles and their outcomes varied on several factors, including individual characteristics. Hence, the relationships between multiple roles and their outcomes needed to be investigated for deeper understanding, especially the relationships between multiple role commitment, psychological well-being, managerial skills and performance. This research was an initiation aiming to clarify the true relationships between these variables, to develop, and to validate the relationship model employing multi-sample, non-recursive structural equation model.

**Purposes**

The purposes of this research were:

1) To develop and to validate the non-recursive model displaying relationships between multiple role commitment, psychological well-being, managerial skills and performance of Thai university administrators.

2) To test the invariance of the proposed non-recursive model across groups of administrators with different gender, age, educational levels and fields.

**Conceptual Model**

There were positive interrelationships between multiple role commitment, psychological well-being, and managerial skills (McCauley et al., 1994; Gottlieb, 1977; Robinson & Swanson, 2002; Ruderman et al., 2002; Maclean et al., 2003). However, Ruderman et al. (2002) was the only group of researchers who had attempted to investigate the recursive causal relationships and they suggested that further research were required to investigate the reciprocal relationships between these variables.

In this study, the researchers proposed the conceptual model based on the role accumulation theory, which focused on positive effects of multiple roles. This theory differed from the transactional model of stress, which provided the theoretical basis for both negative and positive outcomes of multiple roles (Seiber, 1974; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Ruderman et al., 2002). The role accumulation theory, focusing only on the positive synergistic effects of multiple roles, helped formulating better guidance for people to enhance psychological functioning (Ruderman et al., 2002). Traditionally, multiple roles was measured by counting the number of roles a person held. The role accumulation theorists disagreed with the traditional theorists. They focused on
affective commitment to roles and demonstrated that the role commitment was a better predictor as compared to the role occupancy (Ruderman et al., 2002). Following the role accumulation perspective, multiple role commitment was considered in terms of one’s interest in and willingness to commit to a given role. Its indicators consisted of marital, parental, homemaker, friendship, community, and occupational roles (Amatea, 1986; Ruderman et al., 2002). In this study, homemaker role was revised and transformed to parent care provider, and kinship roles in order to satisfy the Thai context of extended family (Santasombat, 1994; Sirisai, 1998).

In traditional perspective, a psychological well-being person was one with good mental health without psychological symptoms such as anxiety, depression, and distress. Ruff & Keyes (1995) proposed the new perspective of psychological well-being as a positive psychological characteristics of one’s growth and development. In this study, the six-indicator model of Ruff & Keyes (1995) and the three-indicator model of Ruderman et al. (2002) were combined to measure psychological well-being. These combined indicators were self-acceptance, purpose in life, environment mastery, personal growth, positive relation with others, autonomy, life satisfaction, and self-esteem.

Managerial skills were behaviors or activities demonstrated by a manager substantively contributed to the manager’s successful performance (Boyatzis, 1982; Whetten and Cameron, 1984; Anderson, 1997; Kakabadse, 1998 cited in Analoui et al., 2000). In this study, the three-indicator model of Analoui (1995) and the two-indicator model of Ruderman et al. (2002) were combined to measure managerial skills. These combined indicators were task-related skills, people–related skills, and self-related and analytical skills.

Differing from the model of Ruderman et al. (2002), the managerial skills was not the final outcome of the relationship model in this study. Since Shipper & Davy (2002) proposed that managerial skills had strong effect on managerial performance. The final outcome of the model, managerial performance, was the accomplishment of predetermined objectives through behaviors or activities demonstrated by the administrator. In this study, managerial performance was measured by production measure and judgmental measure (Shipper & Davy, 2002; Berry, 1998)

In order to complete the relationship model, the researchers, therefore, inserted managerial performance as the dependent variable. Moreover, differences in gender, age, educational levels, and fields, which were human attributes were taken into consideration as a control variable in the model (Simon, 1995; Arkin, 1995; Ruderman et al., 2002). Finally, the drafted non-recursive relationships between multiple role commitment, psychological well-being, managerial skills and performance was developed as displayed in Figure 1.
From the above non-recursive relationship model displaying as LISREL model, the researchers proposed the reciprocal relationships between multiple role commitment, psychological well-being, managerial skills and performance. This proposed reciprocal model was next proposed to be invariance across the group of people with different control variables: gender, age, educational levels, and fields.

In this study, the proposed model was validated empirically using the administrators of Thai government universities. It was anticipated that the research results would be of great advantages to the universities executive management.

Method

Population and Sample

The population of this study were all the Department Heads, or equivalent, of the government universities in Bangkok Metropolitan Areas, Thailand. Since there were 25 parameters to be estimated in the proposed LISREL model. The sample size required for this study was 250 subjects, based on the ratio of 10 subjects to 1 parameters as stated by Hair et al., (1998). The sample consisted of 350 heads of department, randomly selected from the Faculties of Education, Arts, Anthropology, Medicine, Medical Technology, and Nursing from eight government universities, purposively selected from the population.

Research Instruments

The research instruments consisted of three questionnaires. One for the department head, and the rest for the Dean and the staffs, respectively. The first part of the questionnaire for the department head was a checklist measuring personal data. The second part was 5-level rating scale measuring multiple role commitment. The third part was 5-level rating scale measuring psychological well-being. The fourth part was 5-level rating scale measuring managerial skills. The questionnaire for the Dean were 5-level rating scale measuring the department head’s managerial skills and performance. The questionnaire for the staff was 5-level rating scale measuring the department head’s managerial skills. These instruments were constructed with some modifications from the questionnaires developed by Ruderman et al. (2002) and Shipper & Davy (2002). All instruments were tried out and validated for reliability, content validity, and construct validity.
Data Collection and Analysis

The questionnaires were distributed to 350 department heads, or equivalent, 22 Deans, and 700 staffs by the researchers. Data from the questionnaires were edited, cleaned, and saved for analysis. Firstly, the statistical assumptions were examined, descriptive statistics, and mean comparison were employed using SPSS for windows. Secondly, both the validation of the measurement model and the non-recursive structural model were performed using LISREL. Finally, multiple group strategy was employed to test the invariance of the proposed model across groups of administrators with different gender, age, educational levels and fields.

Conclusion

The conceptualization of the developed non-recursive model displaying relationships between multiple role commitment, psychological well-being, managerial skills and performance, as presented in this research is being on the process of empirical validation. The research findings will be critical in 1) extending the multidisciplinary knowledge, which can be used for further studies, 2) serving as a guidance for administrators regarding the balance of work and family domains, 3) making up the policy and practices in various departments and organizations, and 4) extending the practice of data analysis using advanced statistical analysis.
Figure 1 The conceptual model of non-recursive relationships between multiple role commitment, psychological well-being, managerial skills and performance.
Reference


ABSTRACT

The overwhelming majority of Muslims in Thailand reside in the five southern provinces of Songkhla, Satun, Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat. The current unrest in the Deep South – Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat - has been viewed by some politico-security experts as an outburst of jihadist terrorism. Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra is of the view that this uprising can be dealt with firmly in much the same way as was done by the Thai security forces during the 1980s when Bangkok was confronted by the Muslim separatist movement PULO – Pattani United Liberation Organization. But in doing so, the Thaksin administration has failed to take into consideration the political, economic, social and cultural complexities of the Thai Muslim populace and dealing with the situation in an aggressive manner may lead to further tension and more serious conflict between the center and the periphery. Yet, despite arguments as well as documented evidence to the contrary, the Thai Muslim “extremists” and/or “separatists” always have been blamed by the government authorities in Bangkok for creating trouble in the region and being the sole source of all the sectarian turmoil.

Since January 2004 a spate of almost continuous violent incidents have been visited upon the local people of Thailand’s Deep South. Martial law which has provided the Thai military with the legal right to search homes and to detain suspects without charge has been imposed on the three southernmost provinces: Narathiwat and Yala (which border Malaysia) as well as Pattani. Furthermore, the forceful and visible suppression of Thai Muslim “rebels” both on 28 April and on 25 October has given the impression of a veritable downward spiral of disintegrating stability and rising insecurity. Thai Muslim community leaders have warned that these actions undertaken by the Thaksin administration will drive away future tourism and will reduce foreign investment inflows to the area. And, in addition, the repressive measures employed by the Thai security forces can only heighten a sense of alienation on the part of Muslim youth and lead to their recruitment by hard-core insurgents.

Yet these episodes of unrest are being identified by the Thaksin administration as a manifestation of the separatist tendencies among Muslims in the Deep South. In all, over 400 people, both Buddhists and Muslims, are estimated to have lost their lives in southern Thailand since January 2004. The violence gripping the southern Thai provinces has added fuel to the fire, in that the situation has gone to the extent that a rift now appears to be opening between Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur.

When examining the difficulties of Thailand’s Deep South where Muslim insurgency seems to be currently on the rise, many questions and concerns come to mind. Still, this is not the first time Bangkok has had to deal with such “separatist” violence in the southern region, but why has it recently resurfaced and why has it become more vicious and seemingly better-coordinated than ever before? Is this just a festering of a historical grievance? What are the objectives of the insurrection – independence, autonomy, reunification, equal rights? Will Bangkok be able to neuter effectively the insurgents as it has done in the past? And finally, what are the potential implications that this expanding insurgent movement have in affecting Thai foreign relations within ASEAN as well as the country’s image throughout the world?

The article will answer the above questions by first probing the history of the region, the roots of the contemporary insurgency and the reaction of the Muslim population in Thailand’s Deep South to the war of attrition gripping the community. Furthermore, there will be a survey of the public statements and policy actions of PM Thaksin Shinawatra towards and whether or not the Thaksin administration perceives the struggle in the South as an important front in the US-led global war against jihadist terrorism. Also to be explored will be the effects that the recent violence has had upon the internal security of Thailand and how it is affecting Thai foreign policy, particularly vis-à-vis Malaysia. It is vital in addressing these different facets of the problem in the Deep South in order to draw up some substantial conclusions as to how Bangkok has approached this domestic crisis and what may be the real aspirations of southern Thai Muslims.
Not Without Our Children: The Collaborative Continuity Approach to Language Instruction

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Not Without Our Children: The Collaborative Continuity Approach to Language Instruction

Summative Abstract

That children have a natural affinity for language acquisition--however many languages they are exposed to--is indisputable. How they come to have this unique linguistic forte is, however, less understood. Few studies, if any, examine how children acquire a second language in non-classroom, naturalistic settings, and how children can and do facilitate subsequent language acquisition (i.e., second and foreign language acquisition). This presentation will draw attention to is the unique talent or propensity for language instruction--complementing their awe-inspiring language learning ability--that children exhibit in their interactions with their siblings, with their bi- and monolingual peers and playmates, and with adults with whom they feel at ease. It is this unique instructional potential the child possesses that constitutes the basis for the instructional approach advocated.

This paper draws attention to the value of the comprehensible input that children provide in both child-child and adult-child interactions. The focus is on how children, particularly bilingual children, serve--spontaneously--as effective language facilitators outside the classroom, and as valuable community language resources or sociolinguists in different contexts of situation. Children are shown to serve as language and literacy educators in multiple capacities and senses, and the value of this finding in the design of cross-age community language and literacy programs is outlined. The collaborative continuity approach advocated can easily be utilized in other disciplines including the social sciences.

Representative data will be cited, illustrative of the multiple roles children adopt (as translators, mediators, literacy liaisons or language and culture brokers) in interactions with adults and their peers. The central premise is that children have the potential to be effective language facilitators to their peers and the adults they frequently interact with, and should, therefore, be included and actively involved in community-wide language instructional efforts. The primary purpose is to argue in favor of a child-facilitated approach to second language and literacy development. This paper should help language and literacy instructors, parents, and program administrators, in particular, to recognize the depth of knowledge that can be gleaned from our children. Educators are provided with recommendations on how to effectively utilize an untapped-yet-vital source of "comprehensible input" in community literacy settings--including after-school ESL or language enhancement programs--as well as in the regular classroom.
Introduction: An Overview

An ABC news report from March 30, 2004 (aired at 6:40 p.m. EST) followed the story of an orphanage in Afghanistan where the Head, Sarina, came up with an innovative and workable solution for her unstaffed English classes. When she could not locate enough adult English teachers, she put older (bilingual) children, aged nine to 16, who were fluent in both Arabic and English, in front of the classroom. While Peter Jennings did not discuss the effects of this instructional approach on the adults involved, nor the impact of the teaching experience on the children’s linguistic, cognitive, and social skills, the benefits of this cross-age collaboration (for both groups) were apparent.

As far-fetched as it might sound, children are some of the best language facilitators we have available. Why? For several reasons, not the least of which is the fact that they possess some of the most important instructional qualities and, in many immigrant homes, are often called upon to use these skills to ensure their families’ (day-to-day) survival (see Stockwell 1999). First, they speak from personal experience, so they are the stories they tell, and second, they are naturally creative and spontaneous, as evidenced by their ability to engage in pretend play (see Engel 1999). Most importantly, they are perhaps the best judges of their own sociolinguistic needs, and of their instructional abilities and limitations. The stories children tell are/can mean valuable lessons learned. A child's ability to pretend and to role play multiple roles even in solo play sessions is noteworthy.

Children have been serving as language brokers or liaisons for a long time, and yet—quite surprisingly and almost ironically—the vital language and social services they have been providing have received little to no attention (see Santiago 1999, Stockwell 2000, Orellana 2001). Language facilitation is not the sole area in which children’s instructional capabilities is evident. It is, therefore, time to give credit where it is due—long overdue, in fact—and to both celebrate and utilize the unique language-instructional skills our children possess and share with all of us.

All over the world, children and young adults—who usually have a technological edge—have been instructing their parents and/or other adults on ‘current’ technologies. If we can accept technology-related assistance-cum-instruction (e.g. how to burn a CD, set up an e-mail account, create graphs and import clip art or create a Web page), why should we resist or be opposed to language assistance from our children?

It appears to be the case that, just as there's a child in(side) most of us, waiting to be informed and entertained, inside almost every naturally curious child resides a teacher—waiting to be heard—via elicitation or an invitation to recount a valuable life experience.

The result? Language and literacy acquisition through our children, and since language and culture are inextricably linked, learning distinctive features of one or more cultures is inevitable. Pre-school and elementary school teachers are perhaps in the best position to assess the value of this approach; they could, for instance, test out the outcomes
periodically by asking student facilitators (empowered as a consequence) to observe and share the reactions of their parents to the information they impart.

In general, research examining how children acquire linguistic and cultural artifacts from other children, and how bilingual children serve as natural language teachers and mediators or interpreters in child-child and in adult-child interactions is limited. Geneticists (those like Noam Chomsky, who believe that children are genetically predisposed to language) speak of input-driven language acquisition and learning, yet children are generally ‘placed’ at the receiving end. The goal of this paper is to argue in favor of child-facilitated instruction and learning, specifically in the area of language and literacy. In essence, the focus is on how children and youth can help teach others--children, adolescents, and adults--a second language/culture in naturalistic settings, thereby bridging growing generational, (sub)cultural, linguistic, disciplinary and other divides. As such, I will illustrate how children--particularly bilingual children--adopt multiple roles, as cultural and language transmitters in their interactions with monolingual adults and children. I will also present arguments in favor of the proposed collaborative continuity approach. The basic idea behind it is to encourage cross-age and cross-cultural collaboration in various venues (including the classroom) and to attempt to ensure a cross-over effect for this philosophy of instruction and learning—in short, sustainability beyond the classroom. This can be done through periodic ethnographic monitoring (via journaling, observations, visits, participants recordings, and the like). The collaborative continuity approach is applicable to practically any discipline including the social sciences.

To date, the child’s language and literacy-instructional ability has not been directly researched although a few isolated and incidental examples have been cited in passing, hinting at the value of this as-yet-untapped skill. The next section summarizes the relevant literature.

**Our Growing ESL Population and Attendant Linguistic Needs**

Currently, immigrants, Hispanics, in particular, make up the fastest growing segment of our population (see Rumbaut, 1998, Fulignii 2001, Lee 2003). The burgeoning pre-K-12 English as a Second Language (ESL) student population in U.S. schools demands immediate English language and literacy attention, given that language and literacy are at the core of all disciplines, constituting the (very) medium/means through which all subject matter content is presented. This is especially visible in the social sciences which, in some ways/can be conceptualized as being located / broadly speaking, lie at the confluence of language and culture, broadly defined. The demand for foreign language training is also at an all-time high. The U.S. Dept of Homeland Security has established an Interagency Language Roundtable and designated 2004-2005 “The year of languages in the federal government”suggesting that language is recognized by our government as intelligence, even though many of our government designated “foreign languages,” such as Spanish, are not really foreign to U.S. territory as far as domain(s) and extent of use.

Hinting at the relative failure of foreign language teaching and, by extension, learning in the U.S., Bialystok and Hakuta (1994: 2) note that “Even in the United States, home of
world-class monolinguals, a surprisingly large proportion of High school students have taken courses in a foreign lang; of course they pretty much remain singletons, but at least it is not for lack of opportunity”(see also Bialystok 2001: 9). With the exception of Spanish, which can no longer be considered a “foreign language” in the U.S. (so Spanish-instructional venues need to reflect this in their terminology), some might argue that opportunities for FLA, particularly outside the classroom are limited. The lang. instructional-learning approach advocated here should benefit this group, as well. In short, we have reached a point where pragmatic and effective lang.-and-literacy instructional pedagogies are desperately needed at all levels and in practically every domain. In short, the demographic and (re)settlement realities of our present-day society (Quintero and Rummel 2003) dictate the need for immediate, concerted, and innovative responses to community-wide demands for what is referred to here as subsequent language and literacy acquisition (SLA), including heritage, “foreign,” and second language enhancement. Yet, given the acute shortage of trained ESL and literacy instructors in practically every State, and the importance of adult (including parental) language and literacy in creating an educated citizenry for this Super Power/our nation in this new century, while simultaneously ensuring the academic success of our children (which research shows it to be contingent upon), we must start at the grassroots’ level, targeting entire families and communities, not just children. Hence the collaborative continuity pedagogy advocated here, which is applicable to (practically) any subject/content area. The recent national educational recommendation that seeks to make all parents of minority language students literate, and to familiarize ESL parents with mainstream literacy practices (see Weinstein-Shr and Quintero 1995, CAL 2000, Chang 2001, Hurley and Tinajero 2001, among others), so that they can be more directly involved in the education of their children constitutes yet another favorable reason. This measure is viewed as both a remedy and a long-term educational solution. It is seen as a vital first step in reducing the high (school) dropout rates of many language minority students, and it is also designed to ensure the sustained educational success of ELLs, by bridging the cultures of the home and the school.

Researchers are increasingly reporting on the growing generational, cultural, and linguistic divides visible in our soc., particularly in our immigrant ESL communities—between ESL children and their parents and other adult family and community members, on the one hand, and parents and institutions, on the other. Not only is the pedagogy proposed here designed to minimize, if not eliminate the lostalgia (for lack of a better term) countless ESL children and adults face (almost daily) by bringing them together /helping them engage in a fruitful and equitably empowering exchange, it should/will help fix/increase the ESL child’s chances for acad. Success (primary benefactors of parental involvement) as well as/and the instructors’ and administrators understanding of the cultural background, and the lang and literacy practices and expectations of the family and community to which the child belongs (secondary benefactors), while simultaneously ensuring that the ESL parent and comm. Member gains vital/valuable lang and cultural info. In the process—from both the children and the adults involved in this tiered/cyclic /. This symbiotic circle of simultaneous learning and instruction—where everyone will get to be the first soldier ant—should be fulfilling for all participants.

While it is true that immigrants have always been part of the American mosaic—bringing with them a variety of languages and cultures, for the first time ever, multilingualism and multiliterate
practices are no longer restricted to particular areas or cultural and linguistic groups. As such, the pre-K-12 content instructor might be at an instructional loss, not knowing how best to meet the ling. needs of the large #s of minority lang. speakers that now populate our classrooms. Hence, we need to assist all instructors (pre-K through college level and beyond) on how to effectively reach out and connect with ESL students and their families. First, we need to be able to identify student-specific sociolinguistic needs, so that we can help cater to these through/by way of suitable instructional approaches and materials. (By the same token) We also have an obligation to be aware of (national) language standards, including ESL and content standards, so that we can work (toward) them simultaneously/in tandem. We must remember that lang. minorities, often referred to as LEP or ESL individuals, can serve as valuable language and literacy resources and community partners for the benefit of all, through cross-age and cross-cultural pairings and groupings. This way, both our younger and older generations can be bridged and can benefit from what essentially becomes a bidirectional exchange.

Background Literature

One of the best examples of the child’s sophisticated language skills is, in fact that of an eight-year-old trilingual (English-Italian-French-speaking) girl, BS, whose artful ability to translate in a culturally appropriate manner an overtly negative sentence that her father directs her to translate is cited in Harris and Sherwood (1978: 157), and reproduced below:

Father (to BS): Digli che e un imbecile! (Tell him he’s a nitwit)
BS to 3rd party: My father won’t accept your offer
Father (angrily in Italian): Why didn’t you tell him what I told you?

This simple exchange is quite revealing of power relations, culture, personality, and more. It is noteworthy that BS’s father uses an imperative, indicative of both his greater power and age, as well as what might easily be perceived as anger but in actuality is none other than culturally acceptable “hard bargaining” (Harris and Sherwood 1978: 157) commonly employed in Italy. In contrast, BS’s rendition is non-confrontational and strategic, reflective of her flawless cultural adaptability. She could just as easily have directly translated her father’s statement (i.e., “You are an idiot”) or employed a reported speech version (i.e., “My father says . . .”) which would, of course, have absolved her of any blame. BS’s decision to avert any negativity in the interaction and prevent the potential of a similar negative response from her listener—at the risk of bearing the brunt of her father’s anger—is both admirable and commendable. Apparently, this is not the first time she has softened “his outburst” (Harris and Sherwood 1978: 157).

Some of the earliest evidence of child translation/children as born translators comes from the linguist H. Leopold’s (1939-1949) records of his daughters’ bilingualism, now a classic in the field of early bilingualism. Leopold (1949) observes of his three-and-a-half daughter HL, for instance, that “she usually translates my messages to her mother into English without effort; but sometimes she delivers them in their German wording” (27). He records that, at four years, four months to four years, five months, “She is so used to translating automatically in English that she pays as much attention to the meaning as to the form” (162).

Child translation is also observed but not directly studied in Swain (1972), Swain, Naiman, and Dumas (1974), Paivio, Clark and Lambert (1979), Harris (1980), Harley (1986), and Hakuta (1988). Harris (1977) is one of the few studies that highlights the value of natural
translation. Harris (1980) illustrates how a child as young as three translates spontaneously—without prompting.

Perhaps the only study to date to empirically examine infant and child translation is Harris and Sherwood (1978). These researchers hypothesize that “the basic ability to translate is an innate verbal skill” (155). If this is indeed the case, as they amply illustrate, it makes even more sense to employ the language-facilitative skills children and young adults naturally possess in our lang. and literacy instructional efforts. In short, their finding has considerable value for lang. and literacy instruction. However, unlike in the ethnographic study outlined here, only translations from European languages are examined. Furthermore, the data they present are largely descriptive, and the instructional-learning impact of child translation is neither conjectured nor investigated. And the applicability/value of their findings to lang. instruction are not considered.

Saville-Troike (1982) and Hakuta (1988) also highlight the bilingual child's cognitive sophistication, as does Bialystok (1988) who illustrates how bilingualism yields heightened linguistic awareness in children. It is very likely that children develop this greater (meta)ling. awareness and simultaneously experience cognitive growth in the course of translation and precisely as a result of such engagements, yet this idea has neither been raised/considered nor researched to date.

Johnson (1988) proposes that ESL children are much more likely to master English when placed in knowledge disseminators roles in meaningfully designed information-gap interactions. She recommends pairing ESL children with their more fluent native-speaker classmates, so that they "develop a native-like control of that language" (250). Arguably, apart from being a nebulous construct, “native-like control” is now a questionable construct (see Paikeday 1986, Davies 2003), given that non-native speakers far outnumber “native speakers” (see Kachru 1992) with immediate/direct implications for language instruction and learning. Moreover, the other side—the monolingual side—also stands to gain from such pairings, which Johnson (1988) overlooks. Rather than assuming beforehand that pairing or grouping (newcomer) ESL students with monoling. English spkrs/students would unduly burden or slow down the latter’s learning, we should encourage such pairings in different subject areas (including literature/lang. arts, reading, world history/social studies, art, and math) and let the data determine the feasibility. Possible and likely benefits for participants include:

- enhanced awareness of the structure and meaning(s) of their primary language
- exposure to the sound system, vocabulary, structure and discourse features of another lang.
- advanced social and prag. Skills, including how to negotiate & get along in diverse settings (i.e., cross-cultural and cross-linguistic skills)

Blakeley’s (1997) study on the English Language Fellows program established at the University of Rhode Island is esp. relevant/deserves mention in this regard/at this point, even though his focus is on adults—college students. While he, too, is fixated on the “native speaker” construct and recommends pairing and grouping “specially trained native speaking undergraduates” with “at-risk” (289) ESL classmates, the student content-language facilitators’ reports presented in this study illustrate the multiple benefits—to the “fellows,” as well, as they are called, of serving as ESL language aides and content clarifiers. First, their grades, like their ESL classmates’ improved
dramatically (far more visibly, in fact). Through her participation in what is essentially a peer-tutoring program, Rebecca, whose reports constitute the primary focus develops advanced social-interactional and critical thinking skills, as evidenced by her ability to pull Y out of her shell and by her linguistic discoveries and instructional creativity/instructionally creative and instructive sessions with D and Y, as well as through her continuous self-questioning, which Blakeley (1997) observes is characteristic of the 48 fellows under focus at the time. Moreover, Rebecca, is made acutely aware of the structure of English, specifically sounds that are not found in Japanese and Cambodian, and vocabulary items (including idioms, so frequently employed in American English). When D, one her ESL classmates misread “independent from” as “dependent on” on a/in a multiple choice quiz item, she writes, “Tomorrow [while taking the quiz] I think they will take their time and look at every word (so will I, by the way)” [emphasis added]. Not surprisingly, she earns a 100% on the quiz. Second, any preconceived notions, prejudices or covert blinders fellows-to-be might have had against ESL individuals were eliminated as a consequence of this cross-cultural exchange. Blakeley (1997) cites the case of Murray who, until then, had been oblivious to an Indian volleyball player as is shocked at his discovery that “dark-skinned” individuals, like his Indian volleyball teammate, had been totally invisible to him. “How could I not have seen the guy before?” he is quoted saying. Such findings will likely be replicated at all levels, including pre-K-12. In fact, the positive outcomes are likely to be amplified at this level given that . . . are especially/particularly when we consider how impressionable infants and children/young minds are/not confined to/not unique to the tertiary level. What they propose is both pragmatic (directly relevant to students’ curricular needs) and motivational—enhancing their desire to advance their English proficiency while offering them a workable opportunity to co-construct knowledge, negotiate/est and strengthen social ties and excel (in both lang. and content).

In Harding & Riley (1999), at least 50% of the case studies mention that the children served as natural translators and interpreters in their everyday interactions. Moreover, the fact that the children almost always employed the dominant language for comm... amongst themselves further (of the(ir) immediate environment) The example of two-and-a-half-year-old Matthias “sitting solemnly between his two sets of grandparents, ‘translating, without any trace of difficulty and embarrassment’ (88) in the (case study 3) is exemplary/one such example/a case in point, and is shared with great aplomb (with the researchers) by his parents, suggesting that his natural simultaneous translation talent surprised them and (simultaneously/clearly earned/garnered their admiration). What stands out are the facility with which he was able to switch back and forth, and his uninhibited personality, both considered highly influential factors in SLA theory. We learn that his grandparents on both sides of the family are monolingual. Evidence of the child’s language-instructional potential is also evident in the second case study they cite, where a Turkish-Eng.-spkg child’s parents credit his peers for his biling. Proficiency. In the researchers’ words, “He’s a good example of the fact that a child’s own social life with his peer groups determines the development of both his languages” (86). Although the source of the English Kanem’s nanny “was learning” (86) is not identified (interviews with the nanny, the parents and Kanem would, of course, have been beneficial in exploring this), it is very likely that he facilitated her SLA. One of the shortcomings of the research reported in this text is that the case studies provided are brief,
impressionistic, classist (all but one parent has a college degree), and purely descriptive and largely parental accounts/assessments of children’s bilingualism, including many misconceptions and questionable ideas (see Pandey forthcoming for details).

Like H and R (1999), the case studies Schecter and Bayley (2002) and Orellana (199, 2001) cite contain examples of bilingual ESL children serving as language and literacy facilitators in multiple capacities (in a majority of homes), primarily as homework assistants to their siblings or as literacy liaisons to their parents and other adults.

It is this instructional potential that we must keep in mind. As Bruffee (1993) rightly observes of peer-tutors, one of their great potentials is their power to function as “agents of institutional change” (81) and “to change the interests, goals, values, assumptions, and practices of teachers and students alike” (82). Arguably, the outcomes are similar when children and young adults are empowered in child-adult dyads. It is noteworthy that children’s instructional skills are neither confined to the playground nor to role-play situations. It is also worth mention that children as young as four have been known to role play and, more specifically, to play “teacher-teacher.” Countless children the world over spontaneously adopt/ funct. in multiple predominantly adult roles or are ‘drafted’ and successfully perform lang. funct. associated with specialized and more adult-like lang. These functions range from everyday negotiations such as taking messages (a task or speech act that involves excellent listening and speaking skills as well as reading and writing skills), to communicating messages or correspondence sent by school administration, and participating in a gamut/variety of service encounters, including translating between bank tellers, physicians, nurses and other adults on the one hand, and adult family members on the other, as well as paraphrasing, interpreting and translating between instructors and peers within the school context. Many autobiographical accounts by bilinguals, such as Amy Tan, Esmeralda Santiago, Oscar Hijelos and others (see Andalzua 1990) contain numerous examples. In her eye-opening piece titled “Mother Tongue,” for instance, Amy Tan recalls the discrimination her mother suffered (throughout her childhood) on account of her Chinese accent. Unwilling to look past her so-called “Broken English,” which Tan describes as “impeccable” and illustrates to be richly flavored, Tan notes that “people in department stores, at banks, and at restaurants did not take her seriously, did not give her good service, pretended not to understand her, or even acted as if they did not hear her” (1990: 5). These same people reacted very positively when Tan spoke for her mother, as she often did in (most) formal situations. Hijelos’ story, recounted in his edited collection of poetry, Cool Salsa, is similar.

Arguments in Favor of the Collaborative Continuity Pedagogy

The child’s linguistic capabilities are indisputable. Some arguments in favor of a child’s language genius, the basis for the proposed pedagogy, include:

i). Inexplicable Sources and the Poverty of Adult Stimulus

Children’s linguistic creativity is remarkable, nay astounding. I was in an elevator with a six-to-seven-year-old and her father who stood in one corner and another adult in the other. When the doors opened on the fifth floor, the single adult got out and I heard the child turn to her father and ask,” Daddy, is He a SHE or is SHE a HE?”
Children say and write things they have never heard, least of all from adults. A perfect example is the novel utterance, “I hate you!” (The Human Language Series). Phonetic spelling is another. Parents can usually think of/give you/cite lots of examples. My six-year-old niece was writing a story when I called home the other day, so I asked her to tell me what it was about. Impressed (with her story/at her imagination), I asked her, “Where did you get your imagination?” “At Walmart,” she replied with a serious tone. “How much did you pay for yours?” I continued. “Five dollars.” “How come?” I proceeded to ask? “Because they said I already have a large one.” Vukelich, Christie and Enz (2002) cite the following example:

A restless Hannah is standing next to her mother in the dance studio, eating a piece of chocolate. . . . [S]he runs her finger over the raised letters imprinted on the candy. “What does this say?” . . . “HER-SHEY, it says HER-SHEY.” In a Very puzzled voice, with a perplexed look, Hannah repeats “Her-she” several times. Then she asks, Mommy, is this a girl candy bar?”

As a new mother, I often catch myself recalling my verbalized interactions with my baby, or rather, the kind of language I employ with her when we’re alone, or when the only other person in the room is her father. I find that my language with her tends to be very simplified, consisting mostly of greetings such as “Hi” and “How are you?” which I tend to repeat throughout the day and sometimes within the hour (as though she were amnesic!) The good news is that, to the best of my knowledge, she has not let anyone know what form our conversations take, and by the time she gets ready to have a real conversation, she’ll have forgotten how pidgin-like my language was. Until then, in those special moments that I get to share with her, I can continue to say practically anything to her, content that I’m providing her with language (so that she can begin to recognize its sounds and cadences). If children learn simply by imitating adults, specifically their parents and/or caregivers, I should be worried that my six-month-old will grow up speaking telegraphese and using primarily canned utterances that would sound absurd to non-family members. I can only imagine my embarrassment if my daughter were to talk to me the way I talk to her. In short, the language stimulus we provide our children is often rudimentary and non-representative of the linguistic range and breadth we are expected to produce. Moreover, children say things they have never heard, least of all from adults. A perfect example is the novel utterance, “I hate you!” (The Human Language Video Series). Parents can usually share lots of examples. My six-year-old niece was writing a story when I called home the other day, so I asked her to tell me what it was about. Impressed (with her story/at her imagination), I asked her, “Where did you get your imagination?” “At Walmart,” she replied. “How much did you pay for yours?” I continued. “Five dollars.” “How come?” I proceeded to ask? “Because they said I already have a large one.” Vukelich, Christie and Enz (2002) cite the following example:

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Along these lines, how, for instance, do we explain the language-readiness of children born to deaf parents, as well as that of deaf children (proficient in sign language) born to hearing parents? The American Sign Language (ASL) of Simon, the deaf nine-year old boy whose language was carefully studied by two psycholinguists, is a stellar example of the latter (see Singleton and Newport 1999; also cited in Pinker 1994). Simon exhibited complete mastery of ASL, including its complex verb
inflections, yet the ASL stimulus Simon received from his parents was clearly impoverished. His parents, also deaf, did not learn ASL until their teen years, after the onset of the conjectured “sensitive period” (see Flege 1996), the period during which language acquisition researchers point at various obstacles in the way of target language mastery, so they failed to attain the level of fluency that Simon, by virtue of his age and other factors, attained. The absence or poverty of language input is also evident in the case of children of Pidgin speakers who often end up speaking a much more complex and elaborate language, termed a Creole (Bickerton, 1999, Romaine 1996). Moreover, unlike their parents, for whom the Pidgin serves as merely a lingua franca, the Creole that evolves with children plays a larger role—that of mother tongue.

ii). Creolization:
Initiated by children, creolization is one of the strongest arguments in favor of a child’s linguistic abilities. When a pidgin is adopted by children as their mother tongue, it is said to become a Creole (see Bickerton 1999). As such, Creoles are child-created languages, a monumental feat. In Calvin and Bickerton (2000), Bickerton observes that:

Creole languages come into existence when parents who speak a structureless early-stage pidgin pass it on to their children. The children change that pidgin, in a single generation, into a full-fledged language. If they were seeking structure in the pidgin, they wouldn’t find any—they impose structure from within their own minds. (33)

In this case, the pidgin—however telegraphic—constitutes “comprehensible input,” a necessary ingredient in the child’s journey of ling. discovery and creation. Bickerton provides evidence (see B 1975) of children’s ling. creativity from Hawaiian Creole, and credits children who were raised on the island in the 1890s for its genesis. The only language or comprehensible input the children could have heard would have been the pidgin that their parents and other adult Island residents spoke, so children were instrumental in its evolution and use. Even children as young as four can be linguistically innovative. Idioma de Signos Nicaraguense (ISN) is a case in point. This language is believed to have been developed through the peer interactions of deaf Nicaraguan children like Mayela, aged four, and her younger schoolmates whose sole input was “the pidgin signing of the older children” (see Pinker 1994: 36). Linguist Stephen Pinker (1994) notes that “ISN is very expressive. . . . The children use it in jokes, poems, narratives, and life histories, and it is coming to serve as the glue that holds the community together” (37).

iii). Acquisition vs. Learning: the Child’s Worry-Free Language Path
Why is it that children can potentially acquire any number of languages they are consistently exposed to? This potential is in and of itself a strong case for the child’s natural language aptitude (see Chomsky 1995; Pinker 1994) which linguist Noam Chomsky (1965, 1995) views as an innate and universal tendency. The success of early/infant bilingualism or what Harding and Riley (1999) refer to as “the most common and successful types of bilingualism” (40) is a case in point. Granted, just because someone is fluent in X does not necessarily mean that they will be good at teaching X or in facilitating its acquisition. Nonetheless, the ethnographic evidence presented in the next section strongly suggests that children and young adults can be effective language and literacy facilitators, particularly in guided instructional contexts.

iv). Children as Language Catalysts:
It is a known fact that children tend to rapidly acquire the primary lang(s) of those with whom they frequently/closely interact with closely. We often refer to the outcome of this formidable child-child multiple-language-sharing by way of the verb “pick up” (even if it is incremental—i.e., primarily in the form of words or expressions), suggestive of the ease with which this ling. transmission occurs/transpires, yet empirical studies of the role of child comprehensible input in first lang. (L1) acquisition and in subsequent lang acquisition (SLA) are lacking. This hypoth is certainly worth testing.

It is conceivable, for instance, that children who have siblings and/or relatives with whom they frequently interact learn the language or languages known to these children much faster than they would if they did not interact so frequently with other children, and certainly far more rapidly than adults exposed to similar indivs in a comparable amount of time. In other words, comprehensible input from children might actually be more palpable and palatable to this category of learners. Numerous examples abound, many of which have not been reported. In the ethnographic research conducted in conjunction with the present study, the Egyptian mother of a nine-year old boy who was born and raised in America expressed her surprise and puzzlement at how her three-year old, Atim, acquired English. “I wonder how he learn English” she explained quizzically, “because we always speak in Arabic, and we watch mostly Arabic TV.” “From me. He listened to me!” volunteered his older brother, Behrooz, smiling confidently while Atim nodded shyly.

While some of these arguments overlap, the fact remains that the linguistic credibility and capability of children is, for the most part, unchallenged. Whether we choose to ignore it, overlook it, acknowledge it or to capitalize on it for our community-wide language and literacy efforts is an open question. Let’s face it; we tend to underestimate children’s abilities, including their language proficiency. Arguably, the language of children unafflicted by language-altering conditions such as aphasia and autism, aged five and on is no less complete, meaningful--and, if we insist on using a grid, native-speaker-like--with one possible exception, namely, that children show evidence of continuous and more evident language advancement, particularly as regards vocabulary growth. The truth is that children, like adults, do vary in their language and literacy abilities and skills, but, for the most part, their language development, including SLA, is instinctive, and therefore, guaranteed.

**Ethnographic Data**

As it is both time-consuming and hard to demonstrate ongoing language acquisition or learning, longitudinal and ethnographic studies of second language learning in naturalistic settings were considered necessary and suitable. However, space constraints only allow for the presentation of a few demonstrative data segments, outlined below. In the three cited here, from three separate studies, children were observed to artfully perform the role of second language and literacy facilitators. The data (video-taped) were transcribed using a basic conversational analysis notation system first employed by Sacks and Schegloff (1974) which looks at patterns of turn taking as indicative of nature and level of engagement.

The data were collected over a minimum of six months; and involve interactions involving different age groups, cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and social settings. In the first two examples, from Study A, the child participants under focus were from two
families, one a Palestinian Arabic-as-first-language-speaking family of seven (five children, ranging in age from one to seven), and the other a monolingual American English-speaking family of four (a girl, Laura, aged five, her 17-year-old brother and her parents). The interactions between the children in both families were carefully observed and randomly recorded and video-taped, as were the interactions between the children and the adults in different contexts.

The findings from Study A corroborated in Study B, embarked upon for primarily comparative purposes, as the data were drawn from two families with the similar ethnolinguistic backgrounds--another bilingual Palestinian family of six (four children and two parents) and their American neighbors (two monolingual, English-speaking American families).

The participants in the third study, Study C include three generations of a Cuban-American household, including an L1 Castilian-speaking grandmother who, at the time of the present study, was learning ESL in a naturalistic setting; an early bilingual Spanish-English speaking mother, and a bilingual five-year-old only child whose primary language is English (see Pandey, forthcoming for details).

Excerpt 1: How to Pronounce “r” in Arabic

Context: Laura and her mother, Gloria, are having dinner. Laura has refused to eat the pork her mother tried to serve her because she has just learned from her Palestinian friends that it is "haraam" (i.e., unclean).

1. M : Hey Laura! Do you remember when you were telling me about “Haraam”? About “Haraam”... You said it was never WHAT to eat cake?
   [pause: L looks puzzled]
   You said it’s never “Haraam” to eat cake. Can you tell me. . .

2. L : What you’re supposed to do is /rrr/, VIBRATE your tongue.

3. M : Vibrate your tongue. Where?

4. L : /h_raam/ In the. . .[gesturing] in the middle of the word.

5. M : In the middle of the word. But where in your mouth?
   [L tries to demonstrate] Just tell me.

6. L : On the top [L utters the word again, as though to doublecheck]

In this exchange, Laura attempts to teach Gloria how to pronounce the Arabic trill (/r/) correctly, and in context. Because of the close ties between mother and daughter (her only daughter), and the fact that the mother is so proud of her daughter and pays so much attention to every word she says, their role relations are contextually non-hierarchic.
In explaining how to make the word-medial /r/ sound in "haraam," like an instructor determined to accomplish her goal, Laura aims straight for the target sound, as evidenced by her choice of the definitive structure "What you're supposed to do is . . . ." It is almost as though she will accept nothing less than the "proper" or target sound, hence her use of the agentless passive structure, and the strong participial form "supposed." She could easily have used a milder modal such as "You could . . ." or "You might want to/try to . . ." or "They expect you to . . ." but she sounds more like an expert and much more serious when she employs the agentless passive. By using this structure, she deflects attention away from the native Arabic speakers. Her role as instructor and phonologist is only strengthened when she employs the (jargon) verb "vibrate" in her attempt to ease the articulation of this target sound for her mother. Yet Laura does not employ the simple imperative form "Vibrate your tongue"; she tones it down to a more indirect, palatable form accompanied by an equally advisory tone. Her instructions are very accurate and not at all patronizing. It is interesting that the role relations between mother and daughter are clearly non-hierarchic in this exchange, and indicative of a strong instructional symbiosis of sorts. With Gloria's assistance, Laura is able to shift roles from that of daughter (on the listening end) to that of reliable language instructor, Her mother complies by adopting the role of an enthusiastic student. And yet this is not a role play scenario. Such role reversals are common in this household, and possibly in some others, as well.

In excerpt (2), when her 'student' asks her "Where?" Laura responds with even more specific instruction(s): " . . . in the middle of the word." Prodded further with the genuine inquiry "But where in your mouth?" she responds with equally precise articulatory advice "On the top," and the interrogator, her mother, begins to practice this sound much more successfully. As is the nature of conversation, it is a two-way negotiation, and this exchange is no exception. How could Laura's instructions be viewed as anything other than instructional discourse? Excerpt (2) is another illustrative example of the child (as) as excellent conversation (and listening partner) plus second language facilitator.

Excerpt B: How to pronounce Arabic /kh/ (a pharyngeal phoneme/sound)

Context: In a follow-up conversation, Gloria asks Laura to teach her how to pronounce another Arabic sound.

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>M : Okay. Could you tell me about that other sound they make? There are other sounds they make –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>L : Yup! Like in /khaal?s/. You need to do this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>M : Uuuh [nodding]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>L: It sort of makes your throat tickle [providing instruction through analogy and example].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In turn 2, in teacher-mode, Laura supplies a word containing the target phoneme /kh/ that is not found in English and, without waiting to be asked how it is produced, employs the obligatory model "need to" in an equally assertive and explanatory directive "You need to do this." She does not stop at this. She follows up with a mimed articulation of the target sound, once in isolation, and once again in context—in the word in which she first used it. It is noteworthy that
five-year-old Laura has not been trained, so we can only imagine what her instructions might look like if she is (formally or informally) trained. Her mother's natural, student-like reaction is to imitate the non-verbal and verbal instruction her daughter has provided her (by request).

While Laura's mother intentionally adopts the role of a student in both (1) and (2), (something adults rarely do except with other adults), these excerpts clearly illustrate the child's natural gift for teaching. A question worth asking is "Who could Laura have learned these un-English sounds and words from?" The answer need not be debated.

What the following data item makes clear is that monolingual children who have bilingual friends stand to learn a lot--especially sociolinguistically--and could begin to function naturally as cross-cultural liaisons, and communicators of cultural artifacts from the other culture(s) they are exposed to through their bilingual/bicultural friends. It is note-worthy that adults, too, can benefit substantially from the linguistic enrichment (primarily phonological, lexical, and sociolinguistic) the child instructor provides. In excerpt (3), for instance, Herman patiently assists his Uncle with pronunciation and vocabulary.

Excerpt 3: Mr. Singh and his 7-year-old Nephew, Herman

Context: An elicitation lesson on body parts initiated by the adult who works 10-hour shifts, even on weekends, which leaves him no time for formal English instruction. New words he learned in that session and as a result of it include: shoulder (the /sh/ sound in particular), thumb, ear vs. hair, eardrum, tummy, belly, and nose (the /z/ sound in particular, which this Punjabi and Hindi speaking ESL adult, Mr. Singh, had difficulty pronouncing, and which he was pronouncing as /j/ in the classic first language transfer mode).

Mr. S: [Pointing at his shoulder and asking in Punjabi] A ko ki bote? (i.e., What do you call this?)
H: Shoulder
Mr. S: Kya? (i.e., What?) Solder?
H: Na. SHol-der (Stressing the initial /sh/ sound and articulating each syllable carefully)
Mr. S: Solder?
H: SHoulder (stressing the phoneme /sh/). /s/ nahi (i.e., not /s/). Sh! Sh!
Mr. S: (Eyeing H carefully as he attempts to repeat the target sound) S . . . sh . . . [H nods] Shoul-der.
H: (Still not satisfied and noting the need for more comprehensible input) Sh. Sh. Shoulder. SHOLE-DER.
Mr. S: (Imitating/Repeating after him) S, shoulder.
H: [Nodding vigorously] Hunji (i.e., Yes Sir).

The suffix {-ji} is a honorific particle in Punjabi and it is noteworthy that Herman uses it when he addresses his elder. It has now been borrowed into many north Indian languages, including Hindi, Kashmiri, and Urdu. Elicitation excerpts such as this one suggest that children can be overtly drafted into language and literacy learning efforts, and that they can instruct us on more than just structural features (i.e., social, pragmatic features that are culturally based, as well). This example also suggests that behaviorism may have a place when adults are the learners and children their facilitators.

Implications and Directions for Future Research
Separatist language and literacy instructional-learning practices are all too common in our society and, not surprisingly, continue to persist. Examples include adult versus child second language and foreign language classes. Yet, if the success of our children in American and Canadian schools is contingent upon the strength of home-community and school ties (Edwards 2004), then such exclusionary practices must be revisited and modified to make way for a truly inclusive pedagogy, particularly in communities with high volumes of immigration, where such setups might be more feasible.

We must remember that our theories of language acquisition derive from observations of children for whom this phenomenon is second nature. From a linguistic standpoint, we would do well to gain insights into more than the language structure—into the sociolinguistic and pragmatic dimension(s) of child language use, as the ways in which children use lang. to establish and affirm relationships with indivs.who differ in age, gender, ethnicity and other sociciolung indices, or how they negotiate identities in their day to day lives, particularly immigrant children, can be of great benefit in the construction of not merely models of language attrition, bilingualism and much more, but also in the design and testing of appropriate language instructional and learning pedagogy/approaches.

At a time when families are experiencing even greater divisive forces at work in the form of growing cultural and ling. divides btw. Parents and (g)children and grandchildren, age-separatist instructional-learning practices which are the norm in the United States, as in many other parts of the world, might not be as feasible and appropriate. In other words, a more inclusive pedagogy might be worth a try, particularly in community center and other community-based lang. and literacy devt/enhancement sites/venues.

**Findings and Implications**

For all the subjects, contact with English was observed to be greater with one parent, notably their fathers. Fathers were observed to play a smaller role in these children's socialization (process). In families where the oldest child had assimilated toward the L2 (English) culture, and rejected the L1 language-culture (Carlos is a prime example), biculturalism was a less noticeable feature in the speech-language of all the children over 2.5 years old. This preference for the dominant language is likely to re-appear in the siblings, particularly when they start going to school in a less cosmopolitan setting.

In some homes, older siblings can make it easier or harder for the younger ones to learn and retain the L1. Bilingual children whose acculturation has yielded bilingualism and biculturalism were observed to serve as efficient acculturators to their monolingual friends, their younger siblings, and to (monolingual) adults. Children from homes where a language other than English is the primary language who have older siblings, were observed to master English (and possibly even their L1s) faster, as they have two or three facilitators.

Implications of these findings include pedagogical (for teachers, educators/decision-makers/curriculum designers), linguistic (i.e., how to ensure smoother, faster and more effective language acquisition or naturalistic bilingual competence), and social-pragmatic (for monolinguals who have any kind of contact with bilingual children).
Concluding Remarks

Children, particularly bilingual (bicultural children) are natural born teachers and some of the best language facilitators we have at our disposal, and we would be remiss to overlook them/their vast untapped linguistic potential. All children have the potential to be facilitators to their peers and the adults with whom they interact. The data gathered in the present study also suggest that bilingual children in America and other English-dominant and English-favoring nations have an (informational) advantage, particularly if they can successfully cope with the pressure to conform to the monolingual, English-only majority.

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a. Title: Models of Empowerment vs. Models of Disempowerment: An Analysis of a Linguistic Awareness Training Program in Rural America

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Abstract:

**MODELS OF EMPOWERMENT VS. MODELS OF DISEMPowerMENT: AN ANALYSIS OF A LINGUISTIC AWARENESS TRAINING PROGRAM IN RURAL AMERICA**

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This proposal reports on findings of the ACE conceptual model, a pedagogical model designed to train content-area teachers (K-12) on effective language teaching principles for newcomer, immigrant students in over 15 different schools in seven different geographical counties on the rural Eastern Atlantic Seaboard of the United States—areas exhibiting some of the fastest growing immigrant populations. The study spans the findings of 24 months of the program. Operating on the premise that in the 21st century particularly in isolated rural counties, expertise in teaching English as a second language to newcomer populations cannot justifiably achieved via workshop models which give a peppering of “the best practices” to content-area teachers with no formal linguistic training, the ACE conceptual model strives for range, breadth and depth in linguistic awareness via a specially designed Copernican model of education. In this block educational system, course content on language awareness is designed to increase professional awareness of language teaching in the triple domains of knowledge, efficiency and expertise. In the ACE model, content is delivered in longer blocks of time than conventionally sequenced classes permitting for more intense continuous study and the eventual creation of a flexible expert. Via a series of 11 carefully designed and methodically sequenced graduate-level courses held at accessible times over a period of nine months the model provides a long-term, high-incentive model in which linguistic awareness of language form, acquisition, culture, bilingualism, reading, writing, methodology, assessment, materials design and program development empower and instigate teachers to implement praxis that ensure that all children, mainstream and newcomer, have access to high-quality education. This model of education is based on an additive rather replacement teacher workforce model and has several implications for new governmental mandates in the United States such as the *No child Left Behind Act* of 2001.
A GEOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF UNITED STATES CASUALTIES DURING THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF OPERATION IRAQI FREEDOM

Topic Area: Geography

Presentation Format: Poster

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Operation Iraqi Freedom was launched on 20 March 2003 to dispose Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, who was believed to be harboring weapons of mass destruction. Since the start of the campaign over 1400 United States soldiers have lost their lives due to both combat and non-combat related injuries. This study focuses on the United States for both combat and non-combat casualties during the first two years of the Iraq war. State and county residence data, as well as home military installation data will be gathered to provide insight into areas of the United States that have been most affected by the toils of the Iraq war. It is hypothesized that the areas of the United States that have the lower per capita income will have the higher casualty rate, due to opportunities the military provides. We will use information collected from the Department of Defense and Census Bureau to determine if there is a correlation between county of residence and key demographic data. This study hopes to provide a glimpse into the areas that have been hardest hit by the war, both in the residence and the military home of the service men and women.
1. ABSTRACT

Ice jams are caused by the initial freeze-up or break-up of ice on river channels during the winter months. This process occurs most frequently in northern portions of North America and Eurasia, although they have also formed in the southern United States in places like Hunt, Arizona, and Rainbow, Texas. As water bodies begin to freeze or break-up, water from the upper reaches continue to flow, causing these water bodies to carry broken chunks of ice downstream. Ice jams can severely impact the ecosystems and are known to cause extensive morphological changes to the channels and human-made structures.

The processes that constitute ice jams are well studied, but not completely understood. The lack of information gathered on ice jams, is a concern to communities along water bodies. The expanding urban growth and population along river systems is also a concern due to the construction on floodplains, which are at a greater risk of
flooding. This study will review some of the impacts that ice jams have had on humans along river systems in North America. More so, we will focus on the dangers that humans face from this phenomenon. We expect to find that although human-made structures can provide safety to these river communities, the failure of these structures can cause significantly more damage.

2. INTRODUCTION

During the winter months, rivers in the northern portions of the United States and throughout Canada have a phenomenon occurring, which is known as “ice jams”. Ice jams are a process that is caused by the initial freeze-up of various water bodies or the initial break-up period associated with the spring thaw. This in turn causes the frozen water bodies to swell, carrying broken chunks of ice downstream. An ice jam typically occurs where a water body experiences a noticeable change in slope, usually from a steep to milder grade. A surface-water profile changes significantly over a long distance, causing the surface-water levels to increase upstream of an ice jam, which then floods nearby neighborhoods and low-lying communities. In Canada, for example, ice jams have caused significant damage to low lying areas and shoreline properties.

Ice jams are a consistent problem in cold regions, and cause difficulties with river navigation on rivers such as the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi (Vincent et al., 2004). According to Gerard et al. (1995), during a five-year period from 1983 to 1987, roughly 35 percent of all flooding was caused by ice jam events. Early literature reviews that have been done in the past that have contain great amounts of historical information in regards to river ice; however, the data is often scattered and these literature reviews do not document many of the recent data that has been collected in the last few decades (White,
The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) Cold Regions Research & Engineering Laboratory (CRREL) possesses an ice jam clearinghouse, (Fig. 1) (CRREL, 2004), which has all documented ice jams recorded. The ice jams recorded in the ice jam clearinghouse have a heavy reliance with the U.S. Geological Survey and is by no means an accurate historical record of ice jams (White, 1999).

Due to the lack of information gathered on ice jams, this is a growing concern to regions in the north. With a growing population and extending urban growth closer to river systems, problems with flooding due to ice jams have been more widely documented. However, not all areas are being built-up. Much of the ice jams occur in areas that are heavily isolated, such as areas near federal parks and grasslands.

The formation of ice jam formation is little understood, although they are of interest to researchers in many scientific disciplines. However, the sedimentation of a river can be heavily scoured by ice jams, making it easier for a geologist to understand the friction causing the scouring. Because of the complexity of the processes and parameters involved, researchers are studying ice jams at centers such as the National Water Research Institute in Canada, the Hydrologic Engineering Center in California, and the Cold Regions Research Engineering Laboratory in New Hampshire, the latter two being branches of the USACE.
Ice jam impacts humans and their settlements in numerous ways. There are the obvious, such as destroying buildings and structures (i.e. bridges) or costs of mitigation, as well as obscure ways, such as making travel difficult or impacting food production (Fig. 2 and 3). Ice jam impacts on humans and their settlements are important because millions of dollars are spent annually to combat this problem and this problem could be better solved by taking preventative measure prior to development (Beltaos, 1995). The purpose of this paper is to examine case studies where ice jams have impacted humans, in addition to look at the future of ice jam impacts on the human race. From Table 1, one can see that 42 states and one district have had a recorded ice jam event. Gleaming from the total
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Total Number of Entries: 14484

*Updated: March 24, 2005*

*Source: CRREL, 2005*
Figure 2. Breakup ice jams can cause rapid increases in stage resulting in ice damage as well as flood damage (Tunbridge, VT, March 1999). Source: CRREL.

number of documented ice jams, 14,484, choosing similar states and river systems are useful in looking at the causes of ice jams, predicting and modeling of the flood-frequency analysis, and developing mitigation strategies.

3. CASE STUDIES

Ice jams and its processes have been well researched. This is aided by the plethora of data that is collected every year on this phenomenon. A study by Andres (1995) on the Peace River in Alberta, Canada focused on the freeze-up processes and ice jam on a large river with hydroelectric capabilities. The Peace River begins high in the Canadian Rockies of British Columbia, and flows northeast through Alberta, finally entering the Slave River. This study primary focuses on the narrow study area near the town of Peace River, where the ice jams have caused much damage in the past. Ice jams have caused damage to some of the building located along the river, as well as to river structures, such as bridges and dams. The ice cover produced on this river is very thick and possesses a significant flow underneath it (Andres, 1995).
Another example of damages caused by ice jams was in Allagash, Maine, located near the Canadian border on the St. John River (Fig. 3). In the early winter of 1990, unseasonable weather resulted in a breakup type ice jam, which then refroze, resulting in a layer of ice over 30 feet thick (FEMA, 2004). By early April, the ice had begun to release, resulting in the destruction of a 211 foot bridge, a 740 foot bridge, and causing damage to more than 30 homes (FEMA, 2004). The destruction of the two bridges created a detour in excess of 100 miles. The results of this ice jam led agencies involved with the reconstruction effort to develop and build new bridges that can prevent future damages (Wuebben et al., 1995).

![Figure 3. Bridge and Road Section Destroyed by Ice Jam. Source: Wuebben et al., 1995.](image)

The previous examples of ice jam damages that have impacted humans and their settlements are just two if the numerous times that ice jams have inflicted damage. There have been attempts in recent years to gain a grasp on controlling damages that result from this phenomenon. However, as with any type of river control, nothing is 100 percent. Ice jams will continue to be a threat to humans as long as humans live and work near river
channels. The next section will deal with the future of ice jams, as well as some future means of control the damages.

4. FUTURE OF ICE JAMS IMPACTS ON HUMANS

As the human race continues to grow in numbers, the areas along will be continue to be prone to development. Traditionally, some of the most fertile land has been found along river channels. Civilizations were built in areas where there was convenient access to the fertile plains for food production. With this development came an increase risk to flooding and associated catastrophes. The same could be said for not only today, but also for the future. There is and will continue to be an increased demand for highly valuable land. People need places to live, work, and land for food production. This is leading towards construction in areas were there high risks to natural hazards. Some cities are controlling construction in these higher risk areas, by placing parks and greenways in the land immediately adjacent to the river channels. These provide a means of reducing some damage to structures in the vicinity to the rivers.

Another area is that of climatic influences on ice jams. The future is uncertain, and there has been much debate regarding the existence of global warming. Ice jams will continue to be an issue whether global warming exists or not. The debate is whether global warming influences the magnitude and frequency of events. There is a study currently underway to look at climatic effects on ice jam events. The results of that study will provide insight to what the future of ice jams may hold.

The final area that needs to be addressed are means to avoid ice jams influences on humans, or at least curb some of the negative affects. One simple means of addressing the problems with ice jams would be to halt construction near rivers and let nature take its
However, that option is unrealistic in today’s society. The key is going to be in developing and perfecting mitigation techniques to lessen the damage caused by ice jams.

5. CONCLUSIONS

This study looked at the impacts of ice jams on humans and their settlements in North America. Based on the research presented in this paper, it is clear to see that ice jams can and do occur in most of northern portions of the continent. The research conducted could provide a benefit to community planners, state and federal disaster management officials, as well as other natural hazard researchers in order to aid in gaining a grasp on this phenomena.

Ice jams are important phenomena not only due to the initial damage that they cause, but also in the long term effects, such as urban planning issues. There have been numerous efforts to reduce the areas along river channels to increase the amount of housing that can be provided, as well as to reduce the amount of damage from flooding. However, it has also been documented that human influences on the rivers, such as dike and levees lead to an increase in velocity of the water. Whether or not these changes to the rivers impact the frequency and magnitude of ice jams is still to be determined. It is important for city planners and engineers to keep ice jams in mind when they constructing protection systems, bridges, and new communities.

The work presented in this paper could also benefit future studies by providing a baseline in which future work could focus on more explicit areas in this topic area. Future work that is currently underway is related to examining ice jam events along the Red River of the North in North Dakota, and how these events are related to not only climatic variables, but also river channel modifications. Another future study current being
planned is focused on how human modifications, such as dikes and levees influences the frequency and magnitude of ice jam events. In closing, there is a vast quantity of work still to be undertaken in this area and this phenomenon is not fully understood; however, with studies such as this one and the others being planned the knowledge base in this topic will continue to grow.

6. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to thank the University of North Dakota Department of Geography, The Graduate School and Office of Research and Program Development for their support of this research.

7. BIBLIOGRAPHY


This paper presents an economics model for understanding media change in China, highlighting finance, ownership, market structure and government regulations as important causal variables. It argues that marketization of China’s media industry is producing a basket of information and entertainment goods that are reflective of consumer demand, advertisers’ interests, increasing private investment, more opportunities for industry participation and the creation of new media legislation. It also suggests that the new media environment will not automatically produce democratization, which is partly dependent on context-specific factors. The paper employs a number of analytic techniques in reaching its conclusions – television program placement analysis, website content study and film import examination.
The Chinese media environment has changed dramatically over the past twenty years - foreign satellite television broadcasters now have landing rights in China, Chinese people are able to watch Hollywood films in cinemas, official Chinese Communist Party newspapers have fallen out of favor, lively radio talk shows are heard over the airwaves, real-time coverage of events, such as the Iraq War, is happening, a new openness about social problems, such as corruption, is noticeable, transmedia mergers are occurring, media conglomerates are forming, foreigners are being given more investment opportunities in areas such as pay television, publications distribution, renovation of cinemas, and film and television program production, and more competition is arising amongst Chinese companies in areas such as foreign film distribution and digital television. Along with these changes, Chinese people have more communications technologies at their disposal - mobile phones, facsimile machines, text messaging services, and desktop publishing.

At the same time, a number of restrictions exist - content censorship regulations, curbs on the Internet, a taboo on direct criticism of most high-level government officials. For those who stray beyond the permissible, intimidation, arrest and imprisonment are possibilities. In such an environment, self-censorship becomes a widespread practice.

Theories abound to explain the Chinese media environment - state corporatism, regulated marketization, praetorianism, self-liberalization. “State corporatism” refers to “media commercialization with the endorsement of the state.”

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marketization” to party control over the media through a licensing system and
other mechanisms while marketization is occurring, 2 “praetorianism” to the
“cacophonous and unstructured circulation of communications messages,” 3 and
“self-liberalization” to the “unintended consequences of economic reform” as a
country transitions from communism to an authoritarian regime. 4 All of these
theories have in common the notion of change, the idea that China is a transition
state somewhere along the road to a market economy from a planned one. The
bifurcated notion of the transition is also captured in other descriptions found in
the literature, or among scholars, such as “rehabilitated bureaucratic-authoritarian
regime;” 5 post-communist, authoritarian, transitional society” 6 and “capitalist
dictatorship.” 7

The purpose of this paper is to explain the factors that account for the change
in China’s media environment. The explanation that I give is one largely based
on economic considerations. These considerations are drawn from the literature on
media economics, which has blossomed in recent years. 8 Among the notions I

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7 I owe this term to Professor Mike Thies of the University of California, Los Angeles. The term was used in an interrogative context in relation to China.
employ are market structure, dual product market and theory of the firm. Special
attention is paid to identifying who the media actors are, what motivates them
and what institutional environment they operate in.

The argument of this paper is that media marketization in China (broadly
construed) is ushering in a new media environment where the basket of media
products manufactured is different than that which would be produced in a pre-
marketized or non-marketized environment. This may seem obviously true, but it
needs to be demonstrated that media content in China has changed, and that this
change is linked to changes in explanatory variables.

This paper is essentially a case study. As such, its findings do not directly
apply to other countries, and some may feel that the findings regarding China
itself are on shaky ground. But insofar as the principles of media economics
apply to other countries as well - as I believe they do - the model I present may
have universal applicability. One attraction of the model is that it allows unique
features of each country to be taken into consideration. To actually do this
properly, however, requires an international team of scholars examining how
marketization is playing out in other transitional - and democratic, industrialized -
countries. This is a small first step in such a project.

The method I employ in this study involves a number of different techniques -
television program placement analysis, website content analysis, newspaper
advertising and circulation data review and film import information examination.
Where possible, I make comparisons over time, seeing how the marketizing Chinese media environment differs from a non-marketized one, often described through a propaganda model.

The structure of this paper will be as follows: in the next section, I will present a model for understanding media change; then, in the following section, I will apply it to China to see what changes have actually occurred; then I will see how changes in the explanatory variables are related to changes in Chinese news content; then I will look at how all of this is related to the broader question of democratization. Finally, I will end with a few suggestions for future research.

**Understanding Media Environments**

In analyzing media environments, there are four questions that one needs to ask - who pays for the media output?, who owns the corporation?, how concentrated is the industry?, and what are the regulations and policies the government has created? The issues these questions address can be subsumed under four different headings: finance, ownership, industrial structure and regulatory framework and policies. These factors are, I maintain, the primary determinants of media content in a given country or particular media sector. It may be, however, that there are other factors that have causal significance. For example, it may not be enough to look simply at government regulations and policies, it may also be necessary to see how vigorously they are implemented or enforced or even if they are enforceable. The creation of new technologies may also have significance in understanding how media environments develop. Another point is that there may be overlap between these four different primary factors.
Why a particular media industry has a certain structural configuration, for example, would seem to be linked to the types and amounts of ownership permitted within the industry. For analytical purposes, however, I keep these factors separate. Where necessary, I attempt to make connections.

The first factor is finance. This refers to how resources are acquired for the operation of the business. Among the possibilities are: government or political party subsidies, charitable contributions from individuals or institutions, and revenues generated through market activities. In a system with government finance, one might expect that media organizations would be kept on a short leash. As Wilbur Schramm wrote about the former Soviet Union, “Mass communications are used instrumentally - that is, as an instrument of the state and the Party.” It is possible, however, that other configurations could develop. In a market-based system, or one where markets provide incentives for action, media organizations are motivated by two different factors - consumer demand and advertising revenue. On the one side, media companies, be they television broadcasters, radio stations, newspapers, or magazines, have to provide products attractive to their audiences, which might mean flashy entertainment or more business news. On the other, they have to meet the needs of advertisers. The two markets are linked in that advertisers want access to large audiences. As Alan B. Albarran has written, “Greater demand for media content enables companies to charge higher prices for their advertising. Likewise, a drop in audience ratings, reader circulation or other

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10 The dual product market description is less applicable to the film, music and book publishing industries, which are more heavily dependent on the consumer market.
media usage will trigger a decline in advertising revenues.”

The impact of advertisers on program production may be felt in a number of ways. Media companies might be hesitant or unwilling to supply products that offend their sponsors or they might be encouraged to supply products that generate interest in their sponsors’ businesses, e.g. an increase in health-related news along with a proliferation of drug-related advertisements on television. Another concern of market-oriented media companies is costs. This could affect things such as the number of correspondents posted overseas, decisions about whether to create news products for local markets or to distribute uniform products nationwide, and even what sources of information to use. All of this is nicely summed up by John H. McManus who writes:

To the extent that the business goal of maximizing profit dominates, the foregoing analysis suggests that rational news departments should compete with each other to offer the least expensive mix of content that protects the interests of sponsors and investors while garnering the largest audience advertisers will pay to reach. What becomes news then depends on cost-benefit analysis of each stage of production.

It may be, however, that as companies sever financial ties from the state for working capital and other requirements in countries making the transition to a market economy that the profit motive and greater financial independence have a liberating effect, enabling a wider diversity of content, even if that content may not be what is needed to usher in a democratic society. This issue I will return to later.

The second factor is ownership. Media corporations may be government owned

or privately owned. Government-owned media companies have been characteristic of communist countries while privately-owned media companies have been characteristic of capitalist ones. Privately-owned media companies may be independent, family-run operations or they may have their shares listed on the stock market. Managers of stock market listed companies often face pressures to produce short-term profits and maximize shareholder value, objectives which have implications for the types of business strategies they pursue. Another type of media organization that exists is the public service monopoly, an organization such as the BBC that has autonomy from the government and exists to rectify cases of market failure. Another important distinction is between domestic investment and foreign investment. Allowing foreign companies or individuals to invest in a country’s media assets can have an impact on the media products that are manufactured and the way they are produced. The host country may seek foreign investment because of the deeper level of production and managerial expertise that is attached to it.

The third factor is industry structure. By “industry structure,” I am referring to the level of concentration in a particular media industry. Is the structure one of perfect competition, oligopoly, monopolistic competition, or monopoly? It is hard to say which structure is most characteristic of a capitalist society. As Ben H. Bagdikian has pointed out, the level of concentration in the U.S. media industry is very high, with five major companies dominating the landscape - Time Warner,

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13 For more on different media types, or “regulatory forms,” see Monroe E. Price and Peter Krug, “The Enabling Environment For Free and Independent Media,” Sponsored by United States Agency for International Development, Center for Democracy and Governance, Prepared by Programme in Comparative Media Law & Policy, Oxford University, December 1, 2000, 7-8.
Walt Disney Company, News Corp., Viacom and Bertelsmann. In the first edition of his classic book, *The Media Monopoly*, published in 1983, Bagdikian identified 50 major corporations as controlling the major media industries in the U.S. Perhaps what is important in the case of countries moving away from state domination of their media industries is that companies, at least in the initial stages of market reform, have more opportunities to participate in the media industry. Over time, however, a variety of industry configurations can emerge, as we shall see in the case of China. The issue of media concentration is important because of the implications it may have for media pluralism. One group of people argues that media concentration reduces pluralism by excluding or under-representing some political viewpoints, suppressing innovative products, preventing newcomers from easily entering the industry and promoting duplicative content. Others see the issue as less clear cut, or think that media concentration can actually increase pluralism, in part because of the economies of scale and increased efficiency associated with size, and the impact this has on product development. As one writer concludes from the “growing empirical literature,” “increased concentration can in some markets lead to more diversity since sellers in a concentrated market may offer products aimed at attracting additional customers to the market rather than aimed at stealing customers from already

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offered varieties.” 19 Another points to the “surprising number of facts and opinions that are critical of the dominant corporate structure” as evidence that media pluralism is still alive and well in the U.S. 20 Doyle argues that pluralism is not only the result of the number of producers of media goods but other factors such as the size and wealth of the market and the management of resources. 21 Another aspect of concentration that could have an impact on media content pertains to the types of mergers that are permitted, three types of which can be identified - horizontal, vertical and diagonal. 22 A horizontal merger is between firms of the same type, a vertical merger between companies at different stages in the production chain and a diagonal merger between companies of different types. The issue of cross-ownership has been an issue of major public policy discussion, an indication of its significance. 23

The final factor concerns government regulation and policy. The laws, notices, administrative decisions, policy directives and other statements by government officials all have a major impact on the type of media environment that arises. In the United States, for example, the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which aims to promote competition in various media and telecommunications industries, and the Federal Communication Commissions’ cross-ownership rule change, which loosens ownership restrictions on broadcasters, are both factors affecting media

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19 Hamilton, All the News That’s Fit to Sell, 240.
21 Doyle, Media Ownership, 14-26.
22 See Doyle’s Media Economics (22-23) for a clear discussion of these differences, along with an assessment of the advantages of each strategy (25-37).
activity. From the standpoint of countries making the transition to market economies, perhaps the important thing here, at least in the case of China, is simply the fact that legislation is being created to enable a more predictable, orderly and stable environment in which media activities can be conducted, or that laws are being eased to allow companies to do things that formerly they were prohibited from doing. It may well be the case that the new legislation in China, of which there has been much in recent years, represents an effort by the government to maintain control. Rather than being a case of new “rule of law,” it is more a case of “rule by law.” This is an important issue I will return to.

From these four factors, a definition of a marketizing media environment emerges. A marketizing media environment is one in which companies are motivated by profit generation, private money is increasing, barriers to entry are declining, at least in the initial stage of reform, and new regulations are being enacted, many of which may be more liberal than past regulations. The claim of this paper is that China’s media environment is changing largely because of the advent of marketization. Stated otherwise, marketization is producing a different basket of media products in China that is more attuned to consumer demand, is geared toward satisfying advertisers’ needs, is influenced by private money and is reflective of changes in media industry structure and liberalization of government regulations. If this hypothesis is true, it would follow that the basket of media products today, and the general nature of the media industry in China, would be

different than it was during the pre-reform period. To determine to what extent this is true, and to what extent marketization as I have defined it has actually occurred, I now turn to an examination of China.

The Growth of Marketization

In order to understand the new system of media economics in China, it is necessary to say something about the old system. Under the old system, which existed from around 1949 to 1978, the media were completely funded by the state, save for a brief period in the early 1950s. Media organizations were evaluated not on the basis on how much money they made, but rather how much social benefit they produced. Advertising, which had experienced its golden years during the 1930s, and saw some usage into the early years of the People’s Republic, fell on hard times, generally unnecessary with only limited market competition and harshly criticized during the Cultural Revolution (when it was used for political purposes). Ownership of media assets was by the state, though some private newspapers and radio stations briefly existed before closing in the early 1950s. Foreigners were basically kept out of the industry.

Commercialization began in earnest in the late 1970s/early 1980s, possibly gaining steam over the past decade. One measure of commercialization in the media industry is advertising expenditure. As Table 1 shows, Chinese advertising industry spending has grown dramatically over the past decade. As an indication

28 Zhao, *Media, Market and Democracy in China*, 16.
of how important the Chinese industry has become (it is now one of the five largest in the world), the International Advertising Association held its 2004 world congress in Beijing in September. To take advantage of the new opportunities, companies are now setting up shop, or enlarging operations, on the Chinese mainland: Nielsen Media Research, for example, said last year that it intended to expand its television audience measurement service in China.  

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>RMB (bln)</th>
<th>US$ (mln)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>422.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>821.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>1,619.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>2,416.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>3,298.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>4,434.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>5,582.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>6,500.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>7,515.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>71.3</td>
<td>8,614.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>79.5</td>
<td>9,604.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>90.3</td>
<td>10,907.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


To get a better idea of how marketization is playing out in China, I turn now to program placement information of China Central Television (CCTV).

This information shows that all or most of the top-ranked programs in 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000 and 2001 on CCTV-1 were broadcast during prime time, when advertising rates were highest. (See Table 2 for data on the five-year period and Table 3 for information on 2001).

Table 2

CCTV-1 Program Placement Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Top-Ranked Programs Broadcast During Prime Time</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top-Ranked Programs Broadcast Outside Prime Time</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It might be argued that the reason prime time programs have the highest ratings is because they are broadcast in prime time. Evidence suggests the reality is more complicated. It is quite clear that CCTV is learning to play the ratings game, juggling schedules, canceling programs, adding new ones, and revamping formats to generate large revenues. Examples abound. On December 2, 2000,

---

31 I define “prime time” as the period from 19:00 to 20:54. At 20:55, advertising rates go down for all broadcast length categories of advertisements. At 20:01 (in 2001, for example), the rate of a 5 second, ten second and fifteen second commercial on CCTV-1 (40,000, 56,000 and 70,000 RMB, respectively) is lower than that for a 15 second commercial broadcast at 19:52 (90,000 RMB), but the rate for a 20 second or 25 second commercial is higher at 95,000 RMB and 110,000 RMB, respectively. It therefore seems sensible to denote the end of prime time as 20:54. By “top ranked” programs, I am referring to the 30 programs with the highest viewer rates for each year. It is hard to give systematic data on programming changes based on ratings information from the five-year period because some programs are one-day programs which means, by definition, they won’t appear the following year, even if they are part of a series that will. It is also the case that episodes of a drama series may not appear in a prime time slot - or any slot - in a subsequent year not because the series was
CCTV increased the broadcast time of a news investigation program on CCTV-1 from 30 minutes per episode to 40 minutes, and aired the program two times per week - on Saturdays at 9:15 p.m. and on Thursdays at 4:20 p.m. In 2001, when the program won an award and ranked as the 21st most popular for one of its episodes on contraband in Xiamen, a third broadcast slot was added - 6:20 p.m on Sunday. CCTV also changed the Saturday broadcast time to 8:06 p.m, when advertising rates were higher than 9:15 p.m. Another program fared less well. “Between the Cities,” a humor-oriented sports program following a European format that began airing on October 30, 1998, was canceled in less than a year. The program had been broadcast every other Friday on CCTV-5 at 9:30 p.m for ninety minutes. Another program to disappear - this one from CCTV-3’s lineup - was Chat. The program had suffered declining ratings for several years. Friends was also taken off the air, in July 2002, only to reappear after changes had been made. Other programs that underwent changes were Daily Cuisine and Zong Yi Da Guan, both of which had lost viewers. Strong evidence that the company is playing the ratings game also comes from things that the company itself has said. In a company memo, CCTV notes that it “took some measures to strengthen its influential position in the rating market,”

_canceled but simply because it only had a fixed number of episodes, as is typical of drama series in at least some Asian countries. It is also hard, in some cases, to know if a top-ranking program in prime time has been deliberately placed there because of past performance or whether it is a new program that has had an initial success. We can note that staple shows, such as Network News, Spotlight Interview and Science and Technology Survey, which have been among the top-rated programs during the five-year period, remain in prime time broadcast slots._

33 Zhongguo Zhongyang Dianshidai Nianjian 2002 (Beijing: Zhongyang Dianshidai Yanjiushi Bian), 123.
34 Ibid, 61-62.
35 2003-2004 China Media Yearbook & Directory (Hong Kong: CMM Intelligence (HK) Ltd. 2003), 43.
36 Ibid., 42-43.
37 Ibid., 43, 44.
citing the giving of awards to best program hosts and hostesses, the elimination of worst programs and the encouragement of competition between producers as examples. 38 CCTV President Zhao Huayong is also said to have commented, “that, with the exception of the news, any programming failing to bring advertising dollars to support itself is liable to be axed.” 39 One new activity that proved to be a commercial boon was the live coverage of the Iraq War. CCTV’s commercial income is said to have increased by 30% in March, 2003 compared to the year-earlier period as ratings on CCTV-4 skyrocketed. 40 A desire to increase advertising revenue has also been one of the reasons CCTV has set up a 24-hour Mandarin language television news service.

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Date of Broadcast</th>
<th>Starting Time</th>
<th>Reception Rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Live Show: Chinese New Year Celebration</td>
<td>1/23</td>
<td>20:00</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Network News</td>
<td>2/11</td>
<td>19:00</td>
<td>40.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Spotlight Interview</td>
<td>1/23</td>
<td>19:38</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Science and Technology Survey</td>
<td>1/23</td>
<td>19:48</td>
<td>31.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>National Science and Technology Award Ceremony</td>
<td>2/19</td>
<td>19:38</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>TV Drama: Gate of Big House</td>
<td>5/22</td>
<td>20:09</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Live Show: 2001 Lantern Festival Celebration</td>
<td>2/7</td>
<td>20:11</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

39 2003-2004 China Media Yearbook & Directory, 89. This is a quote from the yearbook, not the actual words of Zhao.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Program Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Government Association 9th Meeting Special Report</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>19:53</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Special Program</td>
<td>11/5</td>
<td>19:55</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Live Show: New Olympic Games</td>
<td>7/13</td>
<td>21:00</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Special Program: Going Together All the Way</td>
<td>5/1</td>
<td>20:11</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Special Program: You are a Flag</td>
<td>6/30</td>
<td>20:21</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>TV Drama: Heavy Snow Without Trail</td>
<td>2/16</td>
<td>20:07</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Entertainment General Look</td>
<td>5/19</td>
<td>20:06</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Music Art Stage</td>
<td>4/28</td>
<td>20:05</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Current Report</td>
<td>5/6</td>
<td>21:00</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Live Show: 21st Sports Ceremony Opening</td>
<td>8/22</td>
<td>19:57</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Special Topic: Tibet 50 Years</td>
<td>7/13</td>
<td>20:05</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Special Program: Flying Sky Award Ceremony</td>
<td>4/21</td>
<td>20:11</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>News Investigation: Xiamen Special Big Contraband Event</td>
<td>8/18</td>
<td>20:06</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>TV Drama: Long March</td>
<td>6/20</td>
<td>20:07</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>TV Drama: March Snow</td>
<td>5/30</td>
<td>20:05</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>All Country Lawyers Semi-Final TV Debate</td>
<td>5/13</td>
<td>20:11</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Special Program: Go Into the Campus</td>
<td>5/4</td>
<td>20:11</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Special Program: China Is a Whole Family</td>
<td>1/28</td>
<td>20:01</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Special Program: Century of Spring</td>
<td>1/24</td>
<td>20:11</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>East West South North Middle</td>
<td>5/12</td>
<td>20:06</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Special Program: Loyal Eulogy</td>
<td>1/25</td>
<td>20:11</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Special Program: Life Sunshine</td>
<td>4/20</td>
<td>21:15</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another area where change is occurring is ownership. The Chinese media are typically described as “state-owned,” and this, for the most part, is true. But around the edges, and, in some cases, at the very core of what is happening, major changes are occurring that are having a dramatic impact on the media environment. These changes can be summed up under three different headings - stock market listings, foreign investment, and content provision. I consider each in turn.

The first area is stock market listings. Privatization of media assets has been very slow to come to China, but in some areas, it is a major form of funds procurement, and it is becoming increasingly acceptable. One group of companies with private investors are Internet service providers. China.com, Sina.com, Sohu.com and Netease.com are all listed on the U.S. Nasdaq. Highly popular newspaper *Beijing Youth Daily* is also eyeing a stock market listing for its business operations, as is newspaper media giant Guangzhou Daily Group. Even CCTV is experimenting with spin-offs of non-broadcasting parts of its business. Going beyond this - publicly listing editorial operations - is still not permitted for newspapers, magazines or broadcasters. A second way private money is entering the Chinese media industry is through foreign investment. Foreigners are allowed to invest in book, magazine and newspaper retail distribution and various aspects of the film industry, such as production, technology, film screening and cinema renovation. They have also been given the green light to invest in pay television. In general, the movement is towards liberalization of foreign investment regulations. A third way in which private money is entering the industry is
through various contractual arrangements. These arrangements, which Zhao describes as a “surrogate for private ownership,” have effected a number of media sectors, including publishing and radio. In the publishing area, Pei writes, that “The private entrepreneurs capitalized on the new arrangements by taking over virtually all the functions of the publishing houses, becoming, in effect, *de facto*, though unlicensed publishers. They found authors, translators, or even pirated materials, and negotiated a nominal cooperative arrangement with publishing houses, paying a fixed fee or a share of proceeds for the use of government-issued book numbers or magazine identification numbers…” Foreigners have also gotten into the act, through magazine consulting and copyright transfer agreements and through “consulting arrangements” in the radio broadcasting industry.

The structure of the Chinese media industry is also changing. With the introduction of reforms, many more companies have entered the media industry. This has been especially pronounced in the print media sector, as Table 4 shows.

### Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Magazines</th>
<th>Books (Titles)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>930</td>
<td>14,987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>2191</td>
<td>21,621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>1445</td>
<td>4705</td>
<td>45,603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>1576</td>
<td>6078</td>
<td>74,973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>1444</td>
<td>5751</td>
<td>80,224</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

41 Zhao, *Media, Market and Democracy in China*, 186.
42 Pei, *From Reform to Revolution*, 158.
1991  1524  6056  89,615
1992  1657  6486  92,148
1993  1788  7011  96,761
1994  1953  7325  103,836
1995  2089  7583  101,381
1996  2163  7916  112,813
1997  2149  7918  120,106
1998  2053  7999  130,613
1999  2038  8187  141,831
2000  2007  8725  143,376
2001  2111  8889  154,526
2002  2137  9029  170,962

Source: *China Statistical Yearbook 2003*

Periodically, companies have been driven to closure as the new commercial imperatives take their toll. One event that drove a number of publications out of business was the end of mandatory subscriptions for villages to party and government-run publications. 

Linear growth has not been apparent in the television and radio industries. While the number of radio and television companies initially grew, as Table 5 reveals, it then fell back. The number of film production studios also has declined in recent years. One explanation comes from Pei, who was writing before the peak:

The explanation for this striking difference between the print media and the electronic and screen media was the varying degree of penetration by market forces in these sectors. The most prominent contrast between the print media and the electronic and screen media lay in the relatively high entry barrier for the latter. Generally speaking, entry barriers to potential competitors consist of three elements: initial capital requirements, technological threshold and licensing procedures. 

---

44 Pei, *From Reform to Revolution*, 164
Table 5

Number of Radio Stations, Television Stations and Film Studios in China

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Radio Stations</th>
<th>Television Stations</th>
<th>Feature Film Studios</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>1202</td>
<td>837</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Another thing that has happened in China’s media industry in recent years that has caused consolidation is the formation of media groups. These groups, listed in Table 6, represent an attempt by the government to grow media giants that can take on conglomerates from overseas in the WTO era. They are also are part of an effort by the Chinese government to attempt to retain control over the media industry.

Table 6

Chinese Media Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Group</th>
<th>Date of Establishment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Radio, Film and TV Groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China Media Group</td>
<td>December 2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beijing Media &amp; Culture Group</td>
<td>May 2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changsha Radio &amp; TV Group</td>
<td>January 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hangzhou Radio &amp; TV Group</td>
<td>September 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan Radio, Film and TV Group</td>
<td>December 2000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

45 The list is not exhaustive. Groups exist in other provinces or cities, including Guangdong and Dalian.
Jiangsu Broadcasting System June 2001
Nanjing Radio & TV Group December 2002
Ningbo Radio & TV Group March 2003
Shandong Broadcasting System January 2001
Shanghai Media and Entertainment Group April 2001
Tianjin Radio, Film & TV Group October 2002
Zhejiang Radio, Film & TV Group December 2001

Newspaper Groups 46

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper Group</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anhui Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>May 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beijing Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>March 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changchun Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>September 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changjiang Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>June 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changsha Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>September 2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chengdu Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>September 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chongqing Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>October 2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dazhong Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>September 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>June 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian Daily Newspaper Industry Group</td>
<td>August 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gansu Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>October 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangming Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>June 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangzhou Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>January 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hainan Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>May 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hangzhou Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>November 2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harbin Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>December 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebei Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>September 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heilongjiang Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>December 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>December 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubei Daily Newspaper Industry Group</td>
<td>July 2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>October 2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilin Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>October 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinan Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>October 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liaoning Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>November 2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberation Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>October 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanjing Daily Newspaper</td>
<td>December 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ningbo Daily Newspaper Industry Group</td>
<td>August 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qingdao Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>June 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>November 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shenyang Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>December 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shenzhen Special Zone Newspaper Group</td>
<td>November 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sichuan Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>November 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>May 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tianjin Daily Newspaper Group</td>
<td>August 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wenhui Xinmin Newspaper Group</td>
<td>July 1998</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

46 Another group is China Publishing Group, the country’s biggest in the publishing field.
It is not entirely clear what impact the conglomerate structure will have on media content. To the extent that these organizations benefit from economies of scale (there is also evidence that they end up subsidizing weaker members in the group), they would have more resources for financing new content, of which there is said to be a shortage in China today from domestic sources. It could also be that competition between similar companies within the same group reduces product differentiation, as one writer suggests.\(^{47}\) Still another possibility is that the conglomerates could end up less independent in their viewpoint than would be the case under a more decentralized media structure. Although the following comment does not apply directly to China, it may suggest the type of situation that could develop: “In country after country [in Asia], new media barons have allied with business, industrial, political, and military powers; instead of expressing different perspectives and acting as a watchdog of the government, they lend continued support to power brokers and the status quo by promoting and protecting vested interests.”\(^{48}\) This is an area in need of systematic study.\(^{49}\)

One final issue to touch on is mergers and acquisitions. This is an area where

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\(^{49}\) There has been very little written about this important topic. One of the few pieces is by Zhao, “From Commercialization to Conglomeration.”
a great deal has happened in recent years, with a major restructuring of the Chinese media industry. Expansion strategies employed have fallen into each of the three categories mentioned earlier - horizontal, vertical and diagonal. The creation of media conglomerates has led to a combining of media assets of companies of the same type, and in some instances, where a market need has been identified, new subsidiary units have been set up. An example of this is Xinhua News Agency’s creation of Xinhua Financial Network, a dedicated business news provider set up with foreign investment.\(^{50}\) Vertical expansion has also occurred. An example of this would be newspapers setting up their own distribution networks in order to bypass the postal system. Diagonal expansion has also happened. Examples of this would be Guangzhou Daily Group becoming involved in real estate\(^{51}\) and Hunan TV & Broadcast Co. putting a variety of media under one roof.\(^{52}\) Interest in cross-media expansion has increased in recent years as government officials have expressed support for such activity and as technological trends have made such behavior seem more logical. The impact of different expansion strategies on media content is again not entirely clear. There could be synergies from mergers between companies of the same type, though a stronger company merging with a weaker company may simply harm the stronger company. Companies may also benefit from cost savings and greater efficiencies as is often seen in the case of mergers. Companies may also overdiversify, going into areas in which they are poorly equipped. An example would be Hunan


Media and Entertainment Group, which suffered losses from new business expansion after earlier gains. Some of these outcomes could boost media content as more resources would be available to produce it; others could have the opposite effect. In so far as media conglomerates remain state property, and operate under the watchful eye of party officials and regulatory agencies, limits may be placed on how independent they can become.

Government regulation and policy is another major determinant of a country’s media environment. In regards to marketization, what matters in China is simply the fact that legislation is being created for the operation of a more predictable, orderly and transparent media industry. As one document puts it, “The rule of law concept contains certain tenets that are essential components of an enabling environment for the development of effective, independent media, regardless of the substantive legal norms adopted in a legal system and regardless of the specific institutional structure within which those rules exist.” The content of law, however, does count, and here the trend in most Chinese media sectors is in the direction of liberalization. To take one example, a rash of new film industry regulations - Interim Provisions on Approval of Projects for Screenplays (or Their Synopses) for Shooting and Censorship of Films, Provisions on Administration of Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Film Production, Interim Provisions on Qualifications for Access to Business of Production, Distribution and Projection of Films, and Interim Provisions on Foreign-Funded Cinemas - all point to a more liberal media environment. There is, however, also a “non-marketization” aspect

of government regulation in which laws are used simply as a tool of control. One writer refers to the “public security orientation” of Chinese law, while another writes: “Laws and regulations are enacted explicitly to achieve the policy objectives of the regime.” China’s media environment, then, is subjected to two types of forces, a marketizing one and a non-marketizing one. This has given rise to the notion of China as being “between the party line and the bottom line.” At times, these forces may move in opposite directions, creating various “contradictions, tensions and ambiguities.” Here, I simply wish to register my recognition of the importance of government as a force for producing media outcomes. This paper focuses of the role of marketization in producing change, but a fuller analysis would also include an important role for the Chinese state, not only as an agent of economic reform, but also as an agent blocking the development of a more free and independent press.

Consequences

In the introduction of this paper, I mentioned a number of ways in which the Chinese media environment, and the images and ideas to which Chinese people are exposed, is changing. These changes have been affecting media programming, freedom for reporters and the specific media that people are accessing for their information and entertainment needs. In this section, I will look at some of these

58 Zhao, Media, Market and Democracy in China.
59 Ibid., 2.
changes more systematically, presenting data that shows that China is in fact evolving away from a “propaganda state” towards a more liberal media environment. To be sure, there are still propaganda elements in the state-owned media, but the symbolic environment to which Chinese people are exposed is considerably broader than that during the pre-marketization period.

An indication that the Chinese media environment is changing comes from Freedom House’s freedom of the press survey. In its 2004 survey, which covered 2003, China scored an “80,” the same level as the previous four years but an improvement over its score of “89” for 1993, the first year for which Freedom House began publishing specific numerical scores. The reason for the improvement was a greater degree of information coming into the country, helped by the Internet, the ability of reporters to report on a wider range of issues, such as local corruption, and the inclusion of Hong Kong in its China score. (In the Freedom House Survey, “100 indicates the least amount of press freedom, “0” the most. A score of 0-30 gives a country a “free” status, 31-60, a “partly free” status, and 61-100, a “not free” status. Scores are determined by examining the legal environment, the political environment and the economic environment of the media. The economic environment includes such things as the structure and concentration of ownership and activities by the state in regard to advertising and subsidies.) The Freedom House survey is sometimes criticized for understating the amount of press freedom in China. That makes it all the more impressive that

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evidence of change is contained in the survey.

Content Analysis To get an idea of what kinds of stories are appearing in the Chinese press, I did a content analysis of four Chinese media English-language websites for the month of June 2004. The websites were those of People’s Daily, the Chinese Communist Party’s newspaper; China Daily, a state-owned newspaper; Xinhua News Agency, China’s official electronic news service; and China Internet Information Center, an organization that produces a government authorized portal site, www.china.org.cn. 63 Since these websites are all relatively new, it is not possible to do an historical analysis going back to the pre-marketization period (prior to 1978 or so.) Such an analysis would provide a more proper comparative perspective, and could be done in the case of newspapers. The results of my study could be biased by the fact that I am analyzing Internet websites (a newer media whose users include many young people), the fact that the websites are in English (meaning that they could be geared more toward foreigners), and the period in which my analysis was done (2004, prior to the 2008 Beijing Olympics, when China wants to put on a good face to the rest of the world.) The websites are all government-owned, or connected to government-owned publications or organizations, which might indicate a conservative bias. This conservative bias, however, could prove illuminating, because if evidence of media liberalization can be found on government websites, all the more reason

for thinking that it could be found in more independent media. With these caveats in mind, I present my findings. 64

One finding is that there are a large number of stories related to crime. In most cases, the government or authorities are behaving in a pro-active or aggressive way, targeting, nabbing, busting, smashing, fighting, jailing and even executing perpetrators of crimes. Here are a few examples of story headlines.

250 Serial Murder Cases Cracked (China.org.cn)
Police Seize Heroin in Yunnan (China.org.cn)
Graft Reporting Center Recovers US$360 Million in 16 Years (China.org.cn)
5 Arrested in Xian Lottery Scam (Xinhua)
2 Jailed for Male Prostitution (Xinhua)
52 Firms Shut Down for River Pollution (Xinhua)
Real Estate Tycoon Jailed for Fraud (People’s Daily)
College Student Killer Executed (China.org.cn)
Chinese Pornographic Website: Judgment Day (China Daily)

What is interesting about these stories - besides the fact that they contain political messages - is simply the acknowledgement that so many problems exist in China, an idea which points to a second major theme - the candid reporting of social problems. Examples of these kinds of articles are:

AIDS Info Shared with Sex Dealers (China.org.cn)
Education System Has Failed to Guide Students (China.org.cn)
Husbands Beating Wives to Be Blacklisted (China.org.cn)
China Faces Up to Power Shortage (Xinhua)
Laws Under Discussion to Target Neglected Officials (Xinhua)
China Has 740,000 Drug Addicts: Police (People’s Daily)
Sichuan Tackles River Pollution (China Daily)

A huge number of articles on accidents or disasters appear. A few examples of

64 The web pages that I have examined are those related to China news, foreign news and business news. I have not looked at sports or culture-related web pages, the latter of which may be an important area of change. Presenting findings statistically (for example, showing articles of a particular type as a percentage of total number of articles) is difficult because articles may remain on a website for a number of days and it is hard to know what the total number of articles is. Nevertheless an examination of these websites suggests certain clear themes or types of articles.
this area:

House Explosion Kills Seven (China.org.cn)
Road Accidents Kill 8,198 Lives in May (China.org.cn)
Number of Poisoned Villagers in Liaoning Climbs to 120 (Xinhua)
Two Female Bodies Recovered at Boat Capsize Site in Central China (People’s Daily)
Firecracker Mill Blast Kills Many in East China (China Daily)

Economic reform stories are also prominent. These include:

China Liberalizes Grain Trading Prices (China.org.cn)
China Wins Praise for Bold Reforms at APEC Meeting (China.org.cn)
China Approves Two More Private Airlines (China.org.cn.)
Shanghai To Streamline Licensing (Xinhua)
China to Liberalize Foreign Trade July 1 (Xinhua)
Reform in Air Cargo Status on Horizon (People’s Daily)
China to Further Deepen Tax Reform (People’s Daily)
Private Capital Dabbles in Public Service Sector (China Daily)
Minister: China Deserves Market Economy Status (China Daily)

Surprisingly, there are few stories touting China’s accomplishments or breast-beating nationalism kind of stories (in other periods, such as during the Hainan plane incident with the U.S. or the U.S. bombing of the Chinese Yugoslav Embassy, there were probably lots of stories of the latter type). Among the few I could find were:

Great Achievements Made in Antarctic Expeditions: Hu (Xinhua)
College Students Optimistic About People-Loving Govn’t (People’s Daily)
Is it Foolish for Japan to Compete with China? (People’s Daily)

On foreign policy issues, stories generally showed moderation except when China seemed to be the target of criticism (there were also a few stories criticizing U.S. policy):

History of Flying Tiger Gives More Reasons to Develop Sino-U.S. Ties (People’s Daily)
China’s Oil Strategy Not Conflicting With the U.S. Interest (People’s Daily)
U.S. Report on China’s Military Forces “Ill-Motivated” (Xinhua)
U.S. Still Largest Arms Dealer (People’s Daily)
U.S. Has No Excuse for Detaining Diplomats (China Daily)

As expected, there were also a number of stories criticizing Taiwan, though even here moderation sometimes found its way onto websites:

Terrorism Part of Taiwan Separatist Agenda (China.org.cn)
Taiwan’s Military Build-Up Sabotaging Peace (China Daily)
Chinese Mainland Market Open to Taiwan: Official (Xinhua)
Legal Aid Provided for Taiwan Firms (China.org.cn)

One other thing noticeable in this analysis is that there is very little direct criticism of the Chinese government. About the only items I could find in which the government was cast in a negative light or portrayed guilty of wrongdoing were:

Govt. Loses Hepatitis B Discrimination Case (China.org.cn)
Govt. Pays Residents for Wrongful Arrest (China.org.cn)

Newspapers Change in the Chinese media environment, in the area of consumer demand, is suggested by data on advertising revenue on newspapers and shown by data on newspaper print runs. (See Tables 7 and 8). Important to note about Table 7 is that the official Chinese Communist Paper newspapers that appeared in 1988 as the biggest advertising generators did not appear in the top ten in 2002. The decline of the party papers is brought home with more force by the data in Table 8, which show that the number of copies of them printed has declined sharply over the last decade and a half while other papers have seen large increases. The rise of the metropolitan newspapers is well-known. As one writer puts it, “Since the early 1990s, metropolitan newspapers (dushibao) have become the most popular media in urban areas. With less ideological color, the metropolitan newspapers pay close attention to the relevant events and policies
that affect everyday life in the urban areas.” 65 One paper that has done extremely well is *Guangzhou Daily*. The paper is noted for having big street sales and a high private subscription rate. Increasing its popularity has been “a more readable fare of news, sports and entertainment.” 66

Table 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>1988 Mln Yuan</th>
<th>2002 Mln Yuan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Xinhua Daily</em></td>
<td>84.5</td>
<td>1,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>People’s Daily</em></td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>1,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Liberation Daily</em></td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>1,163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Wenhui Daily</em></td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>1,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Yangcheng Evening News</em></td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Guangzhou Daily</em></td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Beijing Daily</em></td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Guangming Daily</em></td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Xinmin Evening News</em></td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Nanfang Daily</em></td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Shenzhen Special Zone Daily</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Beijing Evening News</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Yangzi Evening News</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Nanfang City News</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>China Securities Journal</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Shanghai Securities News</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Yangzi Evening News</em></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Party-related papers 67


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67 Classifying Chinese newspapers is not such an easy thing to do. The CIA study by Todd Hazelbarth, *The Chinese Media: More Autonomous and Diverse – Within Limits*, published in 1997, lists only *Xinhua Daily*, *People’s Daily*, *Guangming Daily* and *Economic Daily* as official Communist Party newspapers, but Pei also lists *Beijing Daily* and *Nanfang Daily* as party papers in a list of the ten largest party dailies for 1981 (161). He Qinglian, in “Media Control in China,” China Rights Forum 2 (2004) also describes *Liberation Daily* as a “party-sponsored paper,” along with *Nanfang Daily* (23). More independent newspapers, such as *Beijing Youth News*, may also carry party propaganda, blurring the line between party and non-party papers.
Table 8

Average Daily Publishing Runs for Major Chinese Newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Official Communist Party Papers</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Xinhua Daily</em></td>
<td>664,000</td>
<td>536,000</td>
<td>420,100</td>
<td>342,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>People’s Daily</em></td>
<td>4,500,000</td>
<td>2,171,736</td>
<td>1,924,700</td>
<td>1,728,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Guangming Daily</em></td>
<td>580,000</td>
<td>312,883</td>
<td>323,700</td>
<td>276,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Economic Daily</em></td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>350,000</td>
<td>513,200</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Nanfang Daily</em></td>
<td>840,000</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>792,400</td>
<td>750,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trade Union Paper</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Workers Daily</em></td>
<td>2,140,000</td>
<td>1,060,000</td>
<td>566,100</td>
<td>360,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Others</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Beijing Youth Daily</em></td>
<td>180,000</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>666,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Beijing Evening News</em></td>
<td>--</td>
<td>628,482</td>
<td>715,500</td>
<td>950,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Guangzhou Daily</em></td>
<td>340,000</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1,680,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Film Imports Another indication of media change in China is found in the film industry. Added to the basket of media products that Chinese can choose from are foreign films, which were banned during the Mao years and only from 1994 were being released again. One thing to note about Table 9 is that 16, or 40% of the 40 Motion Picture Association films released in China from 1994 to 2000 were rated “R.” This may not mean much since Chinese film importers

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68 This figure is a latest circulation figure given in 2003-2004 China Media Yearbook & Directory.

69 Information for some newspapers for some years may be unavailable due to changes in yearbook formats.

70 The Motion Picture Association of America’s (MPAA’s) rating system has five categories: “G”: General Audience, All Ages Admitted; “PG”: Parental Guidance Suggested, Some material may not be suitable for children; “PG-13”: Parents Strongly Cautioned, Some material may be inappropriate for
had more “R” rated films to choose from: of the 4185 MPAA films released during the period, 2787, or 67%, were rated “R”. 71 Furthermore, China has strict film censorship regulations. As Article 26 of the Regulations for the Administration of Films stipulates, “Upon completing the procedures for the temporary import of films, a film import unit shall submit the films in question to the film censorship body for examination.” 72 What the Chinese are watching in theaters, then, may not be the same as what American moviegoers are watching. Nevertheless, what matters is simply the fact that foreign films are being shown in China, and modified or not, many of the themes they deal with, or contain, are not so not lighthearted - extra-marital affairs (True Lies), terrorism (Speed, Broken Arrow), an epidemic virus (Outbreak), computer hacking (Speed 2: Cruise Control), war (Saving Private Ryan), corruption (Enemy of the State) and serial killing (Bone Collector), to give a few examples. It should also be noted that the foreign films Chinese see in movie theaters are only a small percentage of the overall number of films they see - the Motion Picture Association of America complains that China has a piracy rate of 95%, and that member companies lose large amounts of money as a result. 73 One final point to note is that China does not have a movie rating system of its own. However, it is expected to adopt one, an action that could expand the range of permissible content by clearly designating target markets while at the same time proving commercially beneficial. 74

72 "Regulation for the Administration of Films," Promulgated on December 25, 2001 by the State Council, Contained in China’s Media & Entertainment Law (TransAsia Publishing Ltd., 2003), 183.
73 Antipiracy Statement on MPAA website.
Table 9

Motion Picture Association Films Released in China

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>MPA Rating</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Fugitive</td>
<td>PG-13</td>
<td>1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. True Lies</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Forrest Gump</td>
<td>PG-13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Lion King</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Speed</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bad Boy</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Die Hard 3</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Outbreak</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. A Walk in the Clouds</td>
<td>PG-13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bridges of Madison County</td>
<td>PG-13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Broken Arrow</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Toy Story</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Water World</td>
<td>PG-13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Jumanji</td>
<td>PG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Twister</td>
<td>PG-13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. The Rock</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sabrina</td>
<td>PG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Eraser</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Dante’s Peak</td>
<td>PG-13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Space Jam</td>
<td>PG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Lost World</td>
<td>PG-13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Speed 2</td>
<td>PG-13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Daylight</td>
<td>PG-13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Titanic</td>
<td>PG-13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Home Alone 3</td>
<td>PG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Deep Impact</td>
<td>PG-13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Saving Private Ryan</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Mulan G 1999
2. Enemy of the State R

1. Matrix R 2000
2. Stuart Little PG
3. Double Jeopardy R
4. General’s Daughter R
5. Mickey Blue Eyes PG-13
6. Mission to Mars R
7. Bone Collector R

Source: Motion Picture Association

These are a few examples of how Chinese media content, and choices to consumers, are being expanded. Many other examples could be given - new foreign satellite channels (still officially restricted in who can receive them), racy call-in radio talk shows, spiced-up weekend editions of newspapers, and colorful magazines put out by private entrepreneurs. The changes are happening in nearly all sub-sectors of the Chinese media. \(^{75}\)

Important to underscore here is that changes are occurring because of changes in explanatory variables. Operating in the dual product market, media organizations now have to be responsive to consumer demand and advertisers’ interests, something that was not the case during the era of government and party subsidies. In the area of consumer preferences, to give one further example, we see cinema operators heavy loading foreign films during peak hours because these are most popular, accounting for 60-70% of total box office revenues even

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\(^{75}\) One of the few areas where regulations are being tightened is the Internet. Access to some websites has been blocked, online chatrooms have come under more control and Internet bars have faced greater restrictions. Still, the number of Internet users in China is steadily growing (it had reached 87 million by June 30, 2004, according to China Internet Network Information Center), and people are gaining access to new ideas and information via this medium. Other areas also fall prey to periodic government crackdowns, slowing, but not stopping, the general liberalization of the media industry.
though they make up only one-third of the films released in China each year. The quest for advertising revenue is also a strong motivator, pushing, as we have seen, organizations like CCTV to place highly-rated programs in prime time slots, when advertising rates are highest. The inflow of private money, which in an earlier era did not exist in the Chinese media industry, or at least not in a big way, is also causing change, resulting in the publication of semi-legal tabloid newspapers, the sale of banned satellite dishes and the production of pornographic materials, to name a few changes. Changes in market structure are also having an impact, leading to an increase in the sheer volume of information and media entertainment goods as more newspapers, magazines, and other media organizations are set up. Barriers to entry now sometimes have more to do with capital and technical requirements than with actual government regulations. The liberalization of government regulations has made possible the entry of new players onto the Chinese media scene, both media companies from abroad and entrepreneurs at home. The basket of media products today is not only bigger than during the pre-reform period, it also contains new symbolic forms, everything from foreign films to live news reports.

**Implications for Democracy**

One final issue to consider is the impact that marketization will have on China’s prospects for democracy. Will commercialization help democracy, harm it or not make much difference? It may be that how a country evolves politically is not just dependent on the presence or absence of market forces, but also a variety

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76 Ibid., 68.
77 Pei, *From Reform to Revolution*, 160, 162, 171.
of context-specific factors, such as culture, history and so on. In that case, an adequate theory would have to integrate cross-culturally valid principles of economics with factors that are specific to a country.

One problem in discussing these issues in regard to China is that there is a short supply of data on Chinese democratization, even though a huge amount has been written on this topic. Unless there is some way of measuring democratization, it is hard to say whether a country is making progress in this area. One organization that does do something like democracy assessments, though it doesn’t label them as such, is Freedom House. Freedom House publishes an annual survey of political rights and civil liberties in countries around the world. One is hesitant to use such data, however, as it is sometimes said to inadequately account for changes that have occurred in a country. In the case of China, for example, the country has received the lowest score of “7” for political rights since the November 1988-December 1989 period, when a downgrade occurred, and scored only slightly better for civil liberties with a score of “6” since 1998.  

(In the Freedom House Survey, “1” represents the most amount of political rights and civil liberties and “7” the least.)

Another problem is that there is no agreement about what impact commercial incentives for media producers, or corporations in general, have on democratic politics. Some scholars argue that usage of markets, or introduction of market reforms, contributes to the development of a civil society, produces legal institutions, fosters democratic learning and helps people more easily articulate

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their political interests. Others, however, see market mechanisms as bad for democracy, even incompatible with it. These people argue that markets result in negative externalities, failing to supply, or underdelivering, information needed for making informed political choices, instead providing tawdry entertainment or sensationalist reporting needed for building audiences. A typical statement is this:

Today…friends of ‘liberty of the press’ must recognize that communications markets restrict freedom of communication by generating barriers to entry, monopoly and restrictions upon choice, and by shifting the prevailing definition of information from that of a public good to that of a private appropriable commodity. In short, it must be concluded that there is a structural contradiction between freedom of communication and unlimited freedom of the market, and that the market liberal ideology of freedom of individual choice in the marketplace of opinions is in fact a justification of the privileging of corporate speech and of giving more choice to investors than to citizens.

In some cases, the problem is not seen as the market as such, but rather the fact that competitive markets often don’t exist. It follows that the task is to “create ‘real economists’ markets, not just to endure business markets with monopolies and oligopolies.”

Still another argument is that the problem lies with citizens themselves, who fail to demand the information they need for making informed political choices. According to one version of this argument:

People remain rationally ignorant about the details of public policy because they have a low probability of influencing the course of events. Reporters and editors do not invest in

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learning about public affairs since the labor market provides little reward for these skills. News about government will be underprovided and underconsumed as these trends are noted and bemoaned.  

In effect, what this means is that ultimately consumers are gatekeepers of the news. Whether a news product is offered or not will depend, in large measure, on whether it is demanded.

Which of these theories is correct can be debated, but it seems that all of them contain some element of truth - and this is relevant to China. It does seem that the introduction of markets will help people learn about democracy by giving them the opportunity to make choices, if only in the economic sphere. It also seems true that media organizations will have to be sensitive to the interests of business organizations on whom they rely for advertising revenue (Zhao goes so far as to say that they have already “turned themselves into mouthpieces and instruments of domestic and international businesses”  

Finally, it seems true that media providers will have to take their cues partly from consumers in the new commercialized environment. If their products are not demanded, they will lose revenues directly from consumers and also from advertisers, who either pull their ads or demand lower rates.

As important as marketization is, other factors may also bear on China’s prospects for democracy. These include past and present institutional arrangements throughout the society, cultural factors and other things specific to China, such as the country’s recent membership in the World Trade Organization. In China’s case, the role of the government is also extremely important as a shaper of media

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84 Hamilton, *All the News That’s Fit to Sell*, 2.
outcomes, as is true in other countries. What should be stressed, then, is that marketization will not automatically lead to democracy. To predict political outcomes, it is necessary to see how economic factors combine with those which are not economic, and to understand how marketization is mediated by factors specific to an environment.

Conclusion

The major finding of this paper is that the emergence of a new media economics in China is having an impact on the basket of media products supplied in the country. This basket is reflective of consumer demand and advertising interests, and is influenced by an increase in the amount of private capital in the industry, more opportunities for entrepreneurial activity and the creation of media legislation, which increases predictability and helps attract foreign investment. The Chinese government still plays an important role in influencing media content, but gone are the days of highly intrusive micro-management. Now, media providers are economically self-sufficient, responsible for their own profits and losses. This has given them more autonomy, and increased - though not severed - their independence from the state.

Future research might focus on several areas – media conglomerates, the impact of foreign companies on the Chinese market, the growth of business news and the ways in which media change might lead to democratization. There has been little research on media conglomerates, perhaps not surprising given the fact that most of these groups have only been established within the last few years. It would be productive to study in more detail their organizational structure, and to
try to discern more clearly both the motivations of the Chinese government for orchestrating their formation and what impact they may have on media industry competition. The role of foreign companies in the Chinese market is also in need of more systematic study. In teaming up with Chinese companies in co-production deals and in investing resources in the establishment of joint ventures, it would appear that they are having a significant impact on the evolution of China’s media industry. A third area to look at is the growth of business news. Business news is a major sub-sector of the news industry, and is an area where foreign companies have been conspicuous in their presence. Worth examining are the kinds of deals that have been struck, and why this is an area where foreign companies have arguably been especially welcome. A last topic to consider is democratization. Of importance here is the role that marketization may have on political change in China - and elsewhere. Ideally, one wants a theory of media change that applies to all countries. What is needed in this regard is detailed study of how marketization is playing out in countries making the transition from communism (if, in fact, marketization is what is happening), and the impact that this is having on political evolution. This is a task that requires a coordinated effort of researchers from around the world. 86 I hope to have shed a little light on how the process is happening in China.

Framing the Candidates: How President Bush and Senator Kerry Were Portrayed During Campaign 2004

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ABSTRACT

Because many Americans form their impressions of candidates from political advertising, it’s important to understand how candidates present themselves and their opponents in TV ads. A qualitative frame analysis was conducted on 118 ads from the 2004 George W. Bush and John F. Kerry campaigns to examine what frames, or dominant themes, were used to establish a portrait of the presidential contenders. Findings indicate that Bush’s ads portrayed the president as a consistent leader in times of change who shares common values with voters. Kerry’s ads, however, failed to provide a clear frame, opting instead to show Kerry in a variety of roles.

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"A lot of people still don’t really know who I am," Massachusetts Senator John F. Kerry told reporters in spring 2004, just as he emerged as the Democratic nominee and began the general election campaign in earnest (Jackson, 2004). Like all presidential candidates, Kerry was obligated to establish a positive and consistent portrait of himself to voters so they would get to know him. To do this, his campaign created more than 60 TV ads during the 2004 general election. President George W. Bush created more than 50 TV ads. Both candidates spent more than $200 million during the general election to broadcast these ads (Brandweek, 2004).

Their hope with this record ad spending was to establish a clear and positive portrait of themselves as well as a negative portrait of their opponent that would stick with voters. To make sure their ads were having the right effect on voters, the campaigns used focus groups and surveys to market test the ads’ images and issues. Political consultants even enlisted some voters to undergo brain scans, called functional magnetic resonance imaging (or fMRI), while they watched political ads to test the ads’ effectiveness on both a conscious and unconscious level (Elias, 2004).

Political candidates go to great lengths to create, test, and broadcast their ads because research shows that many voters use TV ads to form their impression of political candidates (Kahn & Greer, 1994; Kaid, 1997). Furthermore, that impression is often changeable up to election day. Exit polls from the 2004 presidential race indicate that more than 20 percent of those who cast a ballot for president had not made their choice...
until the last month of the campaign (Edison/Mitofsky, 2004). Almost 10 percent of those from the exit poll decided whom to vote for in the final three days of the race.

Because so many Americans form their impressions of candidates from TV ads, it’s important to understand what impressions are being created in those ads. In other words, what images and issues do candidates use to establish a self-portrait? How clear and consistent are they in the images and issues they choose? How are those images and issues framed to portray themselves -- and their opponent -- to voters? How does that portrayal speak to the voting demographic being targeted? The present study, which includes a qualitative frame analysis of more than 100 TV ads from Bush and Kerry, provides answers to these questions.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Communications research has found that campaign ads are useful to study because the spots can substantially affect the candidate’s image in the viewer’s mind (Cundy, 1986, 1990; Kahn & Greer, 1994; Kaid, 1997; Scammell, 1990). Political commercials can produce high voting intent as well as positive attitudes toward the candidates, their abilities, and their characters (Thorson, Christ, & Caywood, 1991).

Consistency in a candidate’s image and views is also important to maintain in ads and other forms of communication. Presidential candidates who create and retain a consistent image of themselves -- and their opponent -- fare better than those candidates who produce multiple images (Devlin, 1994). Presidential incumbents also find success by maintaining a consistent portrait of themselves and their policies. Sloan (1996) argues that much of President Reagan’s reputation as “the great communicator” can be directly
attributed to the consistency and clear choices found in his speeches: “In analyzing Reagan’s speeches through the years, one is struck by how little they change over time…. He uses simple sentences and stark binary choices (slavery or freedom) to convey his message” (p. 796).

Political science literature also contends that there is consistency in the public’s “climate of expectations” for what constitutes a legitimate president or presidential candidate (Barber, 1977; Herzik & Dodson, 1982). Those expectations revolve around traits of personality, leadership, and individual virtue. Candidates can enhance their professional or personal qualifications by using means of persuasion such as logos, ethos, and pathos. First described by Aristotle, logos appeals are designed to win over an audience with logical, or issue-based, appeals. Ethos appeals, which are more image-based, show the positive character traits of a candidate, and pathos appeals play upon the emotions of the audience (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1997). However, these means of persuasion are not completely separate. Political advertising is often most effective when an ad’s message combines logical information with emotion appeal (Richardson, 2002).

The need for a president or a presidential candidate to appeal to voters by playing up their personal character also derives from the current political climate. During the last 30 years, presidents have had to appeal to an electorate that is less politically partisan (Oppenheimer, 1996; Cook, 1994) and less likely to vote, (Droppelt & Shearer, 1999) while at the same time deal with a Congress that is increasingly more ideologically divided (Oldfield & Wildavsky, 1989). One way that candidates appeal for the votes of a less partisan electorate is to show in their TV ads that they personally mirror the society they wish to represent.
Much research has been done on campaign advertising to understand whether political spots mostly convey pleasing images of the candidate to viewers or whether the ads inform voters of the issues. Garramone (1986) looked at how political ads can create a favorable candidate image with voters. She classified political ads as either “issue” or “image” ads. Issue ads have certain distinct characteristics: They spend more time outlining the candidate’s policy stands, show the candidate speaking directly to voters in a “talking head ad,” use simpler production techniques and use language that is more specific. Image ads, on the other hand: spend more time playing up the candidate’s personal qualities, show the candidate in action with family or supporters, use more complex production techniques, and use language that is more general, which allows for more inferences to be made by the viewer. Other researchers looking at image and issue ads have used similar definitions (Thorson, Christ, & Caywood, 1991; Kaid, Chanlor & Hovind, 1992).

More recently, political communication scholars have stopped looking at image and issue appeals as merely separate groups. Richardson (2002) notes that political ads are often a combination of image and issue information. Furthermore, Richardson argues that political ads work best when they combine the logical appeals found in issue information with the emotional appeals often found in image information. Therefore, what researchers should examine are the ways in which image and issue appeals connect in advertising to create a consistent and compelling portrait of a candidate.

Frame analysis is one technique that researchers have used to understand how images and issues can unite around a central theme or storyline (Parmelee, 2002). That central storyline, with all its visual and verbal elements and image and issue appeals, has
the power to paint a portrait in the minds of voters of who the candidate is and who their opponent is. Furthermore, that portrait tends to be most powerful when it is clear, consistent, and speaks to the voting demographic being targeted.

UNDERSTANDING FRAMING

Framing theory and frame analysis can aid in discovering how the visual and verbal elements contained in political advertising can validate or invalidate a presidential candidate. Researchers have defined framing as a “schemata of interpretation” (Goffman, 1974) or a process through which information is organized around a central “story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987). This story line, which includes visual and verbal elements, is constructed by “symbol handlers,” such as journalists or advertisers (Gitlin, 1980). Seen from this perspective, framing in political advertising allows campaigns to organize their issue, image, visual, and verbal elements around a central theme, or frame, thereby providing an efficient package for voters to interpret.

Frames also can be seen as independent variables that can “influence the audience’s perception of certain issues” (Scheufele, 1999, p. 108). Furthermore, experimental research shows that the process of framing entails increasing awareness of certain issues while directing attention away from other issues (Kahneman & Tversky, 1984). In other words, the power of framing comes from what symbol handlers choose to included and excluded. Entman (1993) notes:

Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal
interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. (p. 52)

Frames have four locations in the communication process (Entman, 1993). The first location is the communicator, who consciously or unconsciously constructs frames. The second location, the text, contains frames that are “manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments” (p. 52). Receivers, the third location, then process these frames and mix them with their own personal frames, which are part of the “commonly invoked frames” of the larger culture, which is the fourth location.

The personal frames referred to in Entman’s fourth location also can be thought of as schemas, or “mental maps” that serve as general guidelines for how people understand and interpret information they receive from journalists or advertisers (Graber, 1984; Patterson, 1993). In other words, the frames created in political ads have to compete with an individual’s schemas. Receivers of frames will place the most salience on information in political ads that matches their existing schemata -- or personal frame -- regarding what they expect to see and hear from politicians in a presidential campaign.

Framing research in political communication has been used mostly to understand what story lines journalists use in presenting news on political issues and activists (Gitlin, 1980; Pan & Kosicki, 1993). However, framing scholarship also includes studies on how advertisers frame their products (Parmelee, 2002). Morreale (1991) used a textual frame analysis as her method to explore the verbal and visual techniques used in Ronald Reagan’s 1984 general election campaign film, “A New Beginning.” She argued that “the Republicans used framing to create a ‘reality’” through the use of ideological, mythic and
rebirth frames in the film (p. 96). She also noted the utility of framing theory with regard to exploring political advertising (p. 6, 97).

METHODOLOGY

Frame analysis allows for a comprehensive, thick description of political advertising to get at the deeper level of meaning of how campaigns package candidates. Based on the information from the literature review and theory sections, the following research questions emerged:

(1) How did the Bush campaign frame the president’s candidacy for a second term in office?
(2) How did the Bush campaign frame their opponent, Senator Kerry?
(3) How did the Kerry campaign frame the senator’s candidacy for office?
(4) How did the Kerry campaign frame their opponent, President Bush?
(5) In what ways were those frames clear, consistent, and speak to the voting demographic being reached out to?

To conduct the frame analysis for the present study, a researcher trained in qualitative methods and frame analysis individually viewed 118 campaign ads from the 2004 Bush and Kerry campaigns. The ads were obtained from the official campaign Web sites of the two candidates. The guiding question was: “What frames were utilized in the ads?” The researcher watched each ad several times, using Entman’s (1993) framing definition as the basis for analysis. The researcher looked for what Entman called “keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments” (p. 52). Close attention
also was paid to how the videos chose to “promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (p.52). Notes were taken by the researcher, who cited the keywords, images, and moral evaluations that were found in the ads. An examination of those keywords and images revealed emergent themes that arose from the data. In addition, exit polling data from Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International, which includes more than 13,000 sampled voters from election day of the 2004 presidential election, was consulted to understand how the issues and images found in the candidates’ frames spoke to voters.

**FINDINGS**

Frame analysis of the 118 ads revealed the following dominant themes for each candidate:

- **George W. Bush** framed himself as a consistent leader who has good, common values. He framed Kerry as inconsistent, weak on terrorism, and more economically liberal than most Americans.

- **John Kerry** framed himself as a man who wants to bring about change at home and abroad, as a fighter who can lead American, and as a man who is different from the caricature presented in Bush’s attack ads. He framed Bush as misguided and stubborn regarding the war in Iraq and a servant of the rich and powerful in domestic affairs.

However, the Bush ads provided a more clear and consistent portrait of Bush and his opponent than did Kerry’s ads. Kerry’s appeals were less consistent and more vague with regard to how he presented himself to voters. Especially in foreign affairs, he failed to spell out how he would bring about change. However, Kerry was quite consistent in his portrayal of Bush and his policies. The frames Bush and Kerry used to present themselves and each other to voters are provided below.
George W. Bush: He’s a consistent leader who has strong values.

The Bush campaign’s 54 TV ads seamlessly combine image and issue information around the theme of how Bush is a man of consistency and values in times of change. The Bush ad “Changing World” is one of many that highlights these themes visually and verbally:

ANNOUNCER: “The world is changing. Sometimes in ways that astound. And others that terrify. We depend more than ever on our values: family, faith, the freedom we celebrate. In today’s changing world the answers aren’t easy. We need a sense of purpose, a vision for the future, the conviction to do what’s right.”

TEXT: President Bush
Moving America Forward

GEORGE BUSH: “I’m George W. Bush and I approve this message. Together, we’re moving America forward.”

Visually, the ad illustrates just how much the world has changed during Bush’s first term: There is video of Afghan leader Hamid Karzai, then fighting in Iraq, then an image of firefighters gathered inside a U.S. firehouse. Showing firefighters in a firehouse “primes” viewers to remember the heroism displayed by the New York City Fire Department on Sept. 11, 2001. Priming, a technique in which preexisting memories are activated through visual or verbal stimulation, is often used in political advertising because it allows a campaign to access a viewer’s memories and transfer those pleasant or unpleasant feelings to a candidate (Richardson, 2002). In this case, the ad also primes voters to remember how resolute, and popular, Bush was in the days after the Sept. 11 attacks.

Showing firefighters immediately after Iraq war footage also serves a purpose: The effect subliminally connects U.S. involvement in Iraq to the events of Sept. 11. Making that connect was vital for Bush’s election victory. Exit polling found that 80
percent of those who believed the war in Iraq was connected to the war on terror voted for Bush, while almost 90 percent of those who felt Iraq was not part of the war on terror voted for Kerry (Edison/Mitofsky, 2004). In fact, Bush’s ads used terms such as “war on terror,” not “war in Iraq,” even when Iraq was clearly the subject of the ad. In Bush’s ad titled “Victory,” the flags of Iraq and Afghanistan are shown while an announcer notes: “And this Olympics there will be two more free nations -- and two fewer terrorist regimes.”

Bush’s consistency, or “conviction to do what’s right,” fits as an appropriate counterpoint to the images of change shown in the ad. Bush is depicted as a reassuring constant in a time of change. In fact, the tagline for several of Bush’s early ads was: “Steady leadership in times of change.” On domestic policy, Bush’s consistency is emphasized in a series of ads, including “Healthcare Agenda” and “Economic Agenda.” These ads share similar language, a narrator saying that “President Bush and our leaders in Congress have a plan,” while both ads show a flow chart that lists policy proposals such as tax-free health savings accounts and tort reform. In the ad “First Choice,” Sen. John McCain speaks of Bush’s foreign policy constancy when he says that Bush has “great moral clarity and firm resolve. He has not wavered, he has not flinched from the hard choices …” As footage of Bush is shown in “Changing World,” the announcer notes how the country needs a leader with “a sense of purpose, a vision for the future.”

To those swing voters who might disagree with Bush’s “vision for the future,” the ad cleverly uses another political advertising technique, inoculation, when the announcer says: “In today’s changing world the answers aren’t easy.” Political inoculation, just like a medical inoculation, immunizes people through exposure to a small dose of the harmful
agent (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1997). The toxic substance in this case, fears by
many voters that Bush’s consistent vision might be misguided, is administered to viewers
when the announcer admits that “the answers aren’t easy,” hinting that some mistakes
might be inevitable. The effect of this political inoculation is to give wavering voters a
resistance to their nagging concerns about Bush’s handling of Iraq and other issues.
Voters are left to say to themselves, “Sure, Bush has made some mistakes -- but in times
of change the answers aren’t easy. At least he has a consistent vision for the future.”

The strong family values theme in the ad “Changing World” aims to make a
connection between the president and voters through the use of character appeals and
emotional appeals. These two means of persuasion are designed to win over the audience
by showing the positive character traits of a candidate and playing upon the emotions of
the audience (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1997). The Bush ad employs these techniques
as the announcer says, “We depend more than ever on our values -- family, faith, the
freedom we celebrate.” Bush is then shown smiling with children and hugging his wife,
Laura, at their Texas ranch. Other footage in the ad includes a father showing his young
daughter how to use a Hoola Hoop. In Bush ads such as “Changing World,” the candidate
is displaying through his political advertising that he understands, and even mirrors, the
country and the culture he wishes to represent. In an era of weakened party loyalty, the
Bush campaign relied heavily on character and emotional appeals to sway voters who
might not agree with most of Bush’s issue positions.

However, the family images displayed in Bush’s ads also make subtle logical,
issue-based appeals. The tactic of talking about “our values” taps into the feelings of
many people that “family values” are eroding and needed to be preserved. The phrase
“our values” serves as an umbrella term to include such issues as abortion and gay marriage. In fact, exit polling from the presidential election found that voters listed “moral values” as being the “issue that mattered most” in deciding how they voted for president. Eighty percent of those people voted for Bush (Edison/Mitofsky, 2004).

**Bush on John Kerry: He’s weak on terrorism and too liberal**

A majority of Bush’s 54 TV ads attacked his opponent by name. Those attacks were remarkably consistent over the course of the general election campaign. The Bush ad “Wolves” is indicative of how Kerry was portrayed as too weak to be president during a time of war:

NARRATOR: In an increasingly dangerous world, even after the first terrorist attack on America, John Kerry and the liberals in Congress voted to slash America’s intelligence operations by $6 billion.

NARRATOR: Cuts so deep they would have weakened America’s defenses. And weakness attracts those who are waiting to do America harm.

GEORGE BUSH (narrating): I’m George W. Bush and I approved this message.

The visual imagery in the ad provides an analogy designed to create a sense of fear on a basic human level. The ad opens with footage of a heavily wooded area. The camera then jerks back and forth as the viewer briefly catches a glimpse of a lone wolf stalking between the trees. In the last scene, a pack of wolves runs toward the camera. The feeling of primal fear conjured up visually in the ad is complimented verbally when the announcer says Kerry has tried to “slash” America’s defenses even though we live in “an increasingly dangerous world.” The ad is meant to make Americans afraid of voting for a man who could be too weak to defend the country from terrorists, depicted in the ad as aggressive wolves.
This type of negative ad, often called a “fear appeal,” works because research shows that humans are more strongly motivated to avoid costs than to approach gains (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1997). Creating a sense of fear of a presidential challenger is especially potent in a time of military conflict, when the stakes are so high if the wrong choice is made. Many Bush ads repeated and reinforced this fear appeal. In the ad “Risk,” the narrator asks, “John Kerry and his liberal allies -- are they a risk we can afford to take today?” In the ad “Global Test,” the narrator claims that “America will be forced to wait while threats gather” if Kerry becomes president. The tagline of the ad “Weapons” puts the fear appeal simply: “John Kerry’s record on national security: troubling.”

The ad “Wolves,” like most of Bush’s other attack ads, provides attribution to the claims being made. The effect is to make the assertions appear credible. When the narrator notes that Kerry “voted to slash America’s intelligence operations by $6 billion,” text in the middle of the screen reads: “Kerry and liberals in Congress: intelligence cuts $6 billion, CQ Vote #39, ’94.” The term “CQ Vote #39” refers to the magazine Congressional Quarterly, which publishes the results of all Congressional floor votes in the order in which they occur. Citing a nonpartisan media source such as CQ makes Bush’s partisan claims more believable. In fact, Bush’s Web site included a link to a page called “ad facts” that provided citations from newspapers and other sources to back up the campaign’s many claims.

While most of Bush’s ads rely on fear to communicate the message that Kerry is weak, other ads use humor. Another form of weakness is indecisiveness, or “flip-flopping,” and Bush ads such as “Windsurfing” use music and video cutting techniques to humorously ridicule Kerry. In “Windsurfing,” music from Johann Strauss’ “The Blue
Danube” plays over images of Kerry switching directing again and again as he windsurfs. This visually image of flipping back and forth is verbally reinforced when the narrator accuses Kerry of indecisively voting both for and against the Iraq War and “voting for the $87 billion to support our troops before he voted against it.” One reason a campaign uses humor in an attack ad is to minimize the possibility that the ad’s negativity will create a “backlash” effect on the sponsoring candidate (Richardson, 2002; Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1997).

The theme that Kerry is “too liberal” appears mostly in ads that attack Kerry’s economic record and proposals. The ad “Thinking Mom” is representative of how the Bush campaign portrayed Kerry as out of touch with mainstream America. The ad shows a woman in her minivan driving her two kids and listening to the car radio:

MOM: 5:30, I need to get groceries ... I'm gonna be late.

RADIO: John Kerry and the liberals in Congress have voted to raise gas taxes 10 times.

MOM: Ten times? Gas prices are high enough already.

RADIO: They voted to raise taxes on senior Social Security benefits and raise taxes on middle-class parents 18 times. No relief there from the marriage penalty.

MOM: More taxes because I’m married? What were they thinking?

RADIO: Three hundred and fifty times -- higher taxes from the liberals in Congress and John Kerry.

Many of Bush’s ads play up the issue of taxes to argue that Kerry is an unacceptable choice because he is out of the mainstream on economic policy. The charge that Kerry is too liberal can be found in many other ads, such as “Doublespeak” and “Wacky.” In “Doublespeak,” which accuses Kerry of being weak and a flip-flopper, the announcer adds, “The non-partisan National Journal magazine ranks Kerry the most
liberal member of the Senate -- more liberal than Hillary Clinton or Ted Kennedy.” The tagline for the ad “Wacky,” which claims Kerry wants to raise gas taxes, reads: “Maybe John Kerry just doesn’t understand what his ideas mean to the rest of us.”

**John Kerry: He’s a man of change, he’s a fighter, and he’s not who Bush says he is**

While Bush’s ads offered a simple and consistent image of both candidates throughout the campaign, the Kerry campaign’s 64 ads failed to provide a consistent frame for the presidential challenger. The themes in Kerry’s ads were mostly varied and unclear. Sometimes the candidate would frame himself as a change agent, a typical frame for any political challenger. However, other ads framed Kerry as a fighter, and many ads focused solely on refuting attack ads from the Bush campaign. The ad “Risk,” which shows Kerry speaking in his office, is typical of how vague Kerry’s framing was:

JOHN KERRY: Let me tell you exactly what I would do to change the situation in Iraq. I would immediately reach out to the international community in sharing the burden, the risk, because they also have a stake in the outcome of what is happening in Iraq. The American taxpayer is paying now almost 200 billion dollars and who knows how many more billons. And we’re paying the highest price in the loss of the lives of our young soldiers -- almost alone.

JOHN KERRY (narrating): I’m John Kerry and I approve of this message.

Not surprisingly, Kerry adopted the “change” frame, which has been used by both Democratic and Republican challengers in campaign advertising (Parmelee, 2003). This frame makes sense for challengers because voters must be ready for a change in order to remove an incumbent. However, in “Risk” as in many other Kerry ads, it is unclear how exactly the presidential challenger would be a change from the incumbent. Kerry talks of “reaching out to the international community,” but he never spells out visually or verbally how he would do that or how his outreach would be different from Bush’s attempts.
Kerry’s domestic policy ads also provide a somewhat fuzzy “change” frame, as can be seen in the ad “Ten Million New Jobs”:

NARRATOR: While jobs are leaving our country in record numbers, George Bush says sending jobs overseas makes sense for America. His top economic advisors say moving American jobs to low-cost countries is a plus for the U.S. John Kerry’s proposed a different economic plan that encourages companies to keep jobs here. It’s part of a detailed economic agenda to create 10 million jobs. John Kerry, a new direction for America.

JOHN KERRY (narrating): I’m John Kerry, and I approve of this message.

Once again, the ad frames Kerry as a change agent, a man with “a different economic plan.” However, while the narrator in the ad claims that Kerry has “a detailed economic agenda,” no details are provided to prove how he might create 10 million new jobs. While political advertising research indicates that relatively few ads address issues with real specificity, most ads do at least make some reference to policy positions (Joslyn, 1986). For example, Bush’s ad “Healthcare Agenda” proposed to “allow small businesses to band together to get insurance rates big companies get.” The Bush ad “War on Terror Agenda” promises the president would “renew the Patriot Act” and “create a national counter terrorism center.” Rarely were such details offered in Kerry’s ads.

Many Kerry ads focus on his Vietnam service, and in doing so frame him as a fighter. In the ad “Strength,” he links his military experience to his qualifications for the presidency by saying, “I defended this country as a young man and I will defend it as President.” In the ad “Defend America,” Kerry expands the fighter frame to include domestic policy when he promises to “fight to build a stronger middle class.” However, once again Kerry’s framing remains unfocused due to a lack of specifics for how exactly Kerry would fight for national security or the middle class.
One reason why Kerry’s ad failed to provide a consistent image was because the campaign was constantly forced to answer charges and refute frames served up in attack ads from Bush and independent political groups. The Kerry ad “Rassman” exemplifies the campaign’s defensive position:

NARRATOR: The people attacking John Kerry’s war record are funded by Bush’s big money supporters. Listen to someone who was there, the man whose life John Kerry saved.

LT. JIM RASSMAN: It blew me off the boat. All these Viet Cong were shooting at me. I expected I’d be shot. When he pulled me out of the river, he risked his life to save mine.

NARRATOR: The Navy documented John Kerry’s heroism, and awarded him the Bronze Star. Today, he still has shrapnel in his leg from his wounds in Vietnam.

The “Rassman” ad, which refers to and shows footage of Kerry as a heroic fighter, is meant to defend Kerry against attacks from groups such as Swiftboat Veterans for Truth, which ran ads depicting Kerry as dishonest and unpatriotic. While this ad clearly provides the “fighter” frame to counter the message in the attack ad, many of Kerry’s ads would simply refute attacks without offering a simple and consistent counter frame. This omission limited Kerry’s ability to provide a contrasting narrative of himself and his policies. By way of comparison, none of Bush’s ads specifically addressed attack ads from Kerry or independent political groups.

**Kerry on George W. Bush: He’s misguided in Iraq and a servant of the rich**

The specificity that is lacking in Kerry’s positive ads can be found in Kerry’s negative ads. Bush is framed as a misguided leader who stubbornly refuses to see the error of his strategy in Iraq, and a man who care more about the rich and powerful than
for average Americans. The ad “Obligation” is one of many that provides a detailed critique of Bush’s handling of Iraq:

JOHN KERRY: The obligation of a Commander in Chief is to keep our country safe. In Iraq, George Bush has overextended our troops and now failed to secure 380 tons of deadly explosives. The kind used for attacks in Iraq, and for terrorist bombings. His Iraq misjudgments put our soldiers at risk, and make our country less secure. And all he offers is more of the same. As President, I’ll bring a fresh start to protect our troops and our nation.

JOHN KERRY: I’m John Kerry and I approved this message.

While Bush’s ads seldom talked about Iraq by name, preferring to speak more broadly about “the war on terror,” Kerry’s attack ads constantly singled out Iraq for criticism. In the ad “Obligation,” Kerry is quite specific in just how poorly Bush is handling Iraq, mentioning that “380 tons of deadly explosives” were allowed to go missing because of “misjudgments” by the commander in chief. The theme of Bush’s incompetence can be found in many ads. In the ad “He’s Lost, He’s Desperate,” a narrator argues that Bush “rushed us into war” at a cost of “$200 billion.” In the ad “Juvenile,” a narrator says Bush has lead America into a “quagmire” in Iraq that has left “1,000 U.S. casualties” and “two Americans beheaded just this week.” Focusing attack ads on Iraq made sense for Kerry because exit polling on election day found that Kerry won 73 percent of voters who felt that Iraq was the most important issue in the race. In contrast, less than 15 percent of those who felt terrorism was the most important issue voted for Kerry (Edison/Mitofsky, 2004).

Kerry’s domestic policy attacks on Bush were quite specific in portraying the president as far more concerned about the big corporate interests than the middle class or the poor. The ad “Not True” is one of many that uses detailed figures to frame Bush as a servant of the rich and powerful:
JOHN KERRY: I’m John Kerry and I approved this message

NARRATOR: George Bush’s healthcare attack against John Kerry: Not true.
TEXT: “Not true” Source: ABC News 9/13/04

NARRATOR: The Kerry plan gives doctors and patients the power to make medical decisions, not insurance company bureaucrats.
TEXT: The Kerry Healthcare Plan; Doctors Make Medical Decisions

NARRATOR: The Bush record. A $139 billion giveaway to the drug companies.
TEXT: $139 Billion Giveaway to Big Drug Companies; Source: AdvancePCS 8/25/03

NARRATOR: A record 17 percent increase in Medicare premiums.
TEXT: 17% Increase in Medicare Premiums; Source: Washington Post 9/3/04

NARRATOR: Five million more Americans without health insurance.
TEXT: 5 Million More Americans Without Insurance; Source: US Census Bureau 2001-2004

TEXT: George W. Bush: wrong on healthcare, wrong for America

The lines “$139 billion giveaway to big drug companies” and “five million more Americans without health insurance” suggest Bush is content to let the rich get richer while the poor get poorer. Other ads consistently continued this theme. In the ad “The Truth on Taxes,” Kerry notes, “After nearly four years under George Bush, the middle class is paying the bigger share of the America’s tax burden and the wealthiest are paying less. It’s wrong.” The ad “Hoover” says the Bush Administration gave “handouts to Halliburton and Enron” while “losing 2.7 million manufacturing jobs.” The ad “Powerful” chides Bush for giving tax breaks to CEOs who have shipped jobs overseas. Framing Bush as the candidate of the upper class made sense strategically because most voters saw themselves as middle class. More than 80 percent of those who voted had a total family income of less than $100,000, and Kerry won 55 percent of voters who had a family income of less than $50,000 (Edison/Mitofsky, 2004).
CONCLUSION

Frames tend to be most powerful when they are clear, consistent, and speak to the voting demographic being targeted. By those standards, Bush’s ads provided a more compelling portrait of himself and a more damning portrait of his opponent than did Kerry’s ads. Bush framed himself as a consistent leader in times of change who has solid moral values. He framed Kerry as weak on foreign policy and more economically liberal than most Americans. These unambiguous frames constantly combined issue and image appeals as well as visual and verbal elements. Bush’s steadfast vision in domestic policy as well as the “war on terror” was shown as an issue appeal when his ads discussed administration plans for tax-free health savings accounts, renewing the Patriot Act, and creating a national counter terrorism center. That same resolve was also image based when Bush was shown, as he was in the ad “Whatever it Takes,” speaking with emotion while telling a crowd how ordering troops into battle is “the hardest decision, even when it is right.” The many image and issue elements combined in Bush’s frames also connected with voters who ultimately sided with the president when it came to the values debate and the link between Iraq and terrorism.

Focusing on family values also gave Bush the opportunity to make both an emotional as well as a subtle issue-based appeal. Being shown with smiling children and hugging his wife back at their Texas ranch allowed the incumbent president to look like an ordinary husband and father who personally mirrors the country and the culture he wishes to represent. From an issue perspective, using a code word such as “values” has the power to “prime” voters to invoke their own personal policy preferences on “moral” issues they care about. Using such code words is nothing new. As Graber (1987) notes:
Words are like Pavlovian cues -- just as animals can be taught to associate the sound of a bell with food -- so people are continually condition to associate verbal cues with past direct and vicarious experiences. Verbal conditioning can be done most effectively through what political linguists call condensation symbols. These are more popularly called code words. Examples are: “the American way,” “racism,” “special interests,” “rainbow coalition,” and yes, “where’s the beef?” (p. 185)

John Kerry, who early in the campaign said, “A lot of people still don’t really know who I am,” failed to define himself with a clear and consistent frame. He attempted to frame himself as a man who wants to bring about change at home and abroad, as an impassioned fighter who can lead America in a time of war, and as a man who is quite different than the caricature presented in Bush’s attack ads. He framed Bush as misguided and stubborn regarding the war in Iraq and a servant of the rich and powerful in domestic affairs. Kerry’s appeals were not consistent and fairly vague with regard to how he presented himself to voters. Especially with regard to Iraq, he failed to spell out how he would bring about change. However, Kerry was quite consistent in his portrayal of Bush and his policies, presenting detailed data and attribution.

More research needs to be done concerning the power of framing in political advertising. While there is much framing scholarship, less is known about how presidential candidates frame themselves and their opponents. It would be interesting to see if Kerry was more consistent in his framing during the Democratic primary stage of the campaign or whether his message was equally unfocused. In addition, it would be helpful to understand what factors might contribute to the consistency or inconsistency of a candidate’s framing. For example, changing key campaign personnel in the middle of a race might inhibit the ability of a campaign to present a clear portrait of their candidate.
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Abstract

This paper examines health inequality between two ethnic groups (Han and the minority) in China during the 90s’ using the China Health and Nutrition Survey (CHNS). On average, minorities enjoyed better health than the majority Han in the CHNS data. But socio-economic determinants of health differed between the two populations. Particularly, income is found to be more important for the minority than the majority to gain a better health. This study also evaluates the validity of using self-perceived health status to predict general health in the context of China and between the two ethnic groups. It is found that self-perceived health is meaningful and provides valid and reliable information of the more objective morbidity measures of
health.
PRO-GAD CAPOOCAN: A CASE STUDY
GAD BEST PRACTICE

BY

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Introduction

This case study is a section of a bigger study, the “Mapping of Gender Mainstreaming Initiatives and Outcomes in the Regional and Local Development Council in Regions VI, VII and VIII”. This is a descriptive-evaluative research project that maps and analyzes the extent and quality of gender mainstreaming in the Visayas. It likewise seeks to determine the extent of GAD mainstreaming in the planning, programming, budgeting, implementation and monitoring and evaluation (PPBIM) processes of government. The project was made possible through the cooperation of the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) and the National Economic Development Authority (NEDA). The data collection methods used were focus group discussions, key informant interviews, questionnaire, site visit and documentary analysis of records.

The framework of analysis used in the study is the Gender Mainstreaming Evaluation Framework (GMEF). This framework has two elements: the major entry points in gender mainstreaming such as, people, policy programs/projects and enabling mechanisms; and, the stages of gender mainstreaming such as, foundation formation, installation of strategic mechanism, Gender and Development (GAD) application and enhancement of commitment and institutionalization. The same framework was used in the analysis of the GAD mainstreaming initiatives in Capoocan, Leyte. Based on this, Capoocan Local Government Unit (LGU) was considered as the “GAD Best Practice” in Region VIII, Leyte (Philippines). Pro-GAD Capoocan, the GAD Program of the municipality, specifies the strategies which provided direction towards gender-responsive local governance.

PRO-GAD CAPOOCAN is a comprehensive gender program designed to respond to various international and national mandates to mainstream gender in governance. The following is an account of the GAD experience of a local government unit in its effort to address short-term needs and some of the strategic and long-range concerns of women towards gender equality. The account also reveals how the practice of GAD in Capoocan has positively affected the whole community.

Gender Situationer

Capoocan lies along the national highway just before it goes up the historic Leyte mountain ranges, site of the one of the bloodiest battles of World War II in the Philippines. It is one of the coastal towns adjoining the famous fishing grounds of Carigara Bay, approximately 60 kilometers from Tacloban City to the northeast and about 50 kilometers from Ormoc City to the west. Lying thus between two of the largest cities of Leyte, Capoocan has access to the
educational facilities available in these urban centers as well as in its nearest neighbor, the old and populous town of Carigara. This information is notable because it might explain the increasing participation of women in the political life of their respective communities, starting with the town mayor herself who is now on her third term. Four of twelve municipal councilors and 56 of the 179 barangay officials are women (2005). Out of 91 municipal employees, 46 are women. This surely shows the move towards striking a balance between the two genders. However, though there is an almost even balance of men and women in special bodies (the school board, health board, peace and order council, barangay development council) of the LGU, they still lack the drive and the skills in articulating women’s issues. Generally, there is low level of participation in decision-making.

Capoocan is a farming and fishing community and it is customary to assign economic primacy to men in these livelihood areas. Thus women’s contribution to the economy is oftentimes forgotten or unrecognized, much to the women’s disadvantage.

Like most other women in the Philippine countryside, Capoocan women are poor and have little opportunity for economic amelioration. Because of their supposed “absence” from the economic sphere, they lack self-esteem and are easily humbled or humiliated. Due to lack of economic opportunities and skill, the women migrate to other places as house helpers, others are driven to prostitution. Domestic violence is an urgent issue among them. Physical abuse ranks highest among the most frequent forms of violence, followed by wife beating. Incidence of rape is uncomfortably high, and so is economic abuse. They also suffer from sexual harassment and discrimination. The women had low awareness on women's rights and reproductive health and rights as well. They are poorly served in terms of reproductive health. They are victims of multiple burden, the common lot of women world over.

Except for the above baseline data gathered through Participatory Rural Appraisal, however, Capoocan has not started to disaggregate information on its population on gender terms. Gender disaggregation of data has been identified as a research agendum of the Gender and Development Resource Center of Capoocan. This means that all data generating offices of the LGU will be tasked to disaggregate information on gender basis in order to have a clearer picture for GAD mapping and planning.

**PRO-GAD CAPOOCAN: BEGINNINGS**

In the year 2000, a Participatory Rural Appraisal research method was jointly conducted by the Capoocan LGU and the Center for Partnership Initiatives Development, Inc. (CPID), a non-government organization. This was the time when gender issues were first articulated for development planning. To deepen the understanding of the gender issues in Capoocan, the CPID conducted a follow-up study using more specific gender tools. The results of the study were presented to the LGU officials in 2001. This became the basis for the development of a GAD program.

Preparatory activities were done for in-depth understanding of GAD. Vilma Horca and Celestial Quiroz, staff of the Municipal Planning and Development Council (MPDC), personally visited the Office of the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW) to establish
linkage with the agency and to consult over GAD matters, especially for programs and projects allowable on the GAD budget. They also received a book from the Asia Foundation entitled *The GAD Budget Trail*. The two also had a chance to see *The Vagina Monologues* at the Philamlife Theater, which gave them a few thinking points to bring home.

On November 15, 2001, Mayor Porciuncula issued Executive Order No. 2001-01, Declaration of Pro-GAD Capoocan as the GAD Program of the Municipality of Capoocan, Leyte. Specifically, the bases of this program are RA 7192 (Women in Development and Nation Building Act), DBM Local Budget Memorandum #32 and DILG Memo Circular #99-146. The Program was funded by the mandated 5% GAD budget for 2002, amounting to some PhP1,256,548.00, a great leap from the PhP80,000 allocated for GAD in the previous year. The generous allotment enabled Pro-GAD Capoocan to undertake several projects for the next fiscal year. PRO-GAD CAPOOCAN was formulated in partnership with the CPID, the moving force behind it.

Pro-GAD Capoocan adopted the following strategies in its implementation:

1. Community organizing
2. Education and training
3. Reproductive Health Services
4. Women’s Special Concern – VAW
5. Advocacy and networking
6. GAD institutional development

The program began with a conference on November 19, 2001 among elected women officials of the LGU to echo a seminar of WIN (Women Involved in Nation Building) which some of them have attended. In this conference GAD Budgeting and Planning was discussed. The conference was attended by 56 women municipal and barangay officials. The women were introduced to the significance of their participation in public affairs.

This was followed by some well-directed activities preparatory for the institutionalization of Pro-GAD, the drawing up of a GAD plan for the LGU, training of personnel, consciousness raising, and needs assessment. These activities involved the community as part of the fundamental approach to governance adopted by the incumbent leader, and also in line with GAD principles. The issues and concerns on which Pro-GAD Capooca is based were a product of consultation among the 21 communities themselves. It is now being implemented by the municipality and in 21 of its barangays.

The public learned about Pro-Gad during Local Special Bodies meetings, Barangay assemblies and regular meetings of the Barangay Development Councils (BDC) and People’s Organization. Radio guestings, the publication of the Lantawan newsletter and press releases in other local papers also helped in making the program popular. Women, the primary clientele, were urged to participate through focused group discussions, informal discussions and invitations to specific activities. Gender activities were carried out at the barangay level rather than at the municipal center, thus increasing the presence of women participants from the grassroots. The
The issuance of Executive Order 2001-01 in November 15, 2001 insured the relative stability of Pro-GAD Capoocan.

The following are the salient elements of Pro-GAD Capoocan:

**MAJOR ENTRY POINTS OF GENDER MAINSTREAMING**

1. **PEOPLE**

   People are stakeholders on whose shoulders fall the tasks of gender mainstreaming. They usually assume major roles of sponsor, target, change agents and advocates.

   **Pro-GAD mayor.**

   During her first term as mayor in Capoocan, Leyte, Hon. Marietta Porciuncula attended gender-related trainings conducted by different agencies/organizations. Her sensitivity and awareness of gender issues prompted her to set up some gender-related initiatives in her government, such as the PNP women’s desk with a policewoman as desk officer, and assistance for women in difficult circumstances in the MSWD. Early in October of 2001, CPID started talks with the mayor for the development of a GAD program for the LGU. During these consultations, CPID outlined the gender-related issues and concerns identified in the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA): poverty, lack of livelihood opportunities, incidences of violence against women, low level of participation in decision making, and maternal mortality among others. These consultations became the seeds for Pro-GAD Capoocan.

   **CPID STAFF and MGFT**

   On October 13, CPID facilitated the formation of a Municipal GAD Focal Team (MGFT). This was composed of the municipal mayor who acted as chair, SB committee on women as vice chair, and members drawn from among the officers of the MSWD, MPDC, MHO, Budget Office, the municipal Treasury, the PNP, Agriculture, Population Outreach, Engineering, Civil Registry, CPID Executive Director, Local Council of Women, CPID Staff and Gad Staff as secretary. The major task of the MGFT was to finalize the plan and to implement Pro-GAD Capoocan. The members were given gender sensitivity training and GAD planning orientation.

   The LGU initially deployed a six-member staff to the MGFT—two men and four women. A GAD office was established and CPID assisted in setting up the operations. The GAD Staff also underwent training to prepare them for their tasks. Three GAD Teams were formed, each team covering seven barangays. These teams were responsible for implementing Pro-GAD Capoocan at the barangay level.

   The teams would regularly meet to update one another on their field work, review their plans, share experiences, and assess the progress of their activities. In this manner Pro-Gad Capoocan gained an institutional foothold on the LGU.
Barangay GAD focal person (BGFP)

To facilitate the implementation of GAD on the barangay level, a GAD focal person is assigned in each of the 21 barangays of the LGU. The BFGPs in turn organized their own GAD focal team. In this manner more women were drawn into consultation and participation in decision-making. All of them were given gender-related trainings. Information at the barangay level was brought to the level of the local council of women at the municipal level.

2. ENABLING MECHANISMS

Enabling mechanisms are systems and mechanisms installed in the agencies and the funds allocated for GAD activities.

Organizational Structure

Different organizational structures were created both in the municipal and barangay levels. Among these are the Municipal GAD Focal Team which is the GAD planning body of the LGU, Municipal GAD Focal Person, Municipal GAD Staff, Pro-GAD Field Teams, the Overall Program Coordinator, Participatory Barangay Development Planning Team, Barangay GAD Focal Person and Barangay GAD Focal Team. They facilitate the implementation of Pro-GAD Capoocan.

GAD Budget

A GAD budget is a portion of an agency’s or LGU’s yearly appropriation which is not an additional amount over and above its regular budget (NCRFW, 2003).

Capoocan strictly adheres to the application of the 5% GAD budget policy. From 2001 municipal budget of Php 80,000.00, it significantly increased to Php 1,510,926.56 in 2005. The total GAD budget in the barangays also increased from Php 495,411.84 in 2001 to Php 588,964.29 in 2005 (Annex A). This was the funding source of the different GAD programs and projects.

GAD Plan

A GAD Plan is a systematically designed set of programs, activities and projects with clear objectives for addressing gender issues and appropriate strategies and activities with monitoring and evaluation indicators (NCRFW, 2003).

Planning and budgeting in the municipal and barangay levels is participatory, using the bottom-up strategy where the starting point for situation analysis and planning is the barangay. The identification of needs was done through the PRA-Gender approach. This was analyzed and validated by the community folk themselves. The formulation of the barangay plan was participated in by all members of the Barangay Development Council and representatives of different sectors of the community – fisherfolks, farmers, women’s organizations, community
volunteers, government agency representatives and the youth. These groups are composed of both women and men, though men still predominates. Refresher orientations on participatory governance and gender sensitivity are conducted. The Participatory Barangay Development Planning Team assisted them in the entire exercise.

The planning and budgeting process results to the formulation of two separate plans, barangay Annual Development Plan and the GAD Plan. These plans are presented to the general assembly before finalization. Before the budget is endorsed to the Sangguniang Bayan for approval, it is checked to ensure that the GAD budget is in place. A Letter of Instruction dated March 10, 2003 from the Mayor mandates the Municipal Budget Officer (MDO) to conduct stringent screening on the budget submitted. The barangay plans are then consolidated at the municipal level to form the Municipal Annual Development Plan and the Municipal GAD Plan. Planning at the municipal level is participated in by the MGFT and representatives of federated women’s organizations.

To guide the implementation of Pro-GAD Capoocan, a five-year Municipal Strategic GAD Plan was formulated. This still has to be subjected to validation before finalization.

**Gender and Development Resource Center**

On December 5, 2003, the Gender and Development Resource Center (GRC) was formally established with its own office and equipment. The Staff was increased to eight, five women and two men. The GRC is the hub of Pro-GAD Capoocan where counseling services are provided. It also provides temporary shelter and other services to survivors who are later referred to the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD). As aid to Pro-GAD advocacy, the center was provided with equipments such as: a 41” TV set, DVD player, LCD and video camera.

**Philippine National Police (PNP) Women’s Desk**

The PNP women’s desk (PWD) was given a room of its own in the PNP station to answer to the need for privacy of victims of domestic violence. The PWD was also provided with a folding bed, beddings, hot-water bottle and dinnerware. A woman police officer is assigned to the desk.

**Bi-monthly Meetings**

Bi-monthly meetings among the GAD teams and the GRC Staff were maintained to update one another of the progress of their work and to share in problem-solving. Pro-GAD activities and accomplishments are regularly presented during the regular Monday staff meetings of the municipal officials and employees. Women community volunteers for the year 2003 were given year-end honoraria of PhP 787 each, a minimal amount, it may seem, but is well appreciated in a community where opportunities for earning is rare.
Day Care Centers

To unburden the women of their reproductive role so as to be able to engage in economic pursuits, day care centers were set up in the town as well as in the barangays. There are 21 day care centers with 325 enrollees, 173 girls and 152 boys. Eleven centers have permanent structures.

Community Organizations

Realizing the importance of unity, Capoocan sought to organize and or revitalize its community and people’s organizations. Each barangay has women’s organizations. There are municipal women’s organizations by sector. The municipal and barangay elective officials organized themselves into the Association of Women Legislators. The National Council of Women in the Philippines (NCWP) facilitated the organization of a Local Council of Women.

Gad-Related Trainings/Orientations/Conferences

The successful implementation of GAD planning and budgeting begins with properly oriented personnel at all levels. Early on in the GAD implementation process, GST, GAD Planning and Budgeting, anti-VAW, anti-sexual harassment, reproductive health, women’s rights, women’s economic empowerment, and basic legislation for barangay women legislators were undertaken for municipal as well as barangay personnel.

Committee on Decorum and Investigation (CODI)

Pursuant to RA 7877, otherwise known as Anti-Sexual Harassment Act of 1995, and to the Civil Service Commission’s Administrative Disciplinary Rules on Sexual Harassment Cases, Capoocan organized the Committee on Decorum and Investigation (CODI). This is composed of the Mayor, MPDO, MSWDO, Municipal Engineer, Disbursement Officer, MBO, and the HRMO as head of the secretariat.

Advocacy Program

Capoocan observes advocacy activities such as the Women’s Month, 16 Days of Activism for the Elimination of VAW and Purple Rose Campaign against Sex Trafficking. These activities refresh and revitalize awareness of women’s issues in the community and provide opportunities for participation and interaction. The advocacy program of Pro-Gad Capoocan was formulated by different sectors of the municipality through participatory process. These are disseminated through press releases, radio guestings, film showing, stage play presentations, video documentary and LGU publication. The initial two-year activities of Pro-GAD Capoocan were documented in the video-documentary entitled, And GAD Reinvented the Women of Capoocan, portrayed by local talents. Another notable advocacy action of Capoocan is the setting up of giant anti-VAW billboards at strategic places along the national highway.
Linkages

The strength of Pro-GAD Capoocan rests on strong linkages with different government agencies, women’s organizations, people’s organization and the academe. The CPID provided the greatest support for its realization. They also tapped the support of government agencies like the NCRFW, NEDA, DBM, National Statistical Board (NSCB), PNP, among others. National (NCWP, GABRIELA, IDPG, etc.) and local (Runggiyan Social Development Foundation and Marie Stopes) NGOs and women’s groups likewise provided assistance and support. The LGU has also forged a Memorandum of Agreement with the University of the Philippines in the Visayas, Tacloban College (UPV Tacloban). The academe provided trainings and research data.

3. POLICIES

Another entry point in gender mainstreaming is policy formulation. Policies are official statements and pronouncements of support for gender mainstreaming issues by the agency. Policies, in the form of legislations or executive orders, are encouraged to provide the legal basis for the operationalization of GAD programs/projects and for allocating budgets for this purpose. They are also safeguards for sustainability.

Since its inception in October 2001, the LGU has tracked up a number of policy statements addressing specific gender concerns (Annex B):

- Executive Order # 2002-1, dated November 15, 2001, declared Pro-GAD Capoocan as the official GAD program;
- SB Resolution # 2002-051, dated May 28, 2002, mandated the regulation of the operation of Sing Along/Karaoke and bar joints and prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors and beverages to minors;
- Administrative Rule, dated February 21, 2003, set in place the Administrative Disciplinary Rules on Sexual harassment Cases;
- Memorandum Circular 2004-01 instructed the HRMO to ensure equal opportunity to trainings for female and male municipal employees, February 13, 2004;
- Special Order 2004-02, designated the Local Civil Registrar as statistics point with the primary task of ensuring record keeping of gender disaggregated data, February 13, 2004;
- Letter of Instruction, enjoined all school principals to withhold permission for the staging of beauty pageants until guidelines have been formulated by the Beauty Pageant Regulatory Board, February 13, 2004;
- Resolution No 2004-08, dated January 13, 2004, encouraged the institutionalization of the conduct of sectoral consultative assemblies between the municipal government and the different sectors of the Capoocan, Leyte community;
Resolution No. 2004-09, declared support to the established GAD Focal Team, January 13, 2004;


Resolution No. 2004-11 proposed the creation of Beauty Pageant Regulatory Board to align beauty pageants along gender sensitive principles for the Municipality of Capoocan, Leyte, January 13, 2004;

Letter of Instruction, dated February 13, 2004, enjoined all Barangay Captains to withhold permission in the staging of beauty pageants until guidelines have been formulated by the Beauty Pageant Regulatory Board;

Letter of Instruction to the Municipal Budget Officer, dated March 10, 2003, instructing him to do a detailed step in ensuring the barangay allocation of 5% GAD budget in the Barangay Annual Budget and to check on the GAD Plans; and

Resolution No. 2004-012 strongly enjoined all hilots/birth attendants to undergo proper training before accreditation with the rural health unit of Capoocan, Leyte, January 13, 2004;

The above policies evolved from consultations with all levels of the community, following the bottom-up principle. Other policies adopted to strengthen GAD include regular sectoral consultation, a policy recommended by the women leaders in the communities. As a matter of practice the LGU sees to it that an equal number of men and women participate in trainings and various activities.

Women were also influential in the greater focus given to reproductive health services. An ordinance regulating the operations of videoke bars was also the LGU response to the complaints of women.

4. PROGRAMS/PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES

Programs/projects/activities of the agency are initiatives/activities/interventions that respond to gender issues, problems and concerns.

The best way to note the impact of Pro-GAD Capoocan on community life is to examine the activities and projects it has so far undertaken from the time it was conceived in 2001 to the early months of 2005. The projects implemented reflect the results of the CPID and MFGT plans once they had been given an institutional mandate and organized as earlier noted, and given adequate awareness and consciousness training and skills enhancement in preparation for their task. These involve basic tools such as GST, basic facilitation and documentation, and training on community organizing. The GST will always remain a basic tool for GAD.
The following are some of the GAD projects, accomplished or on-going:

- **Education and Training**

  **GAD Trainings**

  Gender sensitivity training (GST), VAW, Reproductive Health, Women’s and Children’s Rights, Economic Empowerment, GAD Planning and Budgeting, Gender-Responsive Leadership and Management, Adolescence and Sexuality, Grassroots Leadership Facilitator’s Training and Basic Legislation for Barangay Women Legislators were among the GAD trainings conducted in the municipality and in the 21 barangays. These were attended by both women and men. During the VAW training, an anti-VAW billboard-making contest was launched. This is an on-going activity which could be conducted whenever and wherever it is needed.

  **GST for the youth**

  The streamers hanged on the gates of Asuncion S. Melgar National High School and Pinamopoan National High School in Capoocan read: Pro-GAD Capoocan Goes to Schools. Gender sensitivity training was conducted by the UPV Tacloban College students enrolled in Social Science 105, Gender Issues in Philippine Society, to third and fourth year students of the two high schools in Capoocan. The activity aims to raise the students’ level of awareness on the different gender issues at an early age, thus, changing gender relationships.

  **Hilot training**

  The hilot or partera attends to birthing and maternal and child health care in the remote barangays of Capoocan. By training them on the correct procedures of delivery and care of mother and child, the potential danger to both is lessened. The hilot kit was provided with a hilot kit which contained materials and accessories for their job.

  **Basic Journalism**

  Attended by 12 men and 19 women, this seminar was envisioned to provide knowledge in journalism to enable them to write their own stories.

  **Orientation Seminar on Young Women’s Reproductive Rights**

  The high incidence of early marriage, teen pregnancy, prostitution and domestic violence prompted the Pro-GAD team to conduct an Orientation Seminar on Young Women’s Reproductive Rights. This was done with the help of the Provincial Population Commission. Forty young women ranging in age from 15 to 24 attended the activity. The orientation centered on reproduction, women’s reproductive rights, and responsible parenthood.
Barangay Women Legislators Conference

This is a series of conferences intended to enhance the legislation skills of barangay women. It is hoped that this will result in the drafting of more legislations for women. This has resulted in the drafting of the legislative/executive policy recommendations.

Skills Training

One of the reasons for the poor economic status of women is the lack of skills to undertake economic ventures. One of the strategies of Pro-GAD Capoocan is skills training. At different intervals, women attended different livelihood skills trainings, such as: financial management and bookkeeping; project proposal making; integrated pest management; cut flower and plant propagation; orientation to cooperatives; abaca weaving and twining; candle and bag making for women and youth; fishtail production and food preservation and processing. One may note that majority of the trainings are related to the traditional role of women.

- Community Organizing

Realizing the importance of unity, Capoocan sought to revitalize its community and people’s organizations in both the municipal and barangay levels. These organizations are multi-sectoral to ensure maximum participation of women and men. For better understanding of gender issues, members were given GAD related trainings/orientations. The Local Council for Women was also formally organized.

- Socioeconomic and livelihood development

Five people’s organizations availed of livelihood assistance from the Municipal GAD Fund. The assistance run from PhP 30,000 up to PhP50,000. The assistance included the formulation of livelihood project proposal. A total of 135 women benefited from this project as of 2004.

The LGU also provided livelihood opportunities through its livestock dispersal program, vegetable seed distribution, and rice planting material. The LGU assisted the people in the marketing of their products. They participation in the annual “Bahandi” Trade Fair in Manila for possible business partnership. Capoocan sold nito products. Exporters placed orders, providing their own patterns and design.

- Priority focus on health, nutrition and family

Due to poverty, Capoocan women and children’s health is generally poor. Pro-GAD Capoocan considers this issue as a primordial concern of the LGU. Different health services were provided as a collaborative effort between the Department of Health and the Marie Stopes, an NGO. These are:

1. pap smear was given to 97 women in 2003
2. pre-natal check up was availed of by 851 mothers
3. birthing assistance to 841 mothers
4. post-partum check up to 727
5. Free Tetanus toxoid was given to 697 women
6. Family planning information is disseminated on a continuous basis.
7. 34 men were given free condoms; 15 women were given IUDs, 38 were given pills, and 20 underwent tubal ligation
8. Vitamin supplements were supplied to 795 women.

➢ Quick VAW Response Team

Bantay Panimalay literally means family watch. This is the Quick VAW Response Team that responds to VAW survivors’ needs. Bantay Panimalay is a community task force intended to carry on vigilance and prevention of violence against women (VAW). It offers services such as, counseling, temporary shelter, and legal and financial assistance. The Runggitian Social Development Foundation conducted orientations to three batches of prospective Bantay Panimalay team members. It is meant to augment the VAW response team composed of the PNP Women’s Desk officer, the MSWD, the RHU, and the MGFT secretariat. The Municipal Bantay Panimalay was organized and three barangays were chosen as pilot areas. Fifty three men and 50 women attended these orientations.

Bantay Panimalay has so far responded to reported cases of prostitution in Naugisan, physical injury and domestic violence in the town proper, and economic abuse in San Joaquin. In 2003, there were 28 reported cases of violence against women. VAW victims were given counseling, financial support, legal assistance, and temporary shelter. Their cases were also endorsed to the DSWD. The Bantay Panimalay teams acted on some known VAW cases even if they had not been formally reported.

➢ Gender Research

PRA-BDP

The establishment of the GAD Resource Center in December 5, 2003 stabilized the position of Pro-GAD Capoocan. One of its targets in 2003 was the establishment of a gender disaggregated data bank. More data means more deliberate bases for planning.

For 2004-2007 a second round of PRA-BDP was held in which 424 participants participated, of which 198 were women. The BDPs are development blue prints for the barangays.

Women’s Danger Zone Map

Because of the alarming incidence of rape and prostitution in Capoocan, Pro-Gad Capoocan conducted a survey to identify areas unsafe for women especially at night. A Women’s Danger Zone Map was then drafted. This map informed the street lighting project of the LGU. Law enforcers were assigned to patrol the dangerous areas identified.
Advocacy and Networking

People’s Lobby for the Approval of the 2002 Municipal Annual Budget

This is a major score for Pro-Gad Capoocan. The annual municipal budget for 2002 which included the 5% GAD Budget was stalled by the Sangguniang Bayan for political reasons of their own. The delay crippled the LGU and prevented it from delivering basic services to the constituents.

C PID initiated the lobby for the approval of the budget, with the support of the women sector who participated in the GAD Planning activity and who were the major stakeholders in the approval of the budget. The lobby tested the mettle of the Capoocan women leaders. The petition for approval was written up and signed by 86 members of the organization of women legislators in three days flat. Eleven organizations, cooperatives and other groups presented declaration of support.

The lobby was drummed up in media; more than a hundred lobbyists and supporters showed at the deliberations. They acted as as pressure group to the SB with specific role playing acts and floor tactics to force and direct decision to a positive end. The strategy worked. The show of people power ended the impasse and the LGU Budget was approved unanimously after a four-hour deliberation. But this was also a show of women power and proved to the women their capacity to make a difference in political decisions if they are organized.

Pro-GAD Capoocan would not have been what it is today had it not been for the strong linkages with different agencies/organization. CPID, an NGO, played a vital role in Capoocan’s mainstreaming efforts. Equally important is its linkages with national and local government agencies, non-government organizations, people’s organizations and academic institutions.

GAD Code

Crafting a GAD Code is one of the projects lined up this year. They are still in the process of gathering the needed data and information. The GAD Code would ensure the sustainability of GAD mainstreaming despite change in leadership.

Monitoring

The early institutionalization of Pro-GAD Capoocan and the initial and continuing assistance of CPID has made it possible for the LGU to set up monitoring mechanisms. Early on, focal persons were identified and their functions and mode of operation in place, from the barangay participants all the way to the LGU and municipal employees. The monitoring and evaluation committee of the MGFT conducts a continuous monitoring of GAD operations. They do this through regular meetings. The M and E Committee is made up of representative of the NGO, POs, Local Council of Women, Rural Health Workers’ Federation, and Capoocan Young Womens’ Movement The monitoring and evaluation is done through a set of indicators for the
particular plan over given periods. Results of the monitoring and evaluation become the basis for laying down policies or for planning.

While there is general compliance among the barangays, there were also noted cases when the budget is spent on other things or is never spent at all. Hence, the monitoring team is vigilant in monitoring the spending of the 5% GAD budget on the barangay level. This problem can be mitigated by the greater participation of women in public life in their communities.

**Affirmation of Gains**

“After two and a half years of implementing Pro-GAD,” the LGU reports, “there is an observable change in the relationship between men and women in Capoocan.” Men who have joined the GST orientations now share the household chores and take care of their children. Women on the other hand are more empowered to speak up and ask for what they need. They are actively articulating their issues and concerns. Women leaders are emerging whose opinion count as much as that of the men. There is now increased participation of women in local planning and decision making. The voices of women in the grassroots are now heard. There are more women participating in political and socio-civic activities in the municipality.

Women now have opportunities to improve their chances to earn a living. They have acquired livelihood skills which enabled them to participate in economic pursuits. Furthermore, the trainings on leadership, bookkeeping, fiscal management and cooperativism equipped them with knowledge and skills on how to manage their business and gain control over their lives. Intensified campaigns against VAW protect women, and young girls. Women are more conscious of their rights and are more open to report cases of VAW. Men and women are gradually gaining a sense of responsibility over their sexual behavior. The municipality is able to deliver better health care services to the women and their families.

Despite the gains of the program, resistance against GAD remains. GAD implementers have been harassed in the course of the intensified campaign against VAW. A GAD focal person was accused of malicious mischief for assisting two young women who were allegedly raped. Luckily the case did not prosper. Men feel that they are being sidelined in the current emphasis on women’s rights. Though this is not prevalent it is a concern that needs to be addressed if men and women are to live productively and in harmony with one another in our society.

The efforts of Capoocan LGU is a laudable step towards gender-responsive governance. Pro-GAD Capoocan received national and international citations and awards. It garnered a “High Achievement Award” in the First Contest of Gender Responsive Local Governments in Asia-Pacific. The contest was sponsored by the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT) based in Japan. As communicated in the letter from the UN-HABITAT dated March 2, 2004, Capoocan got the international award for its impressive activities made toward women-friendly societies.

“This is a great honor and a most welcome reward to the efforts we have been making toward putting the issues and concerns of our women in Capoocan at the forefront of development agenda and governance,” says Mayor Marietta Porciuncula.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Pro-GAD Capoocan is the GAD program of the municipality, declared through EO # 2001-01, dated November 15, 2001. It adopted a wide range of strategies in mainstreaming GAD in governance, starting with community organizing, education and training, socio-economic development, reproductive health services, women’s special concern (VAW) and advocacy and networking. Specific programs/projects/activities were undertaken under each strategy. Pro-Gad Capoocan is in the right tract of gender mainstreaming in governance. It has the elements stipulated in the Gender Mainstreaming and Evaluation Framework (GMEF). The entry points in GAD mainstreaming are all in place, as follows:

- **People.** Pro-GAD Capoocan has a top level support, starting with the Mayor. In mainstreaming, top level support is crucial. Other people involved in the process are the Municipal GAD Focal Team, Municipal GAD Coordinator, GAD Staff, Pro-GAD Field Teams, Barangay GAD Focal Persons and Barangay GAD Teams. All these have undergone gender-related trainings. Strong support was given by the Center for Partnership Initiatives for Development, Inc., an NGO.

- **Enabling Mechanisms.** Lot of institutional mechanisms were put in place to facilitate the implementation of the program. Foremost of these is the setting up of the GAD organizational structure. Gender-related trainings and conferences were conducted for all sectors in the municipality. Other mechanisms include: GAD budget, GAD plan, GAD Resource Center, PNP Women’s Desk, Bantay Panimalay, Day Care centers, Committee on Decorum, community organizations, socio-economic development program, advocacy program and GO-NGO partnership.

- **Policies.** Capoocan is the municipality in Region VIII with the most number of gender-related policies promulgated in support of their Pro-GAD Capoocan program. What it needs now is a GAD Code.

- **Programs/Projects/Activities.** In line with the identified key strategies are specific programs/projects/activities. These range from reviving/strengthening community organizations, GAD conferences and trainings, livelihood development program, to Gender Research, advocacy and networking.

Pro-GAD Capoocan show-cased the integration of GAD principles and concepts in the planning, programming, budgeting, implementation and monitoring and evaluation (PPBIM) processes in government. The LGU adopted the participatory approach to governance. In general this is carried on on two levels: the first on the municipal level, and the second on the level of the barangay. Assisted by the CPID and the newly formed MFGT, the LGU embarked on GAD planning in the municipal and barangay levels. This was also participated in by active women from the different sectors of the community. It is at the barangay level where the effectiveness of participatory GAD planning can best be seen. The planning process starts at the barangay
level. Situational analysis and needs assessment are conducted and validated by the participants themselves prior to the planning exercise. The barangay plans and budget are integrated into the municipal plan. This is the bottom-up approach in planning and budgeting. The dominant presence of women skewed the barangay development focus from infrastructure to the practical and strategic needs of women. The stakeholders are likewise involved in the implementation of projects/programs/activities and in monitoring.

In its totality, Capoocan LGU is in the fourth stage of GAD mainstreaming (Annex B). It has institutionalized GAD in governance. It is, therefore, considered as GAD Best Practice in Region VIII (Philippines).

For the past two years, 2002-2004, the Pro-GAD program tracked up a number of achievements which stabilized its presence in the municipality and brought a wide range of benefits to women, first of all, and also to their communities. The program placed the LGU in the national and international limelight having earned the “UN-HABITAT High Achievement Award” in the First Contest of Gender Responsive Local Governments in Asia-Pacific.

It can be gleaned from the experience of Capoocan in GAD mainstreaming that for GAD to be effectively integrated into LGU governance, the following factors/strategies have to be considered:

1. top level support
2. political will and commitment
3. participatory governance
4. bottom-up strategy
5. vertical integration extending to the lowest level of government
6. formulation of GAD policies
7. GAD plan and budget
8. strong advocacy and networking
9. gender sensitive advocates
10. extensive training for all sectors of the community
11. gender analysis and needs assessment prior to planning
12. sex disaggregated data
13. programs/projects that respond to the practical and strategic needs of women and men

Though there may be loopholes and shortcomings, the learning gained by Capoocan through its Pro-GAD Capoocan program is something worth emulating by other local government units in the region and elsewhere.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BDC</td>
<td>Barangay Development Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BDP</td>
<td>Barangay Development Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BGFP</td>
<td>Barangay GAD Focal Person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BHW</td>
<td>Barangay Health Worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CODI</td>
<td>Committee on Decorum and Investigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPID</td>
<td>Center for Partnership Initiatives Development, Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DBM</td>
<td>Department of Budget and Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DILG</td>
<td>Department of Interior and Local Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EO</td>
<td>Executive Order</td>
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<tr>
<td>GAD</td>
<td>Gender and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GMEF</td>
<td>Gender Mainstreaming and Empowerment Framework</td>
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<tr>
<td>GO</td>
<td>Government Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>GRC</td>
<td>GAD Resource Center</td>
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<tr>
<td>GST</td>
<td>Gender Sensitivity Training</td>
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<td>GTZ</td>
<td>German Technical Cooperation</td>
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<td>HB</td>
<td>House Bill</td>
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<tr>
<td>HRMO</td>
<td>Human Resource Management Officer</td>
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<tr>
<td>LGU</td>
<td>Local Government Unit</td>
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<tr>
<td>MBO</td>
<td>Municipal Budget Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MGFT</td>
<td>Municipal GAD Focal Team</td>
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<tr>
<td>MPDC</td>
<td>Municipal Planning and Development Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>MPDO</td>
<td>Municipal Planning and Development Officer</td>
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<tr>
<td>MSWDO</td>
<td>Municipal Social Welfare and Development Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCRFW</td>
<td>National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCWP</td>
<td>National Council of Women of the Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEDA</td>
<td>National Economic and Development Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-government organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>PBDP</td>
<td>Participatory Barangay Development Planning Team</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>Philippine National Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PO</td>
<td>People’s organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPBIM</td>
<td>Planning, Programming, Budgeting, Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRA</td>
<td>Participatory Rural Appraisal</td>
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<td>RA</td>
<td>Republic Act</td>
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<tr>
<td>RHU</td>
<td>Rural Health Unit</td>
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<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>Sangguniang Bayan (Municipal Council)</td>
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<tr>
<td>VAW</td>
<td>Violence Against Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>VAWC</td>
<td>Violence Against Women and Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIN</td>
<td>Women Involved in Nation Building</td>
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</table>
## Annex A: GAD Budget Allocation of Capoocan, Leyte

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AREAS</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Provincial</td>
<td>Barangay</td>
<td>Total GAD</td>
<td>Municipal</td>
<td>Barangay</td>
</tr>
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<td>Municipal</td>
<td>Php 80,000.00</td>
<td>Php 495,411.84</td>
<td>Php 575,411.84</td>
<td>Php 1,256,548</td>
<td>Php 507,807.70</td>
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<td>Php 1,256,548</td>
<td>Php 1,402,060.50</td>
<td>Php 1,402,060.50</td>
<td>Php 1,504,749.51</td>
<td>Php 560,349.20</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Php 1,402,060.50</td>
<td>Php 560,349.20</td>
<td>Php 2,089,768.10</td>
<td>Php 1,510,926.56</td>
<td>Php `585,018.59</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Php 1,504,749.51</td>
<td>Php 585,018.59</td>
<td>Php 2,089,768.10</td>
<td>Php 1,510,926.56</td>
<td>Php 588,964.29</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** All figures are in PHP.
## STAGES OF GAD MAINSTREAMING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry points</th>
<th>Stage 1: Foundation Formation</th>
<th>Stage 2: Installation of Strategic Mechanisms</th>
<th>Stage 3: GAD Application</th>
<th>Stage 4: Enhancement of Commitment and Institutionalization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>Pro-Gad Mayor</td>
<td>BGFT, MGFT, Pro-Gad Field Teams</td>
<td>PBDPT Monitoring Team</td>
<td>Pool of GAD Trainers and Advocates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Over-all GAD Program Coordinator</td>
<td>Brgy. GAD Team, Barangay GAD Focal person Local Council of Women</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gender sensitive municipal and barangay officials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enabling Mechanisms</td>
<td>PRA/Needs Assessment tool GAD Organ’l Structure Sex-disaggregated data GO-NGO Partnership/ network</td>
<td>GRC, CODI GAD Plan, GAD Budget PNP Women’s Desk Day care centers Community/women’s Organizations Gad trainings/conferences</td>
<td>Bantay panimalay Participatory governance Bottom-up approach Bi-monthly meetings Publication Monitoring Scheme</td>
<td>Advocacy program Linkages Gender responsive PPBIM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programs/Projects</td>
<td>Conduct of PRA Conduct of GAD Trainings/ Workshops</td>
<td>Barangay Women Legislators’ Conference Skills training Community organizing Socio-economic livelihood devpt. Reprohealth services Creation of Job Opportunities Gender research</td>
<td>Bantay Panimalay Services Women’s Danger Zone Map Lobbying, signature campaign, support of House Bills, radio guestings, billboards Fund support for women’s orgns. Projects Monitoring</td>
<td>Drafting of GAD Code Purple Rose Campaign Anti-VAW campaign Networking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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CAPOOCAN, LEYTE DOCUMENTS

Appointments of Pro-GAD Implementors

Barangay Development Plan

GAD Plans

Gender Related Data of Capoocan, Leyte


PRA Gender Tools

Pro-GAD Advocacy Materials

Pro-Gad Capoocan Program
Auricular acupuncture is popular in addiction treatment, but studies testing its efficacy have produced equivocal results. We posited that the presence of co-occurring mental and physical health disorders might be a reason for this variance. In this pilot study, electrical auricular acupuncture using the detection and stimulation of all active points was offered to persons with co-occurring disorders. The use of electrical stimulation of auricular points offers several advantages over the use of needles, which will be discussed. Participants (N=22) were randomly assigned to either the electro-acupuncture treatment group, or to a control group that simply offered relaxation with music. Active points, including addiction, mental and physical health related points, were stimulated in the treatment group. Ten treatments were given over six weeks.

Both groups showed significant improvement in measures of symptoms, functioning, mood, and cravings. However, no differences between the groups were found on the weekly or pre/post six week intervention measures. The intervention group showed somewhat lower functioning from the outset, which may have affected results. The results suggest that the inclusion of targeted points related to psychological and physical health conditions does not add to the effectiveness of auricular acupuncture. But, other diagnostic tools commonly used by acupuncturists were not used here. These results suggest that simple, inexpensive relaxation techniques can play a useful role in the treatment of co-occurring disorders. However, we have observed that some clients will attend acupuncture, but not relaxation groups, so acupuncture may still fulfill a purpose.

Supported by a grant from the Center for Substance Abuse Treatment (KD1 TI12539) and by La Frontera Center, Inc.

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Area of submission: Sociology
Presentation format: Paper sessions
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ADDRESSING HOMOSEXUALITY IN MALAYSIA: ISSUES AND CONCERNS

The trial of Anwar Ibrahim (former Deputy Prime Minister) in September 1998, has brought out many issues and concerns about homosexuality, which forced and provoked open discussion on sex and sexuality usually perceived as a taboo subject in this country. An issue of significant controversy, it has become a marker in the society, forcing the society to face and discuss the issue of homosexuality. Homosexual activities in Malaysia have been around for a long time but it was not seen to be dangerous until it was highlighted and criticized by the local press during the trial.

In Malaysia, homosexuality is considered illegal and a sin that is punishable with long prison sentences of up to 20 years and canings. The trial itself had caused a lot of anti homosexual sentiment to surface, bringing about the establishment of People's Voluntary Anti-Homosexual Movement (PASRAH) an organization vowing to eradicate homosexuality. It reportedly hopes to wipe out gays, starting with imposing severe penalties and closing down gay gathering places.

This kind of response indicates that there are negative feelings and low tolerance towards a group of people whose sexuality preference is different from the rest of society. Therefore, this paper will address the issue of the extent of homophobia in the society. If left unchecked, the value system may be influenced to form a strong case of prejudice and discrimination against the homosexual. The paper will also explore to what extent is Malaysian society’s attitude towards homosexuality in general.

In order to determine the above, this study will employ a content analysis of both print and electronic media between the years 1998 to 2005.

The study will also be supported by in-dept interviews of the target group looking at the rights and legal protection that they seek, to enable them to live freely and be treated with respect.
Title: Keeping “Hands-On” In Large-Enrollment Research Methods Classes: A Hybrid Model

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Abstract

Research is a "hands-on" experience. It could be argued that learning how to do research, or even learning how research is done by others, should also be a hands-on experience. A majority of undergraduate psychology programs in the U.S. have traditionally chosen to include a research methods course in their curricula, and, in many cases, provide their students with some form of active involvement in the research process. Recent increases in enrollments at larger universities and colleges have brought changes to this traditional approach, however. Large class sizes enrollments, often in the face of few or no assistants, make it difficult for the methods teacher to provide real-time, meaningful research experiences for learners. The psychology department at University of California, Davis was faced with just this situation, which provided strong impetus to make changes in the introductory research methods. The curriculum was changed from a traditional lecture/discussion format to a hybridized live lecture/online laboratory format. A further innovation involved the use of online-based experiments which generated data sets that students could use to test hypotheses. This paper will present the strategies used to implement the resulting course, discuss the challenges faced, with varying success, in the two-phase development of the curriculum, and review implications of course evaluations for the role of online learning in a research methods context. Results of pre-post testing will also be presented. Specific online and live strategies will be discussed, examples of student research projects will be displayed, and commercially-available resources used in the curriculum will be reviewed.
Title of the Submission:
Using Social Science Indicators To Evaluate Water Quality Programs

Topic area of the Submission
Sustainable Development

Presentation Format
Paper Session  work-in-progress report.

Name(s) of the author(s) (last name, first name)
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Ken Genskow (2)
Shepard, Robin (3)

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Abstract

The Land Grant Universities in the six upper Midwest States of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin have been working collaboratively with US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) Region 5 to develop processes that support social science indicators for watershed programs. This effort to identify university social science expertise and link that with local watershed staff was initiated in 2003 as part of an interagency strategic planning process to improve collaboration between USEPA and Land Grant Universities in the upper Midwest. USEPA approached the Land Grant Universities and asked for assistance in better
understanding social science and human dimensions associated with the impact of its watershed and natural resource protection programs.

The goal for the universities involved in this six state effort is to consult where needed, and conduct where appropriate, social science based evaluations that integrate biophysical and environmental changes in geographically targeted areas. There are three objectives for this effort: (1) coordinate subject matter expertise from the Land Grant Universities with regional (multi-state), state, and project-level needs; (2) identify social science data needs and collection procedures that can be used to evaluate non-point source pollution (NPS) management efforts at regional, state, and project-levels; and (3) engage university faculty and other experts in collaborative social science evaluation projects with USEPA and state NPS staff. This effort is broad-based, and features linking a variety of social and community indicators of change to environmental outcomes.

This paper and presentation will discuss the framework by which Land Grant Universities work collaborative with USEPA in identifying and then implementing social science based evaluations. It will outline issues involved in successful collaboration. Furthermore, it will discuss the range of social science indicators being examined and introduce a range of data collection, analysis processes and policy issues related to this unique partnership in the upper Midwest States.
IMPACT OF SOCIAL RULES IN CREATING A LIVABLE SPACE
SPACE SYNTAX ANALYSIS FOR TRADITIONAL DESERT SETTLEMENTS
THE CASE OF AL-ARISH - EGYPT

Topic area
Sustainable Urban Neighborhoods

Full Paper

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IMPACT OF SOCIAL RULES IN CREATING A LIVABLE SPACE
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KEYWORDS: Social pattern – Spatial configuration – Inheritance – Desert Settlements

ABSTRACT:
The transformation of the traditional desert houses in “Al-Arish” old settlement through various cultures and civilizations is a particularly unique case. The way the traditional house absorbs new members and accommodates new nuclear families at the same plot area is an interesting case. Previous researches have examined configuration characteristics of the traditional houses in “Al-Arish”. This paper will focus on the interpretation of morphology and social structure. It is almost a truism within space syntax research that the sociologically significant aspects of a building are directly reflected in its spatial configuration. Since space configuration, within space syntax, is essentially described as a mathematical graph whose nodes are the spatial elements of the building plan, and whose links are the different connections between them, it follows that the graphical representation of the plan should offer us a direct insight into the sociological structure embedded within the plan. (15) (Sonit Bafna 2001) In the selected area for the case study, there are different house types referring to three main time periods; 1) pre-occupation period (type-a) unchanged original house forms, 2) occupation period (type-b); and 3) post-occupation period (type-c). House plans were examined using space syntax methods, and relationships to shifts in social traditions and family structures were analyzed. Typically the guest courtyard and the family courtyard, as the central living spaces, have always been an essential part of the social life of the society, their transformation were emphasized. Results of the study related to transformation process and the feedback of the changed social structure and the impact of the Islamic inheritance roles on the house forms were simulated and discussed for further research into accommodating solutions for contemporary needs of the inhabitants as guidelines for current housing practices.1

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES:
This paper aims to sketch a way of understanding the impact of the social rules and traditions on the spatial pattern, in other words detecting the society's impact on space. The paper intends to examine and explore the transformation process of Sinai’s traditional houses and the changed social behavior from living within complex family structure to nuclear family structures with segregated household.

METHODOLOGY:
This paper aims to highlight the major problems of the local inhabitants in the traditional quarter of Al-Arish city in north Sinai. This paper will demonstrate how livable the spatial form can be, and investigates how the fast rate of change in social patterns is absorbed by a slow rate of the spatial form. It also examines how the existing spatial pattern of the old desert settlements acts constructively as a generator in bringing new patterns of culture within a large almost unchanged urban fabric of the traditional quarter of “Al-Arish”. A number of case studies in the selected area, where a house is divided into six smaller houses that
accommodate six nuclear families, will be analyzed and evaluated. Inheritance and traditions are playing a major role in forming such changes.

1. One of the first publications in the field of space syntax analysis were in, Hillier B, Hanson and Graham, “Ideas are in things: the application of the space syntax method to discovering house genotypes”, Environment and planning B14, 1987. Some other publications explaining the terminology related to space syntax analysis like, Hillier B, Lcaman, Stansall, and M Bedford, “space syntax”, Environment and planning B3, 1976.

This paper will be developed according to the theory outlines of society and space derived by Professor Bill Hillier in his paper presented to space syntax symposium 2001. He is reversing the normal order of things this by looking first at space and trying the discern society through space: by looking at society through the prism of space. He tried to define key mechanisms linking space to society and then use these to suggest how the questions about the future of cities and societies might be better defined. (Hillier, B. 2001).

Figure 1. Characteristics of the spatial pattern of the traditional desert settlement structure in Al-Arish

A similar approach will be followed in analyzing the selected case study of understanding the society through observing and analyzing the spaces around. The unique phenomena of overfill process that take place in the traditional desert settlements in “Al-Arish” city will be analyzed to understand the changes that happened to the society, space and spatial forms. (Fig.-1)

1. INTRODUCTION:

Spatial form can be understood as patterns of organized spaces, structured according to some social principles, which affects the size, connections and configuration for rooms and the relation between the inhabitants. Home is closely connected to identity and culture and the ways in which the requirements of home are satisfied vary considerably from place to place. (Bronwyn M., 2002). In Egypt, where the research was carried out, housing problem is a multi-faceted problem caused by rapid growth of population and the absence of appropriate shelter along the full urbanized Nile valley. Sinai Peninsula represents 6% of Egypt’s total area. It provides a wide range of development potentialities. The urbanization of Sinai is one of the major Egyptian national goals under the geographic, economic and above all the political aspects. The governmental efforts in developing Sinai Peninsula aims at constructing as much houses as it could be to occupy the desert without really taking care of the existing Sinai’s inhabitants to improve their living quality.

Figure 2. Family courtyard, the most dominant space in the traditional houses that connects all other spaces and accommodates most of household activities

Architects and planners have been more concerned about the built forms and their impact upon different groups of people. (Bronwyn M., 2002). The spatial form of the traditional quarter in “Al-Arish” is a unique built form, which had experienced maximum flexibility and livability. The selected area for the case study was the heart of the city in the past, containing I-, L- and U-forms traditional big-family houses with average house areas of 1400 m². (Fig-2) After 1981, the end of the Israeli occupation for Sinai, the Egyptian government encouraged attracting new migrants from Nile valley, which leads to new economical structure
for the whole area towards tourism and trading. Most of the local inhabitants especially in the traditional quarter have limited financial resources and they have a rapid growth of population, which led to an overfill process to the urban fabric of the traditional quarter. Consequently, this area is suffering from the lack of open spaces, public facilities and planned infrastructure. (Ragab M., 1999) This paper intends to highlight the changes of the social pattern through analyzing the transformation of the spatial configuration of the traditional houses of “Al-Arish” desert settlement through three time periods; pre-occupation, during the occupation and post-occupation periods.

2. IMPACT OF TRADITIONS AND INHERITANCE RULES:
In Islamic societies, as in most other societies, inheritance represents the most important method of transferring wealth from one generation to the next. Inheritance has a close relationship with family law in that it transfers a dead person’s “legacy” to his next of kin. Determining which one is entitled to inherit (namely the heirs) depends largely on the family system. According to pre-Islamic Arabs, men only had the right to inherit. The basis for regulating laws in regard to inheritance is found in Qur’an (Moslem’s holy book):

Sura al-Nisa’ 4:11: “God charges you, concerning your children: to the male the like of the portion of two females, and if they be women above two, then for them two-thirds of what he leaves, but if she be one then to her a half; and to his parents to each one of the two the sixth of what he leaves, if he has children; but if he has no children, and his heirs are his parents, a third to his mother, or, if he has brothers, to his mother a sixth, after any bequest he may bequeath, or any debt. Your fathers and your sons- you know not which out of them is nearer in profit to you. So God apportions; surely God is All-knowing, All-wise.”

Women appear in the scale of obligations as “half human”, in that they receive half of what a man does. Old commentators and some modern Muslim as well, claim that this position is an improvement in the status of women, as they possessed no inheritance in the pre-Islamic society.

In regard to widows: “In what your wives leave, your share is a half, if they leave no child; but if they leave a child, ye get a fourth; after payment of legacies and debts. In what ye leave, their share is a fourth, if ye leave no child; but if ye leave a child, they get an eighth; after payment of legacies and debts. If the man or woman whose inheritance is in question, has left neither ascendants nor descendants, but has left a brother or a sister, each one of the two gets a sixth; but if more than two, they share in a third; after payment of legacies and debts; so that no loss is caused (to anyone). Thus is it ordained by Allah; and Allah is All-Knowing, Most Forbearing.”
Figure 3. The number of households was increasing through the division of plots caused by the inheritance rules from one side and from the other side the horizontal overfill process caused by the new migrants coming from the Nile valley

As mentioned in Quraan (Muslim's holy book) above, in Islam there are complicated rules for inheritance to be followed in case of the death of the family leader, which affects the spatial formation of the residential house continuously.

Needless to say, the rules set out in the Qur'an are not applied correctly if at all. In fact what is applied is the hadeth and Sunnah which are invariably the sources of the interpretations of the schools of jurisprudence. The Qur'an lays down rules that are essentially simple if correctly applied and, above all, it enjoins people to write a will for the equitable disposition of their assets after their death. Wills are not encouraged in most Islamic societies and are, in some jurisdictions, indeed prohibited in spite of the existence of ahadeeth condemning intestacy. In any case the testator is restricted to willing a maximum of one third of his estate and usually only to other than his legal heirs.

Social and religious factors have enormous impact on the transformation of the existing spatial organizations especially in the desert settlements, where the huge sizes of the houses permit the division process of the inherited house after the death of one of the family members. The average original area of a traditional house in Al-Arish varies between 1200 and 2500 m² (Ahmed R., 1999, PP. 105). The average number of family members living together as a complex family is 8 - 12 persons. The complex family can absorb up to 5 new nuclear families and merge them to live all in one big house.

To demonstrate the overfill process happening through the inheritance process; let us examine an example of a simple common case. A man has six children, 3 males and 3 females; in case of his death, the portion inherited by his children will be distributed as follows; each of the three males gets double of his sister. In other words, their inheritance will be divided into nine portions. Each male will get two portions and each female gets one portion. In restrained financial circumstances, the male son brings his wife and forms a new nuclear family within the same house on an area of two ninths of the house area. Female usually uses her small portion, which is about one ninth (in this example) of the plot area as a small shop. However, this scenario leads to a continuous overfilling of the spatial pattern and to subdividing the divided plots.
CASE SELECTION

“El-Fawakhria” traditional quarter in “Arish” city is chosen, as a case study, where most of the traditional houses are still in good conditions. It was observed that most of the houses had the same morphology, color and almost the same spatial configuration. “Arish”, the oldest settlement in Sinai Peninsula was formed on the pilgrimage route from north-west African countries to Mecca. Most of “Arish” areas transformed from rural to urban character, except “Al-fawakhria” quarter, which still conserve its traditional character and house forms.

3. TRADITIONAL SPATIAL PATTERN / Pre-occupation period (type-a):

The tribal system allows the senior of the tribe (Sheikh) to allocate the plot area for each of his tribesmen according to their closeness to the senior of the tribe. The houses were generally big houses having areas up to 2400 m². The tribal system dominates the structure of the families and the nature of life within the spatial pattern. The inhabitants of “El-Fawakhria” are relatives and belong to one big family named Fawakhria. Streets and walkways inside this area belong to semi-public category. The pedestrian passages around the dwelling blocks are considered as semi-private. Newly married couples are expected to live with the husband’s family. For the husband, there is no change in his residence or in property rights. Traditional big-family houses can accommodate up to 5 new married couples at the same house. The new comers are using the same existing services and facilities. The traditional house has only one entrance and one guest room with its courtyard.

Two different generations; senior and junior are living together under one roof in a joint residence, where the authority always rested with the senior generation. The majority of people living in big-family houses (type-a) are complex families (non-nuclear families). This overall family structure was closely associated with the typical courtyard houses in “Fawakhria” area, where a room is allocated for each of the couples living under the same roof.
Figure 4. Permeability graph for three houses of the pre-occupation period showing the integration and the accessibility between the different house spaces

House A-1: Entrance \(\rightarrow\) GC \(\rightarrow\) GR=SC=L \(\rightarrow\) K=B=FC=P \(\rightarrow\) BR=T

House A-2: Entrance \(\rightarrow\) GC \(\rightarrow\) T=FC \(\rightarrow\) GR=T1=T2=L=SC \(\rightarrow\) BR=L=K=B

House A-3: Entrance \(\rightarrow\) GC \(\rightarrow\) FC=GT \(\rightarrow\) BR=S=K=B=TL=GR \(\rightarrow\) P=BR=T1

Abbreviations: GR= Guest courtyard, GR= Guest room, BR= Bed room, T= Terrace, FC= Family courtyard, SC= Service courtyard and P= Peer

A typical traditional “Arish” house composed mainly of two courtyards. The first front-yard is allocated for guests’ reception and considered as semi private space, which is mainly used by male only. The second courtyard is the heart of the house allocated for family uses, where most spaces are connected through it. Occasionally in some of the very large houses, a third courtyard was found, where kitchen, laundry, main store, bathrooms and other services are allocated and was used only by female family members. Typically, one had to walk through the guests’ yard and then main courtyard to reach any of the house rooms. The main family courtyard provided space for circulation and was used for daily activities, cultural rituals, growing vegetables, drying clothes and special events for all family members. All house rooms are connected through the main courtyard, in a way that the largest room was designated for the senior couple, a room for each married junior couple living in the house and a room for girls and another for boys. Therefore, the family courtyard is constituted the main core of the traditional desert houses in “Al-Arish”. Rooms allocated for junior married couples functioned as a house, where there are no connections between the different rooms. The only access to the rooms is through a single door from the courtyard. The main largest room allocated for the head of the household, is the most important for the family structure, although it does not differ from other rooms from the spatial organization.

4. Horizontal Overfill Process: During the occupation period (type-b):

During the period of the Israeli occupation of Sinai Peninsula, the inhabitants were not allowed to expand their settlements. During wars’ times the wandering prohibition was a daily system, which the inhabitants have to live with. The residential blocks acted as a defensive unit against foreigners consisting of up to 20 houses. The local inhabitants invented a temporary solution to overcome the negatives of the wandering prohibition through creating doors that connected the different houses together. Local inhabitants could exchange food, medicine and visit each other through this unique alternative. This alternative proves how far a spatial pattern can be livable to absorb the inhabitants’ needs within the same urban context.
Figure 5. Permeability graph for three houses of the during-occupation period showing spaces integration and accessibility

**House B-1:** Entrance } GR=T } BR=BR=S=FC } K=B

**House B-2:** Entrance } FC } T } GR=H } BR=K=SC=L=R

**House B-3:** Entrance } GR=H=G } BR=T=S=L } FC=B=K

Abbreviations: GR= Guest courtyard, GR= Guest room, BR= Bed room, T= Terrace, B= Bathroom, K= kitchen, SC= Service courtyard, H= Hall

Figure 6. Inhabitants of the traditional settlement in Al-Fawakhir residential block invented a solution to overcome the wandering prohibition ordered by the Israeli occupation by creating doors between houses to exchange medicine and other living materials. Some of the junior generation worked with the Israeli authorities especially in the building sector. The search for separate identity for each married couple, after the death of the senior generation, led to more and more segregation and individualism within the same family structure as well as the house form. The main
change in this transformation stage (type-b) was that each new family from the second generation within the house had formed its own entrance and services. However, majority of the existing houses belong to type-b houses that had been divided into 2 to 4 new nuclear families, each have its own separated property. The role of the family courtyard decreases and the guests’ courtyard had completely disappeared through the division process. The average new created house areas varied between 50 to 300 m² (Ahmed R., 1999) and the majority of the new formed houses didn’t have a façade to the main street. Most of the houses at this stage are accessible through new formed corridors within the original house area and the family courtyard, if there is any, became too small comparing to those originally found in the traditional houses.

5. VERTICAL OVERFILL PERIOD: Post-occupation period (type-c):
In “Al-Arish”, new house forms were built close to the traditional residential old center. This was following the increasing population due to the end of the Israeli occupation and its being the capital city of North-Sinai governorate, which accommodates government officials and receives the highest percentage of migration at the time. New buildings constructed at this period were typical multi-story apartment buildings, since the residents were mostly government officials, who arrived from the Nile valley to settle in Sinai.

The spatial pattern of the traditional residential core of “Al-Arish” had been harmfully influenced by the new construction wave of multi-story buildings accommodating the new migrants. The multi-story houses surrounded the traditional zone and completely destroyed the privacy of the families living in traditional
single-story houses. Therefore, the family courtyard lost its privacy and its symbolic importance for the family members. The main family courtyard, where all family activities used to take place, transformed to corridors connecting the different separated households and lost its original function as the core of the traditional house of “Al-Arish”.

The traditional family structure itself was influenced by the new type of buildings. Inherited plots became a good source of money to the younger generations, especially after the increase of land prices. Houses of this phase (type-c) had very small plot area comparing to types-a and b and varied between 20 to 150 m². Small plot areas, formed through the multi-inheritance processes, were mostly used as shops. Multi-story residential houses found its way to the area, and accelerated the transformation of urban patterns.

Figure 8. Multi-story buildings surrounding the traditional houses are destroying the privacy of the families living in traditional single-story house

In houses type-c, it was observed that the courtyard was transformed into corridors that linked the different households and the rooms were no longer designated for couples, due to the fact that the majority of the inhabitants shifted to nuclear families. According to plot forms and unplanned multi-division processes, new formed houses had very small room sizes and some of them were windowless.

6. COMPARISON OF CASES

Nuclear family structures became dominant, as the complex family system had disappeared along with the increasing individualism. Household sizes have decreased, suggesting a higher number of independent household formations upon marriage. The courtyard proved along the different time periods its symbolic and functional importance, although its role had been decreased over the time. Family courtyard in the early stages (type-a) had two main functions; circulation for accessing all rooms connected through it and accommodation for most of the family daily life activities such as; planting, washing clothes, cultural rituals and special events. During the occupation time, areas of the courtyards became smaller (type-b) and a new function had been added to the courtyards, as corridors connecting different households to exchange goods, medicine and different living needs. The function of this important element in later stages in post-war period (type-c) was limited to circulation and accessibility purposes (corridor) for the different house room, which became the dominant role for the yard.

The tribal system and the complex family structures in “Al-Arish” reinforced the function and the role of the courtyard as a central multi-functional yard in the pre-Occupation period. The gradual disappearance of complex family structures and the increasing domination of nuclear family structures is parallel to the loss of daily life functions in the courtyard. The changes in the social pattern and the influence of the occupation period on the society were reflected as well in the transformation of the configurational properties and the spatial pattern of the central space from main central courtyard in the pre-occupation period to a connectivity corridor in the post-occupation period.

The master bedroom designated for the head of the household in the pre-occupation period was one of the observable features of the traditional houses. Consequently, master bedroom was no longer sustained in later periods upon the disappearance of the complex family structure that allowed several nuclear families with only one head for household. Also the guest courtyard was one of the characteristics of “Arish”
traditional houses which disappeared upon the decrease of the area of the houses caused by the multi inheritance and subdivisions processes.

7. CONCLUSION:
This paper intended to explore how dynamic and livable traditional housing has been spatially configured and what were the resulting inhabitants' attitudes. However, it was remarkable through the analysis of the different spatial pattern and house forms along the three periods that the transformation of the spatial configuration was always a reflection to what had been changed in the family structure. This paper was a sort of implementation to the theory of Hillier; how to see the society through the prism of space. The space transformation and configuration in the case study area in “Al-Arish” was so rich and livable to reflect the real and actual needs and changes along a period of time.

Figure 9. Justified Permeability graphs of the selected houses, considering the family courtyard/ family hall as the graph root space

Evidently, the Israeli occupation for the Sinai Peninsula influenced the spatial pattern of the desert settlements. Traditional spatial form of desert settlements acted as a livable dynamic body that acted and reacted to the surrounding conditions and context. The morphology of the houses and the residential blocks allowed a simultaneous movement between the houses in spite of the wandering prohibition ordered by the occupation authorities. The unique spatial pattern of the traditional houses absorbed all social and political changes happened along the three periods.

The principle of -looking at the society through the prism of space- was highlighted at this paper. Looking at houses from “Arish” settlement would clearly tell us about the social pattern for the family living in this house. Overall, it was possible to relate transformations in spatial configuration to changing family structure, in which the household size has decreased considerably as a result of the transformation from complex family types to nuclear family types. When house and apartment plans from these periods were compared, findings revealed that the transformations in spatial configuration were parallel to shifts in family structure.

Consequently the hierarchy of the space organizations has been changed through the different periods. At residential block level, there was a decrease in the areas considered as private and semi-private accompanied with an increase in areas belonging to public and semi-public. These changes reflected the tendency towards more extroverted architecture in the post-occupancy periods.

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Title Page

Title of Submission: The Role of Religion and Cultural Alternatives in Health Maintenance and Health Seeking Among Latino Immigrants

Topic Area: Sociology

Presentation Format: Paper Session

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Abstract

The Role of Religion and Cultural Alternatives in Health Maintenance and Health Access Among Latino Immigrants

The role of religion and cultural alternatives in health maintenance and health seeking behavior are studied using three sources of data: 1) interviews of 96 Latino immigrants, 2) interviews of 12 Latino Home Town Association leaders and 3) interviews of five pastors/community health workers in churches serving immigrant communities and observations of a religiously anchored alternative organization. Seventy percent of the community sample lacked health insurance. Interviewees expressed extreme barriers to health care access when approaching county hospitals and clinics including very long waits for service, financial concerns, a lack of full communication with providers, and being treated rudely without respect.

The data suggest that because of these access barriers many turn to cultural alternatives involving religious or spiritual significance: 1) Prayer and faith were widely used to stay in good health and to treat health problems. Many expressed the view that “without faith there is nothing.” Ninety percent of the community respondents stated that they prayed for their own health or the health of a loved one on a regular basis. 2) Many frequented botanicas (herbal drugstores) and were using herbal remedies. In botanicas, herbals are often combined with religious icons and spiritual remedies. 3) There was extreme ambivalence in the use of folk healers when the term “curandero” was used. Some stated that they did not believe in “brujeria” (sorcery). However, when more neutral terms for folk healer (e.g., naturalista) were used the response was more
positive. Still, the use of folk healers was not the main channel for alternative health in this sample.

The study explored alternative health channels at the neighborhood level—specifically, the development of religiously anchored non-profit organizations linking health services and spirituality at the neighborhood level. QueensCare is highlighted as an example of this trend. In this program registered nurses provide weekly health screening in neighborhood churches with follow-up low cost clinical care. The care given is very holistic—body, mind and spiritual. These organizations provide an important alternative health safety net for uninsured Latino immigrants.
Economic Policies and Inter-ethnic Relations  
-Malaysia and Sri Lanka-

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Abstract:  
Despite the voluminous scholarship on the proliferation of inter-ethnic conflict in the multi-ethnic developing countries, a phenomenon of great significance remains largely unexamined: the impact of economic activities on inter-ethnic relation across multi-ethnic developing countries. In most multi-ethnic developing countries, the government attempts to play an important role in managing inter-ethnic relations by undertaking various economic activities; such as policies and strategies.

Both Malaysia in Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka in South Asia were generally a colonial inheritance and there was greater similarity in the economic systems of the two multi-ethnic countries. At the time of independence in 1957, Malaysia shared much in common with Sri Lanka in terms of its economic, social and cultural factors, including ethnic composition and the inequalities between ethnic groups. In comparing the records of Malaysia and Sri Lanka, during decolonization, expectations were that Sri Lanka would remain peaceful, whilst Malaysia risked extensive conflict. The reverse has proved to be the case. Sri Lanka deteriorated into a state of large-scale ethnic tension while Malaysia has been successful in preventing any ethnic tension from occurring and has managed to maintain some form of inter-ethnic relations with economic development.

The principal problem here, while maintaining with a similar pluralistic society, why Sri Lanka gradually deteriorate into a state of large-scale ethnic conflict during many periods of its post independence history, when a country like Malaysia succeeded in maintaining
a stable political structure and relatively harmonious relations between ethnic groups. In this regards, the research mainly focus on following questions: what are the origins of economic policies and policy regimes in both Malaysia and Sri Lanka, what do governments hope to achieve through the implementation of such policies, how do they work, whether the programs achieve what is intended, and what is the impact of economic policy and policy regimes on political stability and economic development in both countries since independence.

The purpose of this research is to answer those questions focusing on the overall performance record but putting special attention to the ethnicity, which is used here broadly to denote distinctions based on economic activities in Sri Lanka and Malaysia, both of them are multi-national and multi-ethnic state. The findings suggest that the implementation of different economic policies and strategies toward economic development and political stability in the post-colonial period had a major impact on current levels of inter-ethnic relations in the Malaysia and Sri Lanka.

**JEL Classification**: D74, I30, O1, O53

**Keywords**: Economic policy, Inter-ethnic relations, Malaysia, Sri Lanka
Title: How Treatment Works for Pregnant and Post-Partum Women with their Children in Treatment: A Case Study

Topic Area: Social Work

Format: Poster Presentation

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ABSTRACT

How Treatment Works for Pregnant and Post-Partum Women with their Children in Treatment: A Case Study

Scott Ray, Ph.D., Gary Talarchek, Ph.D. & Theata Blakes, MSW

Treatment centers for pregnant and post-partum women with accommodations for their children were initially funded by the Center for Substance Abuse Treatment (CSAT) in the early 1990s in response to two major concerns: (1) rising birth defects attributed to prenatal drug exposure; and (2) research documenting that the real concerns of substance-abusing women for providing for the care of their children without placing their legal custody at risk was one of the greatest single barriers to treatment. Infinity Treatment Center for Women and Children was established under those initial initiatives. Over the years Infinity has provided a successful array of services including a modified therapeutic community approach to all phases of residential treatment enhanced by a wide variety of wrap-around services and strategies for aftercare.

In addition to programmatic details, this presentation includes extensive data on changes experienced by Infinity clients from intake through follow-ups at six and 12 months post-intake and six months post-treatment on substance abuse, criminal involvement, mental health, and social functioning, including education and employment. Women persisting six months or more were followed-up at a rate of 94% at 12 months post-intake, and 91% at six months post-treatment. Results were based on measures from the Global Appraisal on Individual Needs Quick Screen (GAIN-QS) and the Government Performance and Results Act (GPRA) instruments. Clients experienced significant (p<.05) improvement on indicators in each of the investigated domains.
Likewise, children were assessed at quarterly intervals. Children five and under were assessed on developmental issues using the Battelle Developmental Inventory (BDI). Children five and above were assessed for behavioral problems with the Achenbach Child Behavioral Checklist (CBCL). Results on both measures verified significant improvements ($p<.05$) among children while in residence with their mothers at the Infinity Treatment Center.
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AN EXAMINATION OF THE TRIPARTITE MODEL OF SOCIETY

Relating Business, Government & the Civil Society

A Work in Progress

Abstract

The balanced tripartite model consisting of the civil, commercial and political sectors can be a useful representation of society. Reviewing the evolution of cultural forces, inherent tensions and the cooperative need between components- together with the rebalance mechanisms necessary for stability- provides structural insight into the dynamics of the modern liberal democratic society. Successful balance is found to rely upon maintaining acceptable variances between the expectations of each sector and the performance of the others. Without an approximate balance of power the model’s aberrations, such as totalitarianism or anarchy, occur. The relevance of sociological model trends are examined and found relevant to rebalance. The model’s application to the global society, which lacks an empowered civil sector, provides perspective on the developed problems and events of the modern world. Conclusions are sought on the usefulness and limitations of the model as a means of understanding the relation of business to the greater society.
A. Introduction

The tripartite model has evolved to represent the relationships between the three dominant sectors in contemporary society – the political, economic and civil. Considered within this structure society is virtually all inclusive of the community of interrelated individuals with a common set of those values which define acceptable norms of behavior.

The model’s usage correlates with efforts to probe solutions to what Cowen (2001) classifies as the three major groups of problems in the history of world change, “…the economic problems of subsistence and surplus, the political problems of stability and security, and finally the religious or ideological [civil] problems to do with our understanding of self, society and salvation.” The model’s most direct application to the nation state is within a liberal democracy.

The modern democratic society, despite occasional faults, is a triumph in the organization of complexity. It is a mosaic of diverse component parts, each developed over centuries of human endeavor and now fitting together in a functioning whole. Balance and long term stability must be achieved within the context of continually competing and shifting forces. The kinship ties which were the binding force of the earliest human societies have been left in history. Today, society must accommodate divisions of labor, numbing bureaucratic rules, social stratification, external threats, the twin ubiquitous of the tax collector and the warrior, and an elaborate government with functional checks and balances.
Models are paradigms and thus assumptions about the world. The inherent problem with a paradigm is the commitment to the world functioning in that mental construct – an emotional investment. The tripartite model developed herein is about power and the balance of same. Other models have been developed which are attributed to historical events and social forces acting within the state.

To understand the means by which stability is maintained in this system requires a brief examination of the evolution of human society and current functioning of the three main social sectors and their interrelationship via a working model. The model’s validity is reinforced when applied to global society not as a representation of reality but by displaying the lack of civil empowerment and the almost daily consequences of imbalance. Finally the model’s effectiveness and limitations are summed.

Note: The tripartite model analysis offers personal utility for the author in an ongoing examination of the relationship between commerce and the whole of society without direct incorporation of any social ideology. If there is a bias it is toward the laissez faire free market: However, with a caveat that it should be modified by structural changes in ownership and governance by size. Unforeseen in the time of Adam Smith, the current situation tends to distort commerce’s benefit to the common good and violates the principle of doing no harm.
B. The Evolved Society

Prehistory saw Homo sapiens, existing only at the subsistence level and organized into hunter/gatherer bands of 25-50 persons. Kinship ties are believed to characterize these commune like societies with leadership temporarily ceded to the specially skilled who could find and lead in the acquisition of the specific daily necessities for existence. This interdependent society was simple in structure with little evidence of social or economic stratification.

With the advent of agriculture, surpluses were generated. This profoundly changed society. Elite arose to take charge of the distribution of surplus and thus developed a social divide between the commoners and the political rulers. McNeill & McNeill (2003) note that this period witnessed specialization and division of labor, which in turn brought greater accumulation of wealth, “It also makes that society more stratified, more unequal. If a cooperative framework can be maintained, the larger the web [roughly, the interconnectedness] gets, the more wealth, power, and inequality its participating populations exhibit.”

The millennia leading to the Middle Ages saw the growth of cities and development of empires, the increase of commerce, expanding as the known world grew and the great struggles for territory and power began. The religions of the world and other social institutions had come into being.

Esping-Andersen (1990) noted the profound change between the Middle Ages and modern times when capitalism brought about the commodification of labor and goods necessary for survival. For the individual, this substituted for prior reliance on family, church and lord for survival: An impact surely equivalent to the aforementioned creation
of surplus. Commodification gave rise to the needs for welfare or entitlement in various degrees, provided by the political at the behest of the civil.

Finally, the movement toward nationhood began. As described by Cowen (2001) “From the power vested in the productivity of the land, in the material and spiritual authority of the church, in the financial independence of the town and the intellectual independence of the universities, there emerged a complex of forces shaping the new society. Slowly, and with many checks and balances, [there] came a concentration of powers which from the thirteenth century increasingly took the form of sovereignty. This had two main aspects: providing the law and order within the territory, and defending it against attack.” “In the three westerly kingdoms of England, Spain and France, it was the acceptance of hereditary monarchy at the apex of the system which pointed the way forward.”

To reach the present democratic form, the absolute rulers gave way, first to the nobility and then to the people, albeit with reluctance. A balanced system was finally achieved in the form of today’s democracy and the astounding situation in which the ruling political sector serves at the will of the people.

The economic sector originated with the ancient traders who, as a class were reviled but tolerated as a necessity to convert one society’s inherent resources to desired goods from afar, including the exotic luxuries, such as silks and spices (or obsidian), desired by the despot. Rulers later discovered commerce as a means to generate the wealth needed to finance their wars and thus a means to expand empire. Generally they took firm command of the economy and this eventually led to Mercantilism. Classical economic theory, embodied in the works of Smith and then Ricardo came into being, separating the economic from the political sector and establishing a free market. Finally,
the modern nation views the economic sector as a way to maintain a healthy, employed economy and to create the tax revenue to support its government and to fund policy initiatives.

The classic concept of civil society emerged with the polis of the Greek city-states of the Classic Era, while the more modern concept, the body of citizens and their pluralistic associations existing parallel to the political state, arose with the Enlightenment, Thomas Paine and Hegel. The political state yielded power and, dramatically came to be serving at the pleasure of the civil. Ernst Gellner (1994) highlighted the aforementioned paradox inherent in this transformation, developed through a succession of steps which included the Magna Carta and the United States Constitution. Born with considerable disruption and bloodshed, the system of democracy now finds the citizen beholden to the state, the leaders of which in turn, can be held to standards of non abusive use of power or be peaceably ousted by those same citizens of the civil sector. Thus Karl Popper’s Open Society had arrived.

Three sectors have thus evolved to become the liberal democracy within a somewhat fragile framework

**The Political Sector**

The political sector is comprised of government at all levels elected, appointed or part of the standing bureaucracy. The judiciary, because it is a part of the three branches of the federal structure (and because it is to a degree influenced by the public sentiments) is included as are the various quasi independent agencies and alliances created to carry out the mandate of governing and protecting the nation. To the extent that treaty or informal agreement creates participation in external bodies, such as the United Nations,
World Trade Organization or World Bank, that participation is considered political despite sharing some economic objectives.

**The Economic Sector**

The economic sector consists of all corporations and their allied institutions and organizations which function to promote the free enterprise system practiced in a democracy. Thus it includes Chambers of Commerce, Public Action Committees (PACs) sponsored by business, lobbyists and trade associations. The economic sector also consists globally, of banking systems, the financial services industry, hybrid alliances both private and political (the latter would include the World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, each of which should be considered hybrid political/economic entities).

**The Civil Sector**

The civil sector contains all of society not classified as economic or political and thus encompasses individuals as well as their myriad organizations. It is described as the aggregate of all pluralistic associations and interests in each of which individuals are free to join or leave at any time and to set their own objectives. Religious, fraternal, labor, environmental, philanthropic, labor unions, academic institutions, ethnic or other forms of cultures and community are all under this umbrella.

As described by Rosenblum and Post (2002) “Civil society is a zone of freedom for individuals to associate with others and for groups to shape their norms, articulate their purposes, and determine for themselves the internal structure of group authority and identity.” [Note: The Civil Sector as defined and used herein is equivalent to the *Civil*
Society found in most of the general literature, although its definition there has assumed wide latitude.

The ‘uncivil’ such as criminals, terrorists or those seeking the forcible overthrow of the system – those not abiding by the laws of the society are excluded from the civil sector.
C. Models

Virtually all social models are theoretical constructs of processes or structures with logical qualitative relationships between principal elements. They are assembled to discover new insights or test hypothetical understanding. Advantage is found in the ability to break down complexity into its key characteristics. The inherent, general limitation of a model is that it is a representation of a far more complex reality and must therefore simplify that reality, frequently into some type of abstraction. Models admit to whatever ideological bias the originator may impart.

A listing of all social models is beyond the scope of this effort. A few are noted for their insights into the politically charged areas outside the purview of the tripartite. Their tangential perspectives on the tripartite model are important for future research. The following are some social areas and models which aim at the motives behind the tripartite and thus provide insights into its operation.

Political Sociology

Political sociology seeks to study the social basis of politics, its inequalities, and how movements and trends outside of power affect policies or, alternatively how social forces change political policies.

Three essential models of political sociology as noted by Goertzel(1976) are;

Marxist Political/Economic Model. An expectation of tension, conflict and change in a social class oriented theory
Power/Elite Model. Belief that elites persist and are necessary but endanger society by leading to a future totalitarianism. Opposed to both Marxist and liberal democracy formats.

Pluralist Model. The liberal democracy, which lacks the intellectual force of the other models. Government is viewed as a reactive representative of interest group initiatives and possesses little freedom from their leadership.

Political Spectra

Dealing with models can entail introduction of spectra of beliefs, demographics or other variables, including ideological frameworks. These axes include; urban/rural, assimilation/multicultural, left/right, liberty/security, and outcomes/processes. It is premature to more than note these dimensions relative to the tripartite model.

Welfare Capitalism

Concern for the direction of the welfare state, a fixture of the mid 20th century industrial society, began in the latter part of the century as the perceived forces of the market and globalization were credited with its diminishment. Fundamentally the welfare state looks after the personal needs of society’s individuals and especially those unable to do so themselves.

The welfare requirement was foreseen by the icon of the free market, Adam Smith (1976) when speaking of the sharing of wealth by the higher earnings of labor. Terming the ‘lower ranks’ as the majority of society, he said “…what improves the circumstances of the greater part can never be regarded as inconvenience to the whole [and] it is but
equity [that they] should have such a share of the produce of their own labour as to themselves [be] tolerably well fed, clothed and lodged.”

Esping-Andersen (1990) provided the landmark separation of three ‘regimes’ of welfare capitalism – liberal, conservative (corporatist) and social democratic. He identified the United States, Germany and Sweden respectively as the exemplars of each.

A brief description of each and the welfare delivery mechanisms are:

Liberal – Limited and means tested. Government and market plus non-profit organizations provide.

Corporatist – Heavy reliance on the state to supply

Social Democratic – The so called Nordic model, engendered by working class/middle class separating welfare from the market. State sponsors and delivers.

A more detailed study of the Nordic model of the Scandinavian countries is provided by Goetschy (1994) covering the social democrats’ hegemony. The regime was achieved by class compromises between labor and capital. Today’s strain of the European Unions’s emergence and economic globalization in general are credited with having placed a welfare burden on the Nordic countries and extending to all of Western Europe.

Perhaps motivated by the diminishment of welfare, Salamon, Sokolowski and Anheir (2000) applied Esping-Andersen’s categories to their study of non-profit/state relationships added a fourth regime:

Statist. In which the state has power over social policies but is constrained on actual provision. It exercises power on its own behalf, or that of economic elites and is not an instrument of the working class
The modification of the liberal regime has come about in the current era, when for example market pressures and bankruptcies of companies result in jeopardizing pensions and decreased medical benefits for retirees. The question arises of how much welfare the market (employer) is now to be required to carry.

**Computer Simulations**

Simulations are drawn from either sociology or economics and there is little indication of broad simulation capabilities to represent society as a whole. The objective is to understand social processes by simple interaction records, hoping to see complex behavioral characteristics emerge from transactional patterns. One study for example seeks to find ties between political actors implicit in their actions on various public issues.

**Tripartite**

The tripartite is a functional representation of the cooperation and tension between sectors but primarily it is a balance of power, power of each sector to defend its interests and treatment. Missing and perhaps superimposable are the various sociological models noted above.

An example of added sophistication for analysis of the liberal democratic society is found in the work of Wilson and DiIulio (2001) where the distribution of power is described for the setting of government policies. The authors set four models and admit to their applicability, individually or in combination, dependent on circumstance. They cite

- Economic Determinism – client interests, e.g., farmers
- Elitist – Powerful, but changeable, interest groups
Bureaucratic – Discretion delegated to the government agency

Pluralist – Diversified groups from the broad civil sector.

Notes: 1) The model referred to herein as tripartite and consisting of the three sectors is a relatively recent convention with no origin traceable by this author. Usage is fairly widespread and effective, recently by Chambers (2002), Post, Lawrence, & Weber (1999), Waddock (2002) and Carroll & Bucholtz (2001).

2) Aberrations of the tripartite, when one sector becomes dominant – mercantilism, anarchy, socialism or totalitarianism, are excluded since pure power manifested in one or possibly two sectors alone provide for no balance.
D. Tripartite Democracy

The civil society was empowered when it won the hallmark voting franchise and freedom of association. With strength of voice thus guaranteed in a democracy, balance with the political and economic sectors followed. Selected aspects of the dynamic are relevant to the model.

Manifest in the workings of society is a view which follows the divide of two strains of intellectual development – the literal, scientific, fact driven path which ultimately resulted in the pragmatism of the market. Alternatively the humanistic, ’what kind of life, and how it should be lived’ thought processes propelled initially by both religion and philosophy defined the second path. Controversy continues in their uneasy heredity of today in the democratic society.

Over time the three significant substructures emerged as the physical/scientific and the humanistic streams merged into a stable society with three balanced Sectors – Political, Economic and the pluralistic remainder, termed Civil. Together they function and share power in a liberal democracy in a productive dynamic of both cooperation and competition for resources.

- The Political Sector embodies the principles derived from the metaphysics and is subject overall to the will of the governed. However it is frequently influenced by narrowly focused, single issue groups of all persuasions. It looks to the civil sector for legitimacy and to the economic for a healthy economy: (which will produce reasonably full employment and tax revenue to fund its operations and programs). The state must be sufficiently strong to enforce ‘civility’ as defined by the rule of law intrinsic to a democracy.
• The Economic Sector, derived from the physical well-being and materialistic line of human development is powered with a cohesive ideology of self interest and economic liberalism. It operates under a franchise from the remainder of society, and thus, is a creature of the state. It looks to the political sector for tolerance and support to operate in accordance with its own interests.

• The Civil Sector, pluralistic in nature, is grounded in the philosophy of freedom, equity and democracy, and capable of enforcing its will when performance of the political or economic components does not fall within the tolerance limits of its expectations. It looks to the economic for the means to sustain life and improvement of well-being in an efficient and ethical manner and to the political sector for security, freedom, and equity under the law, with redistribution of surplus where appropriate. Beyond this its needs are for jobs and low taxes.

Totalitarian regimes quickly coopt or eliminate the civil society on coming to power.

The physical representation of the model depicts the three sectors, each at the apex of a triangle, and each connected to the others.

The Tripartite Corrective

Harmonious operation of the sectors is dependent on balance. The actual performance of each sector is measured against the expectations of the other two. Within a margin of tolerance a gap is allowed between expectation and performance, where there is unease but before action (usually political) is taken against the offending third.
Within a democracy there is a progression of events meant to restore any imbalance exceeding tolerance and when direct appeal is ineffective. (Post, Lawrence & Weber (1999).)

- Either expectations or performance change when public awareness is raised through the expressed opinion or facts voiced by an influential source such as the media or a political figure. Alternatively a major catastrophe such as the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire and deaths of women and children in New York City in 1911, which resulted in major workplace laws, may galvanize the civil sector to demand action (Linder 2002).

- Action is initiated as the issue is supported by a growing number of institutions or groups and the political sector is thus challenged to act

- Formal government action follows and legislative action begins to pass appropriate laws or, the Supreme Court provides the Constitutional basis for action.

- Finally, there is legal enforcement, the degree of which may be determined by the ideology of the Administration, e.g. views on antitrust enforcement altering by political party.

The issue may fail to result in legislation, in which case the performance/expectation gap becomes an irritant which lasts till the protests recur and there is another attempt at legislation. Alternatively, interest may wither and the issue dies.

Historically, violence has occurred even in democratic societies when performance/expectation gaps have not been remedied. Corrective Trends follow a wide spectrum of transitory standard bearers until solutions are found. These trends, not always
attended by violence, have included Populism, the Progressive Movement, the Slavery and Civil Rights issues, and find expression today in the WalMart social/economic debate are part of the continuing dialogue. The latter case is framed between poor wages and working conditions against the good of lower prices for a substantial public.

**Direction**

To understand the direction of society it is useful to examine a characteristic and a concept – Pluralism and the Common Good

**Pluralism.** Myriad social forces are represented in the pluralistic society of the modern democracy. The Enlightenment exaltation of the individual, the Reformation, the fragmentation and atomization of the industrial age, diasporas, and intensified globalization, have produced unique individual wants and organizations within the civil sector. Individual background, occupation and personal beliefs motivate the individual’s associations.

Thus, within a single culture or nation it is now common for one individual to maintain autonomous association and loyalties to diverse groups, each with their own interests, culture or special cause. The civil society is comprised of these groups, representing both a blessing for individualism and a frustration for the communitarian. Overall it disburses the concentration of the balancing power of the civil sector.

**The Common Good.** Waddock (2002) describes the concept thusly, “…the critical role of institutions in the political sphere is to determine what actions, policies, and rules are in the public interest or the common good and to set the rules of society that foster that common good [which are] the particular standards and values that people in a
society generally agree are in the best interests of that society…In most democratic nations, the common good is underpinned by values such as social justice, equity and fairness, and human dignity.” A publication by the Markulla Center (2003) notes that the concept has been in existence for over two thousand years in the writings of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and more recently, John Rawls. Rawls (1993) termed this tendency toward some shared goals as the “overlapping consensus” which could only exist when the society had agreement of *justice as fairness*.

The critics of pluralism cite relative values, individual freedom and unequal sharing of the burdens, all as reasons for disparagement. On a more pragmatic basis the fundamental utilitarianism of the social contract of a democratic society requires limits to individual freedom and self interest in the broader civil sector, no less than it must for the corporations of the economic sector.

Without denigrating the debate or the legitimate positions of each side of the communitarian/ classic liberalism perceptions, it would seem that the most useful approach to the common good is expressed by Raeder (1998), that it is “All we can truly have in common with our fellows in a great society, and thus the only basis for a genuine agreement regarding the ‘kind of society’ in which we would like to live, as opposed to opinions about the particular manifestations it should assume. Commitment to such shared general values, not the pursuit of common concrete purposes, constitutes social cohesion in a great society.”
E. Global Considerations

The tripartite model considered for global society is useful for the paradoxical reason that it demonstrates two missing factors which keep it from being rational. Specifically absent are the binding lines of cooperation between coherent sectors and an empowered civil sector. However, there are shadow indications of a rationalization of global society, moving toward the model’s structure.

Significant attention has been directed toward two controversial aspects of world society – globalization and the global civil society.

Tony Judt in the February 10, 2005 issue of the New York Review of Books makes the point that globalization is not primarily about trade, communications and economics. He quotes Guehenno (1995) that “Having lost the comfort of our geographic boundaries, we must in effect rediscover what creates the bond between humans that constitute a community.” This interconnectedness has been eloquently expressed, before by McLuhan through his Global Village (1962 &1964), implicitly in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, and since by the McNeills’ Human Web (2003). Modern technology makes inexpensive transportation and communication possible. This results in an accelerating melding of cultures, diasporas of magnitude, and shared transcontinental values, together with an encroaching cosmopolitanism.

Structure

A brief examination of the three traditional sectors in the global arena is relevant:
Political: The Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 bequeathed to future generations the idea of national sovereignty and with it a 350 year experiment in what has been termed an anarchy of nations. Sovereignty of course did not eliminate wars of trade, power and hegemony. Of recent times however the ruler’s supreme authority within a territory has been challenged on other grounds. Armed intervention in the name of democracy, human rights and humanitarian need have been deemed justified, usually by an alliance of nations.

Economic: The jealously guarded sovereignty of governments generates goals which frequently differ from those of other nations. Thus, they tend to operate independently. The net effect positions commerce, with its higher degree of complexity and sophistication, to stay well ahead of any one government and its abilities to tax, regulate or otherwise curb wrong practices.

Civil: The concept of ‘Civil Society’ had resurgence, post Soviet control of Eastern Europe, as those nations reinvented and strengthened the needed institutions. A further resurgence of interest in the concept leads to a frequently mythological status in the literature as a utopian possibility. Rationality is beginning to prevail as writers such as John Keane (2003) support it as a normative ideal, but are not confusing it with near term reality.

The global civil society currently lacks an articulated, unifying vision. However, McNeill (1992) discussed this coalescence of society with his expectation of the economic [and political] processes creating a “consciousness of the human species as a whole, [participating] in a global system”. Thus, human rights seem to be a departure point for a concept of world citizenship and the expansion of a global Civil Society.
Challenges

Leadership. Lacking a focused leadership or coherent civil sector it is unsurprising that global problems are approached somewhat *ad hoc*. The Copenhagen Consensus represents one such effort. The project, an initiative of Bjorn Lumborg (2004) assembled a group of eminent economists to study and *rationally* prioritize projects for the global welfare. The resultant conclusions finalized on such challenges as diseases, malnutrition, climate, governance, subsidies and trade all of which made the initial list of topics.

Pace Dolitsky (1998), drawing on the work of Eisenstadt, offers the observation that …”different institutional spheres [for example political, religious, economic] within the same society increase and/or decrease in complexity at much different rates; there is no reason to believe that they will all reach similar stages of …complexity”. The original religious sphere has expanded to become the current pluralistic and secular civil sector without diminishing the point that all sectors do not necessarily move forward at the same rate.

The economic sophistication of the business/investment community (commerce) has globally tended to outstrip the ability of the sovereign political entities to exercise normal and accepted governance. Interestingly, the growth of the civil sector through single issue organizations, their mobility and effectiveness in seeking direct, as well as political, action to change the economic sector seems to be an attempt by society to rebalance itself. Global environmental movements, World Trade Organization protest demonstrations, and the trend to legitimize certain non governmental organizations, are all examples of this rebalancing phenomenon.
Purpose. Critics of economic globalization see ever growing exploitation of people, undeveloped nations and the environment and other global commons in an ungoverned quest for profit. Alternatively, the economic sector sees commercial enterprise as having created the wealth of the world and with it an extraordinary elevation of the general quality of life. It further believes that with time the proportion of society benefiting from this progress has grown.

Trade. International trade presents a unique challenge when the pressure to combine mandates pursuing humanitarian objectives with extension of favorable trade conditions. Bhagwhati (2004), a strong proponent of free trade argues for separation of the two issues but, by example, works for equal pursuit of both objectives.

Rational Connections

Articles in two issues of *Foreign Affairs* addressed the redistribution of power from the nation to the markets and civil interests, as well as a significant solution to the sovereignty retention issue. Jessica Matthews (1997) makes three relevant points; emphasizing the growing influence of the Non Governmental Organizations(NGOs), the fact that a conceptual global civil right of all people has superseded sovereignty to the point that interference in internal affairs by other nations is legitimatized in the case of national strife or, more recently, when a common good is perceived to be jeopardized. Finally, nations no longer have the option, politically or economically, to withdraw from the global arena without harming the economy of the country.

Stung by the collapse of the League of Nations few saw that the time had come in 1945 for a forum where all the nations of the world could engage in constructive conversation. However the United Nations was born. Despite subsequent frustration over
political impotence, bureaucratic bloat and corruption there have been victories, specifically in humanitarian efforts. Through its almost sixty year durability (certainly a manifestation of hope by all nations), a certain respect for the institution has developed. This is exhibited by the desire for legitimacy of action which brings world leaders to appeal for its support in times of crises.

Anne-Marie Slaughter (1997 and 2004) expands earlier work by Keohane and Nye to note a pragmatic movement toward cooperation between functional parts of governments facing common problems. The process, termed *Transgovernmentalism*, sees the central banks, judiciary, insurance and security agencies and others in network with their foreign counterparts. The results achieved to date have included standardized procedures, commonality of jurisprudence, informal memoranda of understanding and shared information. Sovereignty is undisturbed, and to a degree removed from partisan political influence. These procedural matters yield unthreatening pragmatic solutions.

An increasingly interconnected world occasions regular debate on the survival of the nation state. There are of strong opinions both from the conservative, and radical, liberal parts of the political spectrum. However the requirement for maintenance of internal order and the fervor of nationalism (as well as the reluctance to yield any sovereignty) within each country mitigates for the state’s longevity.
F. Going Forward

Review of the evolution of liberal democracy and relationships between the three sectors of society lead to a general conclusion:

The tripartite model is satisfactory as a conceptual structure for the liberal democracy. However, full representation of the dynamics of relationships between the current political, economic and civil sectors requires superposition of the sociological factors driving society.

The relative values and strength of purpose of the civil society, countering the drive for wealth in the economic sector and politically coercive power in the government, make it the key to achieving balance and thus validates the model.

Proof of validity is found in the major Movements of the past which resulted in change. To the resolution of such issues as Civil Rights and workplace safety may be added a global perspective representing the will of civil forces include the English Reform Laws of the early/mid 19th Century, and the more recent resurgence of democracy in parts of the former Soviet Union.

Considering this phenomenon in the light of the sociological models leads to a second tentative conclusion;

Sociological model trends are an indication of the expectation/performance gap which, when growing, foretells of significant change.

Another example clarifies this point – the late 19th century in the United States saw tremendous accumulations of individual wealth built on monopolistic business practices – an era of the so called ‘robber barons’. The power/elite model was essentially
in place and radical elements dwelt on the class differences. Welfare capitalism was virtually nonexistent as a concept. After decades of accumulating pressure (growth of the gap) the Antitrust Laws were enacted, followed shortly by corrections of labor and working condition corrections. A rebalance began which continued beyond mid 20th century, introducing benevolent welfare capitalism in a liberal regime.

Domestic social trends of today bring about unrest over the dislocations, governance failures and inequities perceived as faults of the economic sector and expressed in anti-globalization, distress over outsourcing, and the concentration of wealth (elitism) and a system apparently moving from liberal to statist. The Sarbanes-Oxley Act represented a partial rebalance of the business governance problem and was an immediate reaction to a blatant departure from the norms of society.

**Qualifying Conditions**

The usefulness of the tripartite model in a liberal democracy depends on its relationship to reality. Several factors govern this ability to mirror society or to present caveats in its use.

**Survival of Civil Society.** There are concerns about civil society and specifically the ability of democracy to survive in too large a society. Putnam’s perception (2000) is that of a decline in *social capital* in the United States during the latter 20th century. Social capital is roughly defined as the amount of coordination and cooperation between citizens which allows a smooth functioning democratic society. It may be gained or lost depending on the degree of that society’s willingness to associate. Thus Putnam’s findings of decline were viewed as a civil weakness.
Fukuyama (1995) emphasized the importance to society that it acquires social as well as physical capital in order to flourish. He deemed trust as the cornerstone of stability and smooth functioning of society [countered today with lowered level of esteem in which commerce and political leadership is held].

Kim (2004) in an analysis of Weber raises the issue of whether the rise of secularization and rationalism undermine liberal democracy by dilution of focus in the civil sector. Chambers (2002) counters the tripartite balance concept, believing that possibly both the state and capitalistic economic relations are harmfully intrusive to the freedoms necessary for the civil society.

**Representation** Although single lines of sector interconnection and monolithic entities are considered for each sector there is fragmentation brought about by myriad issues. Thus an entire field of forces exists, both between the sectors and within each sector. Their alignment at any one time, translated to action may temporarily counter general trends.

**Exclusion** The needs and desires of all segments of each sector are ideal if inclusively represented. However, some major parts seem to have opted out of the system. Shipler (2004) calculates that the differences in voting patterns between economic strata of society are significant. Specifically he finds that if the lower economic levels of society voted in the same percentage as the top then 6.8 million more voters inclined favorably toward welfare measures would have been at the polls. Within the economic sector, grants of advantage by the government, e.g., the more sophisticated tax advantages, tend to exclude smaller businesses from equal benefits.
**Sector Coherence.** The three sectors are fluid entities with some ill defined edges, spanned by hybrid organizations, coalitions and internally conflicted motives.

**Global.** Missing an effective global civil sector leaves the global political scene as an arena of military hegemony, mitigated by strengthened ties of commerce. Hence the tripartite model serves the dubious function of highlighting what is absent.

**Forward**

As a Work-in-Progress this study began with a simple structure of three sectors and an appreciation for the rebalance mechanism which results from a performance/expectation gap which exceeds limits of toleration. The introduction of social factors and models holds the promise of measuring the size of the disparity and potential for prediction of when change will occur. Globally the model is on a weaker foundation and represents an ideal for which there is no assurance of direction.
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“There’s no doubt that Syria is a big problem.”
--Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, February 16, 2005

“[The Hariri assassination] is just one in a string of things that [Syria has] done over the last 20, 25 years that—that shows they’re not responding to any other pressure.”
--General Wayne Downing, US Army (Ret.) ‘Hardball with Chris Matthews,’ February 22, 2005

**Syria as Agitator—and What the US Should Do About It**

Syria is a state sponsor of terrorism, second only to Iran as the world’s biggest terror supporter; it has chemical weapons, and likely desires other weapons of mass destruction, though not to the extent that Iraq at one time did; until recently it occupied and still controls its neighbor Lebanon, though Israel’s occupation is more visible; it supports anti-American and anti-Israeli terror groups, though not to quite the same extent that the Palestinians do; it brutally suppresses its own people, though not to the same degree that Saddam Hussein did; and its Baathist government supports the insurgency of its formerly more powerful rival in Iraq.\(^2\)

These deplorable actions by Syria have served the causes of murder and repression throughout the Middle East for decades. Despite this, Syria has always received less attention than warranted from US and international policymakers because their cohorts were always one step behind a more egregious violator of peace and human rights. Collectively, however, the synergy is so striking that Syria must be declared the world’s “Most Devious Nation”—reaping credentials, not for a few first place wins, but rather, numerous second place finishes. Call them the “Buffalo Bills of the Mideast.”\(^3\) But

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\(^3\) The NFL’s Buffalo Bills were runners-up in four straight Super Bowls to begin the 1990s and are thought of as one of America’s consummate second-place teams.
unfortunately, there’s no reward or attention for second place, and it’s why Syria has been able to avoid much of the consideration and wrath of successive White House administrations.

**Syria’s Regional Importance**

Syria has always been seen as a follower and not a leader when it comes to impeding peace in the Middle East, although they have not been viewed in this way. The notion that Syria is a minor player in the international peace process has to be augmented with the truth; they indeed profoundly influence events in Lebanon, Israel, Iraq, Iran, and Turkey; ergo the United States. This realization should have come long ago, but it is nevertheless crucial today to alter Syria’s benign label by examining the facts surrounding their historical role as grand agitator in the Middle East. The region’s understanding must shift so that truth is indeed perception, not the other way around. As President Bush said in his weekly radio address on March 5th, 2005, “Syria’s support for terrorism remains a key obstacle to peace in the broader Middle East.”

In addition, he laid out but a few of the ways that Syria plays a large role in affecting the region:

The US government expects Syria to find and turn over supporters of Saddam’s regime. Syria should not use its territory to support international terrorist groups. The United States expects Syria to adhere to UN Security Council Resolution 1559; which calls for the removal of troops from Lebanon; and Syria is expected to help free and fair elections to take place in Lebanon. These requests are all very reasonable and are aimed at making the world more peaceful.

General Montgomery Meigs, US Army (Ret.), has said of Syria’s control of Beitut, “if you take Lebanon away, Hamas and Hezbollah lose one of their major staging areas for actions against Israel.”

Asad’s regime has spread anti-Semitism, further stifling Syrian reconciliation with Israel over the Golan Heights and the overall Mideast peace process. Asad himself even used the international attention brought from the visit of Pope John Paul II in May 2001 as a global platform to deliver anti-Semitic remarks.

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4 President George W. Bush, radio address, 5 March 2005.
8 For further information on anti-Semitism in Syria, see US Department of State, “Report on Global Anti-Semitism” The Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on International Relations, 30 December 2004; accessed 19 May 2005; available from [http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/40258.htm](http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/40258.htm) Internet.
Historic Context

American-Syrian Relations
In recent decades, some cooperation between Syria and the United States has occurred. However, as a result of the Six Day War, Syrian-American relations were severed in 1967 and weren’t restored until the Syrian-Israeli disengagement agreement in June 1974. In 1990-91, Syria joined with the US as a member of the multinational coalition of forces in the Gulf War. The US and Syria also consulted closely on the Taif Accord, ending the civil war in Lebanon. In 1991, Syria accepted US brokering of peace talks with Israel. Other moves by Syria to improve relations with the US came from their efforts to secure the release of Western hostages held in Lebanon and through the removal of travel restrictions of Syrian Jews. The most recent presidential summit was in Geneva in March 2000 between President Clinton and the late President Hafiz al-Asad, and limited cooperation in the war on terror began after September 11th, 2001.9

Despite these sporadic incidences, their bilateral relationship can generally be characterized as cold and serious differences persist. Syria has been on the US list of state sponsors of terrorism since the list’s inception in 1979. Because of its continuing support and safe haven for terrorist organizations, Syria is subject to legislatively mandated penalties, including export sanctions and ineligibility to receive most forms of US aid or to purchase US military equipment.

The US withdrew its ambassador and imposed additional administrative sanctions on Syria in 1986 in response to evidence of direct Syrian involvement in an attempt to bring down an Israeli plane. A US ambassador returned to Damascus the following year, partially in response to positive Syrian actions against terrorism such as expelling the Abu Nidal Organization from Syria and helping free an American hostage earlier that year. According to the US State Department, “there is no evidence that Syrian officials have been directly involved in planning or executing terrorist attacks since 1986” [my emphasis].10

Syria Accountability Act of 2003

US policymakers have been struggling for decades to nudge Syrian compliance on the multitude of issues outlined above, but without much success. With the implementation of the Syria Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act of 2003 (SAA), unilateral economic sanctions were supposed to force the Syrians out of Lebanon, halt their support for terrorists in Iraq and Israel, and lead them to relinquish their WMD and associated programs. However, it is clear that unilateral US economic action will not have the desired impact on the Syrian government, mainly because of the small level of contact between the two nations.

Theoretically, imposing United Nation’s restrictions on Syria’s petroleum exports would be a source of leverage because they constitute a large portion of that government’s

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9 Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs “Background Note: Syria” US Department of State, August 2004.
10 Ibid.
revenue. Practically, however, implementation of oil sanctions are largely ineffective, as the world should now be all too aware. And since Syria was the nation most complicit in helping Iraq sidestep the UN Oil-for-Food program, it certainly would have the knowledge to help itself avoid the same sanctions via a similar network of international corruption. Syria’s 500,000 plus bpd would require international cooperation to control, and although its volume is not large enough to have a real impact on the global markets, developing nations like China would not welcome any additional supply pressures, making sanctions unlikely to pass through the Security Council. According to Jon Alterman, the director of the Middle East Program at the Center for Strategic & International Studies and formerly with the State Department, “we [the United States] do not have many tools to use in our relationship with Syria. Their status on the US list of state sponsors of terrorism limits US government and private sector activities in Syria, and the absence of a vibrant economy in Syria limits our ties still further.”

If the economic sanctions from the SAA don’t produce results, surely the Act’s other components meant to punish the Syrians will leave them quivering—such as the provision that calls for limiting the movements of Syrian diplomats in the US and/or freezing assets of the Syrian government and certain individuals in the US; or maybe the Act’s “prohibition on aircraft of any air carrier owned or controlled by the Syrian government to take off from or land in the United States,” will cause Syrian panic? As it stands, there aren’t enough Syrian assets in the US to substantially impact Syria, and there was essentially zero air travel between the two countries even before the 2003 legislation. Therefore, these punishments are in effect nothing more than symbolic gestures—the kind of symbolism that (unfortunately, but realistically) will not get Syria to give up their terror sponsorship or their WMDs. According to the US State Department:

Implementation of sanctions comes after many months of diplomatic efforts to convince the Syrian government to change its unacceptable behavior. Secretary Powell conveyed US concerns to Syrian President Asad repeatedly, including in their May 2003 meeting. The Syrian government has failed to take significant, concrete steps to address these concerns.

The SAA’s intentions are honorable, but because it lacks teeth, it will have little affect on reversing Syria’s hostile policies. It should be viewed as only a start toward tougher action against Syria and by no means a panacea. According to the White House,

11 China, as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, has the power to veto any Security Council resolution.
14 Ibid.
15 Syrian government and individual assets in the US is likely to be too small to put any genuine financial pressure on the Asad regime.
The President will consider additional sanctions against the Government of Syria if it does not take serious and concrete steps to cease its support for terrorist groups, terminate its weapons of mass destruction programs, withdraw its troops from Lebanon, and cooperate fully with the international community in promoting the stabilization and reconstruction of Iraq.\footnote{Office of the White House Press Secretary. “Fact Sheet: Implementing the Syria Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act of 2003” 11 May 2004.}

Unfortunately, the other sanctions in the Act from which the president can choose would also prove unfruitful and meaningless toward affecting a change in Asad.

Others have also criticized the SAA, such as Claude Salhani of the CATO Institute, who wrote in March 2004 that the Act would not bring about the desired American change in Syria. He argues, however, that the SAA is far too hostile and confrontational, not too weak. According to Salhani, the Act does not offer enough carrots to go along with the many sticks, and that it ultimately “leads in the wrong direction in the fight against anti-American terrorists by escalating an unnecessary conflict in the Middle East that will only strengthen those who wish us harm.”\footnote{Salhani, Claude. “The Syria Accountability Act: Taking the Wrong Road to Damascus” The Cato Institute, 18 March 2004; Accessed 18 May 2005; available from http://0-www.ciaonet.org.bianca.penlib.du.edu/main/focus01frm.html; Internet.}

I could not disagree more with Mr. Salhani’s belief that a softer policy will compel Syria to change. Just as President Eisenhower advised President Kennedy in dealing with the Soviet Union, only demonstrations of military strength are respected by nations like Syria. Time and time again, the most effective means of altering Syrian behavior has been through the use of diplomatic pressure and the threat of force, not by offering rewards to cease callous behavior.

Asad even said in February 2005, “Washington has imposed sanctions on us and isolated us in the past, but each time the circle hasn’t closed around us. If, however, you ask me if I’m expecting an armed attack, well, I’ve seen it coming since the end of the war in Iraq.” It seems likely that Asad feared Bush’s tough talk would turn into action and was therefore largely responsible for Asad’s pullback from Lebanon. Nonetheless, as appearances are so important in the Mideast, Asad can’t be seen as weak by bowing to US demands. That is why he commented in a speech before Syria’s parliament on March 5\textsuperscript{th}, 2005, “there is an impression, which is wrong, that Syria is in a predicament and we have to find a way out.”\footnote{Nwazota, Kristina. “Syria’s Role in the Middle East” PBS Online NewsHour; accessed 20 May 2005; available from http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/middle_east/syria/us.html; Internet.}

To refute Salhani’s contention even farther, I cite remarks made by Jon Alterman in responding to a statement by Bush administration officials in April 2003: “The fact that administration comment tailed off so quickly suggests that the Syrians backed down
...The pattern often is that the United States threatens the Syrians, and the Syrians back off.\footnote{Alterman, Jon. “Tensions with Syria: Harbinger for Region” Center for Strategic & International Studies, 16 April 2003.}

Pressure worked on Bashar Asad’s father in 1992 following the Madrid peace conference when he finally agreed to lift the travel ban on Syrian Jews. And although such actions are not common, Turkey also successfully pressured Syria to end its support for PKK terrorists and give up claims to disputed territory.\footnote{Ma’oz, Moshe. “Guest lecturer” University of Denver, 18 May 2005, Denver, CO.}

The effectiveness of the recall of the US ambassador from Damascus in protest of the Hariri assassination will be minimal. A mentioned earlier, this measure was employed before, when the Reagan Administration pulled its ambassador in 1986 as the result of direct Syrian government culpability in terrorism. The US ambassador returned to Damascus the following year as after some Syrian counterterrorism concessions, but has the world seen a complete cessation of Syrian terror since then? The answer essentially is no: while support for anti-Israel and anti-American terror groups continues in Syria to this day, there have been no further acts of terrorism committed by Syrian government members directly since that 1986 incident. Does this imply that the Syrians learned not to support terrorism altogether or did they simply learn not to support it directly? Clearly, they are now more prone toward plausible deniability, through their use of proxy terrorists in the form of Hezbollah and other groups, but with similar objectives of murder.

**Syria in Lebanon**


Skimming from the UN Oil-for-Food program brought Iraq and Syria billions more, a source of revenue that has since dried up for President Asad. To also lose the Lebanese source would be damaging to his personal bank account as well as to Syria’s already troubled economy.

A concern should be that as Syria pulls back from Lebanon, international pressure on their myriad faults will fade, leaving a misperception that world opinion has created a kindler, gentler Syria, one that has reformed and can now be dealt with in good faith. International sentiment will assume that if that Syria no longer occupies Lebanon with
soldiers, then there will exist no farther problems emanating from Syria. Once the US and international focus shifts away from Syria, they will freely reengage their all-important economic ties with Lebanon, maintaining Asad’s grip on both countries. This will easily be accomplished because economics are much less visible than politics, car bombs, and assassinations. Massive street demonstrations will not be formed around economic remittances; and in the absence of those protests will come an absence of international pressure on Syria. Ayman Abdul Nour, founder of the “All 4 Syria” website and an Asad supporter said, “we always hope for delay. If we can delay withdrawal, the Lebanese will start to fight among themselves, the Americans will turn their attention to Iran, the French will be caught in internal politics.”

This withdraw, which was significant in numerical and symbolic terms, will not sufficiently alter the on-the-ground realities of Syrian influence in Lebanon. Similar to how the mafia controls a geographic area without the need for large armies, Syrian loyalists will ensure Lebanon’s economic vitality for Asad, though perhaps at the expense of political influence. The loss of some unconditional political influence will be the only real result of the Hariri assassination, the UN pressure resulting from resolution 1559, the massive popular demonstrations in Beirut, the US pressure, and the suggestions by Arab nations like Saudi Arabia to vacate Lebanon. Without persistent attention, highlighting Syria’s other provocations, terrorists will continue to use that country as a base of operations, US troops will continue to be attacked from the Syrian side of the border, insurgents will continue to flow from Syria into Iraq to confront US troops, and weapons of mass destruction will continue to be pursued by terrorist supporters, retarding the peace process. In the absence of additional persistent massive domestic, Lebanese, regional, American, and international pressure, what incentives will the Syrians have for altering these policies on their own?

Will Asad now capitulate to US desires for democracy and peace to spread throughout the Middle East? Evidence suggests that such bliss is unlikely while Asad remains in power. He is now trying to re-secure his power within his own government, by taking

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24 The fact that Syria’s large force of some 40,000 troops in Lebanon at its peak was actually profitable for Syria instead of being costly indicates the extent of the Syrian pillaging and pilfering. The fact that Syria’s troop level had receded to around 15,000 even before the Hariri assassination suggests that the same economic benefits could be reaped by Syria without the cost of stationing an unnecessarily large force in Lebanon. The implication is that even if Syrian troops withdraw completely, the security personnel, Syrian citizens, and networks that are left behind will still ensure a steady flow of remittances to support the Syrian economy. Significant economic benefits, at this point, without the physical and diplomatic costs can be attained by Syria without troops. See also Rudge, David. “Syria doesn’t need military to control Lebanon” Jerusalem Post, 24 May 2005; accessed 24 May 2005; available from http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?pagename=JPost/JPArticle/ShowFull&cid=1116901693621&apage=2; Internet.
such steps as enforcing mandatory retirement for senior officers of the military.\textsuperscript{25} Recent suggestions by Syrian politicos that Asad may not be the singular force in Syria like his father was but rather that a more oligarchical group may have wrested power from him appears to be behind Asad’s mistrustful/fearful/suspicious purges.\textsuperscript{26} This paranoia is characteristic of all the great dictators, from Stalin to Hitler to Saddam.

\textbf{Democracy and Human Rights}

Initial indications that democratic reforms would follow the death of Hafiz al-Asad in 2000 have faded after dozens of “Damascus Spring” democracy advocates were imprisoned. And the current President Asad believes that external “trouble” will require him to spend more money on the army and security issues, slowing or impeding reforms.\textsuperscript{27} President Bush stated in November 2003, “Dictators in Iraq and Syria promised the restoration of national honor, a return to ancient glories. They’ve left instead a legacy of torture, oppression, misery and ruin.”\textsuperscript{28} The associate director of the Middle East division of Human Rights Watch, Jenny Sherry, said Syria’s restrictive state of emergency laws, make the prospect of a fair trial for detainees unlikely.

Certainly in no way are political prisoners fairly tried in Syria. For years now they have been brought before the special state security court. I have personally been inside that court and watched trials, they are absolutely unfair, with no minimal international standards or guarantees for a fair trial, and most importantly there is no right of appeal of security court decisions. Since 2001 the security court has been specifically targeting reformist members of parliament and other human rights activists and sentencing them to long prison terms.

Human Rights Watch says Syrian courts aren’t likely to give the political dissidents fair treatment. And according to Amnesty International, thousands of political prisoners continue to languish in Syrian jails.\textsuperscript{29}

\textbf{Support for the Iraqi Insurgency and Terrorists}

\textit{Insurgents}

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\item^{26} Klein, “Appointment in Damascus.”
\item^{27} Klein, “Appointment in Damascus.”
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Since early on in the Iraqi insurgency, Syria facilitated attacks which led to the deaths of many Iraqi civilians and US military personnel. Of the 248 foreign fighters caught in Iraq by September 26, 2003, 123 of them were Syrian, according to L. Paul Bremer III. Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld had this comment about Syria:

> We know that Syria has been a hospitable place for escaping Iraqis and we know that Syria has facilitated terrorists with the cooperation of Iran down through Damascus into Beirut into the Bacaa Valley and down into Israel as well as we see buses come out of Syria filled with people who were coming in to join the fray. Early on. So let there be no doubt the powers that be in Syria and Iran are not wishing the free Iraqi people well.  

General Meigs has said that the US has “got to be very careful about interference from Syria and from Iran . . . the Baathists in Syria are very much engaged in trying to make this insurgency work. And that is going to be a problem that the administration is going to have to take on even more strongly as we go forward.”

The Syrian’s often talk of their inability to control their long border with Iraq, preventing them from stemming the tide of insurgents who come to kill US citizens there. If that is the case, then why have they had success in controlling their long border with Jordan? And why do insurgents tell of receiving safe transit through Syria to Iraq and make comments like their only regret during their time in Iraq was, “I didn’t have the good fortune to shoot any Americans.”

If Syria is indeed as unhelpful as these quotes would have us believe, then why the American delay in taking decisive action against Syria? The natural reluctance to use military force is understandable, and it should be the last option, but I believe that it will turn out to be the necessary choice in order to protect out soldiers in Iraq, the future of that nation, and the region as a whole. Like a cancer, sometimes it is best to just excise a tumor completely rather than treat it bit-by-bit after each relapse, hoping that it doesn’t recur.

**Terrorist Connections**

Syrian ambassador to the United States Imad Moustapha even went so far as to deny Syria’s terror links altogether: “Syria has never, ever had any hand with any terrorists ... or anything that is happening in the occupied territories. What’s happening in the occupied territories, a vicious circle of violence and counter violence, has everything to do with the Israeli policies there.” But at a March 2005 meeting of Palestinian factions in Cairo, “the Hamas and Islamic Jihad delegations consist[ed] only of representatives from

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Syria and Lebanon. The Hamas team [was] being headed by Khaled Mashaal, while the Islamic Jihad [was] represented by Ramadan Shallah. The two live in Damascus.  

Additionally, Syrian support of Hezbollah is support for terrorists who perpetrate and incite violence. That was confirmed just recently by Europe’s ban of Hizbollah’s al-Manar television channel, which will no longer be available on European satellites. European Union broadcasting regulators in Brussels agreed to step up action against TV broadcasts which incite hatred or promote racism and xenophobia, like al-Manar television. The rallies held by Hezbollah in favor of Syrian occupation of Lebanon illuminates their close relationship.

Asad was characterized as evading the issue in his response to the question of closing Palestinian “reactionist” group offices in Damascus. “If you’re an American and I don’t want you here, should I send you to Africa or to the US, your country? . . . That’s what I told [Assistant Secretary of State William] Burns: Where should I send [the Palestinian radicals]? To the Mediterranean, on a boat?” But he also claimed there were no Palestinian extremist offices in Damascus. “They have houses. They live in the houses, meet with people in the houses. That’s what they call offices. . . They don’t have members in Syria; all their members are in Palestine. The only thing they used to do was call in the media to express their position.” That contradicts US and Israeli beliefs that even the suicide bombing of February 25th, 2005, which killed 5 in Tel Aviv, was planned from Damascus. And as members of these radical terror groups have said about their leadership structure, the political wing [from Syria] trumps the military wing. So if the orders come from Damascus not to bomb Israel, they therefore must also instruct members to bomb Israel. In short, terrorist kingpins live in Syria.

Even seemingly positive concessions made by Syria such as the capture and handover by the government of Sabawi Ibrahim al-Hassan al-Tikriti, half brother of Saddam Hussein and one of the United States’ most wanted members of Iraq’s former regime, and the beginnings of Syria pulling its troops out of Lebanon, have been met with skepticism.

Princeton University professor of Near Eastern studies Michael Doran told the New York Times that he believed Syria was behind the assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Hariri, saying it was the latest chapter in Syria’s cycle of provocation followed

36 Klein, “Appointment in Damascus.”
37 Nwazota, Kristina. “Syria’s Role in the Middle East” PBS Online NewsHour.
by conciliation. “Ever since the 1980s Syria has played this game of being both the
arsonist and the fire department.”

Professor Doran also remarked, “they miscalculated how badly the Hariri assassination
would backfire. Now, they’re trying to curry favor with Washington to prevent the
United States from coming down too hard on them. They’ve backed themselves into a
corner, and they’re trying to get out.”

“All regardless of how they try to portray us, we will not fall into this trap,” Ambassador
Imad Moustapha said during a March 2, 2005 interview.

We are not enemies of the United States of America. We don’t need to create
hostilities with this country. Actually, we have repeatedly invited the United
States to constructively engage with Syria. We told them, if there are problems
and issues between us and you, let’s sit together, let’s engage, let’s put them on.

Moustapha said a hostile relationship serves neither country.

“I don’t think it’s useful to Syria to be portrayed as an enemy to the United States,” he
added. “But... also it doesn’t serve the long-term interests of the United States to create
more and more enemies in the Middle East.”

In January the U.S. had given Asad a list of thirty-four wanted men assumed to be in
Syria. Asad claims that the information provided by the US is not complete enough for
him to find the men. “Many of these names we don’t know. What does his face look
like? What’s his real name? Maybe he’s using a fake name or a fake passport. You
should give us precise information because we can’t find them.”

**Case Study**

**Panama**

An interesting example of years of US reluctance to engage military forces in favor of
naive optimism is found in the case study of the events that led to the US military action
in Panama in 1989, Operation Just Cause.

The genesis of the Manuel Noriega headache for America dates back to 1979, when
Carter administration officials blocked federal indictments against Noriega for drug
trafficking and arms smuggling, and manifested from that point up until the invasion. In
August 1983, Noriega assumed command of the Panamanian Defense Force (PDF). In
May 1984, Noriega and the PDF intervened in the presidential elections and rigged the

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38 Burns, John F. “Syria Turns Over a Top Insurgent, Iraq Officials Say” The New York Times, 28
February 2005; accessed 24 May 2005; available from http://0-
proquest.umich.edu/pqdweb?index=1&did=799869081&srchmode=1&sid=3&fmt=3
&vinst=prod&vtype=pqd&rqt=309&vname=pqd&ts=1116988565&client=48347; Internet.
39 Ibid.
40 Nwazota, Kristina. “Syria’s Role in the Middle East” PBS Online NewsHour.
41 Klein, “Appointment in Damascus.”
results to produce a victory for Noriega’s candidate. In September 1985, Dr. Hugo Spadafora, a popular critic of Noriega, was brutally tortured and murdered after making serious and credible allegations about Noriega’s illicit activities. In June 1987, Noriega announced he would remain head of the PDF for an additional five years. The next day, his planned successor went public with details about Noriega’s crimes. That same month, the US Senate approved a nonbinding resolution calling for Noriega to step down. Noriega supporters attacked the US embassy with rocks and caused extensive damage. Then Panamanians staged a general strike that caused Noriega to suspend the free press. The US responded by suspending military aid to Panama, cut contacts with their government, and subsequently removed Noriega from the CIA payroll. General Woerner then assumed command of SOUTHCOM and publicly criticized Noriega.

After all that, the US still believed that it could negotiate with General Noriega. Between August and December 1987, The US tried to work a deal with Noriega to step down and permit free elections of a new government. However, in February 1988, federal grand juries in Miami and Tampa indicted him for racketeering, drug trafficking, and money laundering. Panama’s president then fired Noriega, but he responded by ousting the president and replacing him with a more reliable politician. When, in March 1988, PDF officers staged an unsuccessful coup d’etat against Noriega, the plotters were brutally tortured and executed. Noriega next created Dignity Battalions to augment the PDF forces. This induced the Reagan administration to finally consider military action, but DoD and others opposed it. Economic sanctions were considered while the administration again attempted to get Noriega to step down voluntarily. Between April and June 1988, economic sanctions were implemented against Panama. US President George H. W. Bush came into office in January 1989 and in May 1989, presidential elections were held in Panama. Noriega stole the election with widespread fraud. Dignity Battalions assaulted opposition candidates and crowds in front of the world media. On October 3rd, 1989, Noriega survived another coup d’etat and executes the plotters. On December 15th, 1989, the Panamanian National Assembly appointed Noriega “Maximum Leader” and head of the Panamanian government. It further declared that a state of war existed between Panama and the United States. The next day, PDF soldiers fired on an American vehicle and killed a Marine Corps lieutenant. A U.S. Navy lieutenant and his wife observed the shooting and were arrested. The lieutenant was severely beaten and his wife was physically abused and threatened, particularly disturbing President Bush.

Finally, Chairman of the Joints Chiefs of Staff General Colin Powell recommended the use of a large-scale military force to remove Noriega from power. Secretary of State James Baker agreed and argued that military force was needed to destroy the PDF so that a truly democratic civilian government could be installed. President Bush ultimately observed, “This guy is not going to lay off. It will only get worse.” President Bush then ordered the invasion of Panama and Noriega was removed shortly thereafter, returning democracy, stability, and the safety of global commerce to the isthmus.

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It is important to remember that during the Cold War, Panama was a strategic ally of the United States. The US held a large base there that helped with the anti-Communist activities in Nicaragua and El Salvador and protected the canal. Noriega had worked for the CIA in helping fight the drug trade, providing valuable information, while simultaneously, however, profiting financially from drug trafficking himself. And a large number of Americans living in Panama were in peril, as evidenced by the killing of the US Marine lieutenant. As this was occurring, US senators like Jesse Helms had been squawking about the perils of engaging Noriega and warning against his remaining in power.

Similarly, many in Congress today have been warning about Syria for some time. As with Panama, its central location in a strategically important region, by ally Israel, between Iraq and Turkey, and close to Iran, is worry of special US attention. These locations are obviously important in the twenty-first century’s version of the Cold War, the war on terror. Like Noriega, Asad has helped the CIA regarding al Qaeda since 9/11, but he also helps other terrorists at the same time. He benefited from the illicit funneling of Iraqi oil in violation of the UN sanctions. And now he is threatening the lives of American volunteers, contractors, diplomats, and soldiers in Iraq.

The United States has repeatedly asked Syria to alter its behavior, and has received only token gestures in return. Shortly after the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001, President Bush emphatically told the world, “either you with us, or you are with the terrorists.” Although Syria has helped CIA officials since 9/11 against al Qaeda, clearly they are not one hundred percent in America’s camp. Their cooperation against al Qaeda has come only as a result of mutual interests. Al Qaeda has always opposed the secular Baathist regime in Syria, just as they opposed Saddam Hussein’s Baathist government in Iraq. Syria has a history of fighting against Islamic extremists in their own country simply to protect their autocracy, not out of an abhorrence to terrorism.

Syria’s alliance against America with Iran, a founding member of the “axis of evil,” on February 15, 2005 (the day after the Hariri assassination) was a harbinger of increasing tension. Their announcement on May 24, 2005 that they will be completely severing all ties with US military and intelligence forces further indicates their increasing hostility to America. This rapid deterioration of relations signifies that a peaceful solution to Syrian agitation may no longer be possible.

The precedence exists in recent US foreign policy for military engagement with Syria—counterterrorism (Afghanistan and Iraq); WMD (Iraq); occupation (Iraq); political repression (Iraq and Panama); humanitarian (Haiti, Somalia, Kosovo, Iraq) and; protection of American citizens (Panama and Grenada).

Rarely have all of these conditions existed simultaneously in one country—as they now do in Syria.

**Use of Military Force**

The military option is, as always, the last option that should be considered. In the case of present-day Syria, however, it is increasingly becoming an alternative that is worthy of consideration. In the current debate over US military action against Syria, much of the attention is focused on whether the US military is even capable of such an operation due to the numerous engagements presently tying up America’s defense resources. Retired US Army General and military analyst Montgomery Meigs responded when asked if US forces were able to currently engage Syria as well, by saying that it “... is going to be hard . . . The forces are pretty well stretched. Could you surge to another contingency? Yes. Would it be very hard? Yes. Would logistically it be very hard? Very much so, given what we’ve got to keep sending to Iraq. ...” But at the same time, it must also be considered that the large military contingent just east of Syria also makes the move toward Damascus that much easier, compared to the initial logistical movements undertaken for the 2003 action against Iraq.

Excerpts from a conversation between retired US military generals Montgomery Meigs, Barry McCaffrey, and Wayne Downing further highlight the possibility for military action against Syria:

MEIGS: . . . You can do enough things over the short term to push [Syria] into a situation where they’re going to either have to comply or you’re going to have to take some serious action.

DOWNING: . . . to topple the Bashar Asad regime I think is out of the question. However, to conduct a military surgical operation, a strike against the base areas that they’re using for the insurgency in Iraq is very much within our capability. And when I say a surgical operation, I’m talking about airstrikes and I’m also talking about putting some people on the ground to capture some of these people and to bring out documents and proof of what’s going on. That’s very, very much within our capability. . . . I think we are very, very fed up with the Syrians now as a result of this Hariri bombing.

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47 ‘Hardball with Chris Matthews’ MSNBC 22 February 2005.
48 I include this lengthy exchange to compensate for my lack of military experience, and thereby defer to the experts on the manners of military execution.
MCCAFFREY: I think we can threaten the Syrians, threaten the Iranians, airstrikes, special operations strikes. As a matter of fact, conventional power against the Syrians is probably possible, a cross-border foray by a division of the United States Army.

[In response to a question about whether President Asad can hurt the US and what his response would be if the US took military action against Syria:]

DOWNING: No, I don’t think he can do that. I think he can probably pull out his kleenex and wipe his nose with it. But he really can’t do a lot else. . . We don’t want to have a war with Syria. But what we do want to do is moderate their behavior. Now, going to the military side of this thing, I think that we do need to hit the base areas in Syria, in eastern Syria, with some surgical strikes. I think that [] not only would it have a material benefit in stopping some of the infiltration and some of the support for the operations, but it will also be a very, very dramatic signal to Asad that we’ve had enough of this stuff with them and he’s got to knock this off and start getting control of his regime.49

Conclusion

General Downing summarized the Syrian situation well by telling us to just remember. . . it’s not just Iraq. It is just not the assassination of Hariri. It has been the support of Hezbollah, the group that killed more Americans than any other terrorist group in the United States prior to 9/11. It’s been the collaboration with the Iranians, funneling supplies into Hezbollah and, of course, the great effect that this has had on the Middle East peace process. So Syria has to have a change in behavior.50

President Bush’s insistence that Syria pull completely out of Lebanon is encouraging, but it will not complete the task of taming Syria. Bush said, “President Asad has said he is removing to the Bekaa Valley. That is a half-measure. It is a measure, but it is a half-measure. And 1559 is very clear. We worked with France and the Security Council to pass 1559 which said complete removal, not half-measures, but total removal.”51

The President’s national security advisor Stephen Hadley’s remarks are also encouraging that the pressure will remain on Syria at least until the withdraw is complete. “Initial reports are encouraging. At the end of the day it is going to be deeds not words that matter.”52

Former ambassador to Syria and assistant secretary of state for the Near East Edward Djerejian has said properly working with the Middle East

49 ‘Hardball with Chris Matthews’ MSNBC, 22 February 2005.
50 ‘Hardball with Chris Matthews’ MSNBC, 22 February 2005.
is going to take a great deal of intelligent handling. We want the march to freedom to happen in the Middle East but we don’t want unintended consequences where in these changes the wrong people come to power. . . That is not a formula for stasis. On the contrary, we should continue to encourage vigorously political and economic change.\textsuperscript{53}

As George W. Bush remarked in a 1999 speech, “in the defense of our nation, a president must be a clear-eyed realist. There are limits to the smiles and scowls of diplomacy. Armies and missiles are not stopped by stiff notes of condemnation. They are held in check by strength and purpose and the promise of swift punishment.”\textsuperscript{54} Threats of force and possibly force itself will be necessary to end the shell game being played by Asad. Temporary and token gestures should not be accepted for perpetuity when it comes to world peace.

The foreign policy recommendations for the US regarding Syria are simple: Threaten Syria with military force, giving them time to comply while allowing our forces to prepare in Iraq and Afghanistan. Make sure that all demands are met fully and in a lasting form. If and when that does not happen, explain that they were given many decades to become honorable members of the international community and their failure to do so will now be redeemed with force. An analysis of past practices and current agitations demonstrates that ultimately force will be necessary to fully achieve all US demands. Diplomacy always is the best choice, especially when dealing with honest brokers. And the military option should always be the last resort, but it is not always the worst choice. Would any form of democracy and human rights have come to Iraq during Saddam Hussein’s reign? And although it is still in it’s early stages, it appears that the US invasion of Iraq will be a net positive for global democracy and freedom. If Syria is left to its own devices, terrorism, repression, and agitation will continue and peace in the region will remain illusive.

At the conclusion of his recent interview with reporter Joe Klein of Time Magazine, Asad asked, “Please send this message: I am not Saddam Hussein. I want to cooperate.”\textsuperscript{55} If that is the case, then cease trying to appease critics by taking only half-steps: get completely out of Lebanon, completely shut down the Palestinian terrorist existence, provide better security at your Iraqi border, turn over insurgents, provide democracy and human rights to your people, and stop seeking weapons of mass destruction. It requires no dialogue; only compassion and action.

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\textsuperscript{55} Klein, “Appointment in Damascus.”
Title: Rural Regional Comparison of Child Well-Being
Author: Rivers, Kerri L.
Institutional affiliation: Population Reference Bureau
Mailing address: 1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW
              Suite 520
              Washington, DC  20009
Email: krivers@prb.org

Using 2000 Census data and new metropolitan area definitions, children in the rural portions of the Northeast, South, Midwest, and West are compared on several measures of well-being. Measures include single-parent families, high school dropouts, idle teens, householder educational attainment, vehicle availability, telephone service, poverty, English-speaking ability, and parental working status.

Children in the rural South are faring worse than children in all other rural regions of the U.S. on eight of ten indicators of well-being. Children in the rural Midwest and Northeast are similar and doing better than average for the rural United States on many measures of well-being. Children in the rural West fall right around the rural national average for all but two indicators – difficulty speaking English and lacking secure parental employment – where the rural West has the highest percentages. Results are from a new report, City and Rural KIDS COUNT Data Book.
“The Effects of the 1996 United States of America Telecommunications Act On Radio Station Ownership”

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"The Effects of the 1996 United States of America Telecommunications Act On Radio Station Ownership"

Abstract

On March 7, 1996 the Federal Communications Commission implemented the provisions of the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which brought about sweeping changes in all areas of the Telecommunications industry in the United States of America. One medium that was most affected by this new law was broadcasting, specifically radio. The provisions of the act loosened and in some cases eliminated ownership limitations of radio stations in local markets and nationwide. This study, examines both sides of the ownership issues created as a result of this law.
“The Effects of the 1996 United States of America Telecommunications Act On Radio Station Ownership”

Introduction

Regulation of radio as an industry or service in the United States began in 1910 with the amendment of the Interstate Commerce Act, bringing interstate and foreign wire and wireless communication under federal jurisdiction for the first time (Sophos, 1990).

In 1922, an initial Radio conference was initiated by then Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover. Representatives from both government and industry were invited to participate (Hilmes, M. 2002). One of the recommendations to come out of this meeting was that radio should be operated in the public interest, not just to serve the interests of the business or industry controlling it (Hilmes, M., 2002). Subsequent radio conferences were held in 1923, 1924 and 1925. It was the 1925 conference that resulted in the Radio Act of 1927, which then led directly to the Communications Act of 1934 (Hilmes, 2002).

The Federal Communications Commission was also established under President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1934. Its purpose was to create a specialized, regulatory body, charged with ensuring that radio would serve the public interest, and to prevent the control of this new medium by large national companies (Hilmes, 2002).

Deregulation of the broadcast industry (including radio) began in the 1970s via three actions. Court decisions challenged some protective policies. During the Carter Administration, its paperwork reduction programs questioned the legitimacy of some regulations, either through efficiency or necessity. By the time the decade of the 1980s arrived, both competition and economic opportunities, it was argued, were sufficient to
allow for relaxation of previous rules, particularly as they pertained to ownership of
broadcast outlets (Bates, 1995).

Beginning in 1980, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) started the
process of deregulating the business of broadcast media (Bates, 1993). The concept of
“public interest” was going to be served by market forces; in other words, a free market
system, through competition, would ultimately the public interest better (Bates, 1993).

While the legislation addressed a number of issues of deregulation, which
included not only broadcasting, but also cable television, telephone, Internet, and other
communications industries (Clinton, 1996).

The business of radio, as it relates to the Telecommunications Act of 1996, was
altered by both deregulation and relaxation of ownerships rules (Bates, 2002). This act,
signed into law by President Bill Clinton, was designed to be the most comprehensive
look at media ownership regulations in the agency’s history (Clinton, 1996). Through
this legislation, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), was mandated by
this Congressional Act to pursue “the core public interest concerns of promoting
diversity and competition” (Evans, 2002). Along with this diversity, the goal was to
further competition, promote diversity in programming and viewpoints, and serve the
public good (Evans, 2002).

When the Telecommunications Act of 1996 became law, one benefit touted was
that opportunities would increase for smaller businesses to compete against larger
corporations (Beech, 1998). Since the implementation of this act, there have been a
number of points of view expressed, both pro and con, about the effects of the
relaxation of ownership regulations by the Federal Communications Commission.
According to Lawrence Gasman, “The Clinton administration’s greatest achievement may well be the passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996. The 1996 revision of the 1934 Act is the first attempt to reform the whole of telecommunications law, not just one specific aspect of it” (Gasman, 1996).

The beginning of deregulation of radio (and other media) saw a lifting of governmental restrictions on not only the content, but also the expression of various ideas. This flew in the face of the lifting of the Monroe Fairness Doctrine in 1987 (Hanson, 1999). Some studies have concluded that the repeal of the Fairness Doctrine had no measurable influence on the amount of public affairs provided by the groups of radio stations (Loomis, 1998).

In particular, the deregulation of the broadcast radio industry focused upon ownership, which allowed for greater holdings of stations by a person or corporations (McConnell, 2003). In 1938, the Federal Communications Commission banned ownership of two AM radio stations in one market. Following suit in 1953, the agency banned local FM combination ownerships. In 1964, the FCC banned combination ownerships when their signals overlapped. In 1970, AM/FM combination ownerships were banned. This changed in 1992, when the FCC allowed “same-service combos,” which allowed two AM and two FM in markets with fifteen or more stations, as long as the market share did not exceed 25%. In smaller markets, three-station “combos” were permitted. (McConnell, 2003).

But in 1996, through the Telecommunications Act, Congress lifted local ownership limits again, based upon a sliding scale. Markets containing 45 or more radio stations were allowed eight to one owner. In markets with fourteen or fewer
stations, five outlet combinations were permitted, but could not consist of more than half of the market total. One of the biggest rules to be relaxed was that national ownership limits were removed (McConnell, 2003). Large-scale mergers and acquisitions followed, and in 1998, the FCC “flagged” radio mergers, giving one owner up to 50% of Arbitron-market revenue, or to of 70% (McConnell, 2003).

**Methodology**

The purpose of this study was to examine the results of what the Telecommunications Act of 1996 have been, in regard to ownership of broadcast radio stations in the United States. Through a review of the literature, representing the past eight years since the signing of the act into law, a substantial number of points of view have been collected representing both sides of the issue. The sources utilized include articles from scholarly journals, popular press, textbooks, and the Internet. These points of view will be presented, along with a discussion and conclusions of the effects of the law upon the radio medium. There are several issues to be examined, as they relate to the Telecommunications Act of 1996. These questions/issues include:

1. What are the advantages and positive attributes of the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which relaxed the rules of ownership and allowed for consolidation within the radio industry?

2. What are the disadvantages and negative attributes of the Act?

3. What do the results of the examination show since the signing of the bill into law?

Since the implementation of the Telecommunications Act of 1996, much discussion has been initiated by and to the Federal Communications Commission, in regard to whether or not the relaxation of the ownership rules is of positive benefit to
the public. These discussions, as of this writing, are still ongoing. The controversy
over the rules of ownership prompted the efforts of this research.

**Points of View – For the 1996 Relaxation of Radio Ownership Rules**

Does ownership affect changes in formats for radio stations? According to Kevin
Gray, this deregulation, which allows for greater ownership of properties, has begun a
wave of radio format changes. As a result, owners and programmers are coming up
with new combinations of music and programming, in order to serve the public, which in
turn is remaking the face of the radio medium (Gray, 1997). Some in the radio industry
say that large owners with strong resources are demonstrating a willingness to
experiment within markets. Jacor Communications, for example, in Louisville, Kentucky
is cited for the variety of formats it presents in this market, which includes a 1970s rock
station, and a joint venture with a station that plays new age jazz (Flamm, 1997).

Another example involves two stations in San Francisco, KMEL and KYLD, which
held nearly identical urban formats. Evergreen Media Corporation purchased them
both. The company turned one into an African-American urban and the other into a
Latino format. The result, according to Broadcast Programming consultant Casey
Keating is “two thriving stations that have found their focus” (Flamm, 1997).

CapStar Chief Executive Officer Steve Hicks says, “Consolidation is actually
increasing the diversity of programming. We are able to serve a bigger audience and
create a broader spectrum of formats” (Flamm, 1997).

Since owners hold more stations, more chances are being taken, not only with
formats, but also with other programming. As a result, there are more choices for the
listeners, since more different types of programs are available (Ansolabehere, 1998).
The solutions offered by the 1996 Telecommunications Act were partially predicated on market-based options. People know what they want and as a result, will respond to programs which offer what they wish to hear. In that sense, the media serves the public by being more democratic (Ansolabehere, 1998).

The head (at that time) of the Federal Communications Commission, Michael K. Powell, offered that the act promotes competition and puts the various media (including radio) into business, economic and market realities (Powell, 1998). Powell stated, “As we policy leaders tackle the intellectually and psychologically draining task of facilitating telecommunications reform, we need to muster the courage to yield our regulatory primacy back to the market. I firmly believe that if we accomplish this task, those who look back on our efforts years from now will be able to do so with admiration” (Powell, 1998).

One long-standing argument, since the beginning of the 20th century is that the United States government has regulated the broadcast industry due to limited space on the electromagnetic spectrum. This limited space should prevent anyone from “owning” the airwaves, nor allow for undue control of much of it. But since that time, the development of new media, such as the Internet have weakened this argument, because of expansion of broadcast and other communication opportunities (Hendricks, 1999). Telecommunications reform paid off well for radio companies. According to Richard Rosenstein, a media analyst with Goldman Sachs, “The consolidation (in radio ownership and markets) has created clusters of stations that have been able to
compete much more efficiently, and the numbers are showing that ‘the rationale for consolidation makes sense’ (Rathbun, 1997).

The act paved the way for broadcasters to own up to eight radio stations in a major market. With that kind of market presence, both ratings and advertising revenue have gone up (Rathbun, 1997). David Pearlman, American Radio Systems Co-Chief Operating Officer said, “As we gain (audience) share, we are much more attractive to the advertiser, who is spending the money” (Rathbun, 1997).

Industry representatives have praised the results of the 1996 law. Eddie Fritts, President and Chief Executive Officer of the National Association of Broadcasters, stated in a Senate Commerce Committee hearing in 2002, saying that the broadcast radio medium remains a diverse, local, community oriented medium (Ramsey, 2002). Fritts also said, “Today, the industry (radio) has rebounded financially, but, just ten years ago, sixty percent of stations were losing money. In sum, the Telecommunications Act has been a success for our listeners. And what’s good for our listeners is good for our industry” (Ramsey, 2002).

From one management perspective, consolidation of operations, particularly within similar markets, makes good sense. In a recent merger of three small stations (KVRC-AM, KDEL-FM and KYXK-FM) in the Arkadelphia, Arkansas market (population, 10,000), the purchaser, Jay Bunyard, predicted that the consolidation “will be good for Arkadelphia and Clark County in general” (Newsom, 2002). Both of the sellers, Eddie Graham and Phil Robken said the sale of the stations would have distinct advantages for listeners of all three radio stations. For example, it will be easier for people to telephone both stations with a single once the merger takes place (Newsom, 2002).
“It’s kind of like one-stop shopping,” Robken said. “I just think it will be better for both the listeners and the advertiser’s marketplace” (Newsom, 2002).

Another advantage of the Arkadelphia, Arkansas sale will be that the consolidated radio stations will be jointly better off financially than as separate broadcast properties. Robken also said, “There will be one owner who will have both (stations), who will have the resources to devote to the best quality of programming” (Newsom, 2002).

The sharing of resources is another “pro” argument. There are several advantages in regard to this type of management consolidation. The arguments are that talent, sales staff, engineers and promotions efforts can be maximized. The advantages are greater capability, flexibility, and cost savings (Irwin, 2002). This has occurred in many other businesses and industries. Consolidations have occurred in banking, motion picture theatres, and insurance companies, to name a few (Robinson, 2003).

Infinity Broadcasting Chief Executive Officer Mel Karmazin says “I believe that changes (as the result of the 1996 act) are tremendously beneficial for everyone who owns a radio station, whether a single station or the maximum allowed by the FCC. This gives independent operators a choice to sell and exit the business if they choose. But even if they don’t, they could be just as effective as they were” (before the rules change) (Taylor, Reece, Ross, Carter, 1996).

Lowry Mays, President and CEO of Clear Channel, the largest radio conglomerate in the United States following the deregulation in 1996, stated, “It (the law) gives us the ability to get into a lot of new, good markets (with stations) that already
have exciting strategic positions and fantastic local management in place” (Petrozzello, Rathbun, 1996).

Since the Telecommunications Act of 1996 was signed into law, the radio industry has changed. But, some argue, so has the nature of business in general. As Philip Napoli states, “Media organizations are both political and economic entities. They are able—and even expected—to influence public opinion, government policy and citizen voting behavior…At the same time, media organizations’ continued existence in a capitalist system such as ours depends upon their ability to maximize revenue and minimize costs (Napoli, 1997).

Even one Federal Communications Commissioner, Jonathan S. Adlestein, who points out many weaknesses associated with deregulation in radio, admits that “Now, I understand that some consolidation can be a good thing. In radio, as in other sectors, economies of scale can lead to services that would not otherwise be possible” (Adelstein, 2003).

Despite many criticisms of the effects (and potential effects) of the 1996 act, there are those who feel that the end result is still positive and preferred. Stuart A. Shorenstein and Lorna Veraldi write in an industry magazine, in a discussion of a (then) upcoming FCC review of media ownership rules in 2003, “It may be that competition would insure localism, diversity, and other desirable outcomes in the absence of ownership rules—not because that is what the government dictates, but because that is what consumers demand” (Shorenstein, Veraldi, 2002). Federal Communications Chairperson Michael Powell, who supported deregulation strongly, along with his supporters argued that there was no real choice here—that changes in technology are
occurring, constantly and quickly and that the United States must keep abreast of these changes, or fall behind the rest of the world in media dominance (Kalb, 2003).

**Points of View – Against the 1996 Relaxation of Radio Ownership Rules**

One key element of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 is that the law relaxed media ownership rules. In practice, this has allowed for increased ownership concentration in all sizes of radio markets. One of the points of argument is whether a greater control of media resources into fewer hands is a preferable public policy (Ekelund, Ford, Koutsky, 2000).

The 1996 act eliminated a cap on the number of radio stations a single company can own nationwide. This relaxation of local ownership limits, which allows a single owner to control up to eight stations in the country’s largest markets, has led to more stations controlled in fewer hands (Adelstein, 2003). According to Jonathan Adelstein, FCC Commissioner, in the first year after the signing of the act into law, more than 2,100 of approximately 11,000 radio stations in the United States changed hands. Most of those properties sold went to concerns that already owned stations (Adelstein, 2003).

In 1996, the two largest radio group companies owned fewer than 65 stations. Six years later, the largest radio group owned approximately 1,200 radio stations. The second largest held 250 (Adelstein, 2003). Adelstein says that according to one FCC report, in the six years following the adoption of the 1996 act, the number of radio station owners in this country has declined by 34 percent. The FCC found that this decline is due to mergers between existing owners, for the most part (Adelstein, 2003).
Deregulation and Radio Ownership

One of the primary effects desired by the FCC in the concept of deregulation was that of providing local ownership, or what the agency terms “localism.” The argument has been advanced that the opposite effect has occurred. As the number of owners continues to decline, local, independent owners are fading from view, since they cannot compete with the larger, more powerful conglomerates (Rapela, 1999).

According to Radio Business Report, more than two billion dollars worth of radio station sales were announced in the month following the signing of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 into law. That equaled a full year of radio station sales at any time during the decade of the 1980s (Henry, 1996).

In the March 11, 1996 edition of Broadcasting & Cable magazine, it was reported “Radio’s rush to consolidate set new records last week, when more than a half-billion dollars changed hands in just two station deals. Infinity Broadcasting Corporation made the largest-ever-radio-only deal, buying 12 stations owned by Granum Holdings LP. Also last week, Clear Channel Communications, Inc. paid $140 million for U.S. Radio’s 13 stations, plus options to purchase five others. Counting several recent deals it has made, Clear Channel’s portfolio would balloon from 39 radio stations to 52 (Petrozzello, Rathbun, 1996). Media business broker William J. Steding said in 1997, “Last year and 1997 will represent the two highest levels of station trading in the radio industry ever” (Petrozello, 1997).

But according to Tom Carpenter, “In order to save money, Clear Channel sacrifices the uniquely local nature of radio. Certainly, there is value to having national or regionally distributed programming. Radio is made richer with the availability of popular syndicated shows that reach multiple markets. However, the
misrepresentations and falsifications of Clear Channel’s use of voice tracking are quite a different matter. In the Clear Channel behemoth, entire radio stations are operated without a single live and local announcer. This might be what critics refer to when they charge that Clear Channel is killing local radio” (Carpenter, 2003).

Another point for relaxation of the rules by the FCC was that of radio station ownership diversity. The Commission wanted to enlarge ownership opportunities to minorities. In 2002, Broadcasting & Cable magazine reported that the number of stations, which were owned by African-Americans, had dropped by 26% since deregulation spurred a conglomerate-buying spree (McConnell, 2002).

In Billboard magazine, Frank Saxe writes that deregulation has created “nearly insurmountable obstacles” for minorities to enter the business of broadcasting. This was taken from a series of five studies released by the FCC on December 12, 1999. The studies found that the barriers have been increased, not decreased, since the signing of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 (Saxe, 2000). Then FCC Chairman William Kennard said, “There is a severe and tragic lack of women and minorities in this field. It’s bad, and it’s gotten worse…” (Saxe, 2000).

William O’Shaughnessy, a former chairman of public affairs for the National Association of Broadcasters, feels that the facts show locally owned and locally-operated hometown-community radio stations, operated in the public interest by broadcasters who “speak the language” of the neighborhoods, are disappearing. As a result, these independent voices are being snuffed out by what he terms a “cookie-cutter cacophony” of the same music and homogenized programming, sometimes spiced up by stunts and vulgarities (O’Shaughnessy, 2003).
Court decisions have also played a part in the time since the 1996 act was made law. One case, titled “Fox v. FCC,” in some minds has made possible further concentration of ownership. They see it as a war between business capital and the public interest. Alex Poroske writes, “Many small players in the industry and media watchers say they are waiting to hear the bells toll an end to truly independent mass information and media outlets” (Poroske, 2002).

Mike Mills wrote in CQ Weekly in 2002, that the deregulation (indeed the entire Telecommunications Act of 1996) is now considered a regulatory failure (Mills, 2002).

FCC Commissioner Michael Capps has been outspoken in regard to the question of broadcast ownership in the new age of deregulation. He says that now there is data to support what the new law has accomplished, which is that the United States has 30% fewer radio station owners than in 1996. He feels that this has affected consumers adversely with regard to the issues of the quality of radio programming (Schiffman, 2003).

One of the most outspoken opponents of the Telecommunications of 1996 is United States Senator Russell Feingold. He is upset at what he sees as a bad trend in the broadcast industry, with Clear Channel controlling more than 1,200 radio stations. As a result, he has continued to criticize and in 2002, launched an assault against the law and the deregulatory provisions (Absher, 2002).

Senator Feingold vocal concerns are that radio is a public medium, and that the role of government is that is serves the public good. In his view, the concentration of ownership in radio has caused “great harm” to business and the general population (Feingold, 2002).
One anonymous editorial writer in Broadcasting & Cable magazine wrote that the broadcasting industry was turning into conglomerates. In their opinion, the Telecommunications Act was supposed to foster competition and diversity and so far has done neither (Anonymous, 1997).

There has been more criticism leveled at the effects of deregulation in regard to the radio business. United States Congressman Howard L. Berman of California spoke at a Senate Committee hearing on consolidation in the radio industry. He stated at that hearing “consolidation of the radio and concert industries has had a variety of negative repercussions on recording artists, copyright owners and consumers” (Berman, 2003). Berman accused the act of creating illegal activities (on the part of radio conglomerates, namely Clear Channel), a sharp reduction of music programming diversity, disparaging effects on the creative industry, the “exorbitant” rise in concert ticket prices, advertising price and rate-fixing, loss of jobs, the proliferation of non-serving stations (for local publics), along with blatant “anti-competitive behavior” (Berman, 2003).

According to the Internet website “Cotton Candy,” the Future of Music Coalition, 10 parent companies control two-thirds of radio listenership and revenues, with the top two (Clear Channel and Viacom) controlling 42 percent of listenership and 45 percent of industry revenues combined. This the author refers to as the “Clear Channelization” of the radio industry (Borlik, 2002).

The critics of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 argue that with deregulation of radio broadcasting, competition has been at best reduced, and at worst, eliminated in some markets.
In regard to the sale and consolidation of the radio station properties in Arkadelphia, Arkansas, some local reaction has been negative. “None of the management, news, sales or talent personnel actually live within the city limits of Arkadelphia,” said Carolyn Graham, one of the former owners (Graham, 2004). The formats of each station were changed and much of the air operation was automated via computer and satellite feeds. “Other than normal business hours (Monday through Friday), anyone wanted to contact the station will have to leave a message on an answering machine, because no one is present on the premises”, Graham added (Graham, 2004).

**Discussion and Conclusions**

It is interesting to note here that Federal Communications Commission Chairman Michael K. Powell, son of United States Secretary of State Colin L. Powell, is an African-American. He was the second African-American to lead the agency. The concept of deregulation of the Telecommunications industry began with an African-American chairman (William E. Kennard, who was the first African-American to head the FCC.), where the 1996 act was signed on his watch. Powell was a strong proponent of the deregulation concept and the 1996 act (Dingle, Jones, 2001). Yet the numbers of minority owned radio stations have continued to decline since deregulation was introduced. Although some minority owners sold their stations, and made considerable sums of money in some cases, the ultimate goal for an increase in minority ownership of broadcast radio stations has not been realized.
The concept of localism is also under attack. Deregulation was supposed to have as a primary objective the benefit of local programming and service to the radio station’s community. Local ownership has been consolidated, and in many cases, virtually eliminated by mergers and acquisitions, which has resulted in the creation of “media conglomerates.” Critics charge that market concentration has gone up, and placed the control of the broadcast radio stations in the hands of a few—a few who wield great power, both in monetary resources and political pull (through contributions). Since the 1996 Telecommunications Act, the number of owners in radio markets has declined dramatically (according to FCC data), as has the number of formats offered to its listeners.

Today, four companies control 90 percent of all nationwide advertising revenue. The largest radio broadcasting company, Clear Channel Communications, owns in excess of 1,200 stations. Cost-cutting measures by new corporate owners have resulted in a scaling back of local news coverage, job cuts, and the homogenization of programming across the nation.

Consequently, prices in radio advertising have risen to an all time high, with a stiff increase coming since March of 1996. This is most likely due to two factors—station owners trying to recoup their costs of station purchases, along with the lack of competition in the marketplace.

There have been some positive effects from the introduction of deregulation. It has done away with outdated rules, streamlined FCC approval procedures, and encouraged the use of new technologies. However, deregulation seems to put the interests of business over that of the public. The fact that the FCC is currently looking
at ownership rules is an indication that something may be wrong here—and that they may try and make some corrections. Despite the FCC’s best intentions, and positive effects of the law, the Telecommunications Act of 1996, particularly in regard to the deregulation of radio station ownership has created more problems than it has solved.

Radio historian Mike Adams wrote in 1999, “We are left at the end of the broadcast century with a corporatized version of radio broadcasting, one that serves the bottom line and the lowest common denominator, rather than enlightens and challenges” (Massey, Baran, 2001).

The concept of our media being controlled by a few companies is troubling. The fears of vertical and horizontal media integration have not been addressed here—the study was restricted to the medium of radio only—but they would certainly add to the concerns, which are many and varied as they relate to the medium of radio alone.

Ultimately, the question has to be asked: Did the Telecommunications Act of 1996 accomplish what it was intended to do by Congress and the Federal Communications Commission? In this writer’s view, the end result has not been determined, as the medium of radio is constantly changing, and the rules that govern it as well. At this point, the negative effects have outweighed the good effects—and it appears that those negative effects will not subside at any time in the near future.
Bibliography


"Public Relations Ethics and Standards: An Oxymoron?"

Journalism

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Abstract

Since the inception of the practice of Public Relations, ethical behavior has been a cause for concern for persons in and out of this profession. Organizations such as the Public Relations Society of America have created suggested codes of conduct for the public relations practitioner. This paper examines both sides of the argument for such a code, and the reasons for and against the idea of establishing guidelines for the profession of Public Relations.
"Public Relations Ethics and Standards: An Oxymoron?"

Introduction

Public relations professionals, much like their counterparts in the news media continually face dilemmas regarding ethics in the performance of their work. According to Michael Winkleman, public relations professionals and educators have been engaged for some time in a vigorous discussion of the role of ethics within the profession.¹

Craig Miyamoto, a Public Relations Society of America Fellow, has stated, “It’s a pretty scary world we (public relations people) work in these days. Public relations activities of influence – and that includes such simple activities as communications meant to educate – are being closely scrutinized. The general public is on our case…the news media is on our case…even we are on our case.”²

Miyamoto also said, “At a time when the public relations profession is most needed, at a time when institutions and values are being attacked from all sides, we (public relations workers) are taking out lumps – and mighty big lumps they are. Is it ethical? Or is it just good business.”³

The contributions of such early pioneers as Edward L. Bernays and Ivy Ledbetter Lee did much to inject a spirit of professionalism into the practice of public relations. They were firmly opposed to P.T. Barnham’s credo, “There’s a sucker born every minute.”

But throughout its history, critics have charged that public relations practitioners too often manipulate the public interest for private gain, uses and manipulates the press,

³ Ibid
special events, and other activities merely to create an image that masks or distorts what would be an otherwise blatant commercial effort.⁴

According to Steven R. Van Hook, “Many people perceive public relations as something less than respectable—as clever strategies to convince the public that what’s wrong is right. Some see public relations professionals as manipulators of the public mind, rather than conveyors of truth.”⁵

**Background**

The question of “right or wrong,” is a difficult one. In ancient Greece, Aristotle established in the practice of Rhetoric the concept of credibility (ethos), as a form of proof and a mode of persuasion.⁶ One dictionary defines the term ethics as “a system of moral principles governing the appropriate conduct for an individual or group.”⁷

The problem of determining what is right and proper has been under scrutiny for hundreds of years. At least three general types of theories have evolved into three basic ethical systems, which are commonly examined: deontology, teleology and relativistic.⁸

The system of deontology is duty-based in nature and relies on moral obligation. Deontological ethics says that all actions are inherently right or wrong.⁹ The best-known deontological theory is the one associated with the philosopher Immanuel Kant. Kant defined moral laws that constituted categorical imperatives—principles that define appropriate action in any and all situations.

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⁷ *Webster’s Universal Dictionary and Thesaurus*, 1993, Tormont Publications, Montreal, Canada.
The deontological system would then “depend on the inner-based, self-discipline of each individual public relations practitioner, and because we are all human, and of different environmental backgrounds, it changes from person to person, depending on their own cultural and traditional biases.”

The teleological system is outcome-based. “The teleological ethicists believe that ‘the ends justifies the means.’” Philosopher John Stuart Mill called this theory utilitarianism. In his description, the good that may come from an action is weighed against or balanced against any possible harm, or ill effects. The individual then acts in a way that maximizes good and minimizes harm. So the “litmus test” for determining what is right behavior depends on what the outcome will be from the result of it.

The third ethic system generally described is called either relativism, or sometimes it is referred to as “Aristotle’s Golden Mean.” This system is based upon what is best for the majority, or, the greatest good for the greatest number. This type of ethics system is typically compared to that of a governmental democracy. As the Mr. Spock character said in the motion picture ‘Star Trek – The Wrath of Khan,’ “The needs of the many outweigh the needs of the few…or the one.”

These are three basic theories which have evolved to help understand what drives humans to determine what is right and wrong, and how to recognize the differences.

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10 Ibid
11 Ibid
14 Ibid
In the 1930s, the requirements for someone to work in public relations were loose, and many people who said they worked in public relations were typically press agents, who were not above tricks to get attention for their clients.\textsuperscript{15}

Otis Baskin and Craig Aronoff write, “Whenever the potential for influencing public opinion exists, the issue of social responsibility (including ethical duty) becomes significant. Many observers feel that institutions should assume responsibility for the consequences of their actions. According to Donald Wright, this implies that public relations people…should act at all times with the best interests of society in mind.”\textsuperscript{16}

There have been several organizations through the years, which have developed codes of ethical standards, or conduct, for workers in the area of public relations. These include the Public Relations Society of America, the International Association of Business Communicators and the International Public Relations Association Code of Conduct.\textsuperscript{17}

One of these organizations, the Public Relations Society of America, was formed in 1948, largely due to ethical and legal breaches of conduct down through the years. A “Code of Professional Standards” was established in 1950 by this organization.\textsuperscript{18}

The questions surrounding ethics are on the minds of many people in the United States these days. Events have rocked the corporate world in the past year, namely the so-called “Enron scandal,” and others, have drawn a great deal of attention and discussion toward the issue of ethics and ethical behavior in business.

\textsuperscript{17} Van Hook, Steven R., “Ethical Public Relations: Not an Oxymoron,” \textit{All About Public Relations}, web page address -- \texttt{http://aboutpublicrelations.net/mbio.htm}, --2002.
In a recent article printed in the June 16, 2002 Sunday edition of the Memphis Commercial Appeal, an Associated Press article asserts that company investors were urging a white-collar cleanup, that corporate misdeeds have shaken investor confidence, and contributed to a dour stock market climate.19

Current United States Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill, a former CEO of the Alcoa Corporation, called the current climate “a disgrace in this country right now—the unethical behavior of company executives.”20

What constitutes good ethical practices in the public relations profession, and are there any clear-cut answers for the practitioner? The question of ethics, as to whether or not it is a paradox for public relations professionals to strive for ethical behavior at all times, is always a subject for discussion.

But today, in our current corporate environment, where does a public relations practitioner draw the line in his or her work? At what point is this so-called “line of ethics” crossed? Is ethics still an important and necessary part of public relations work and are standards the answer?

Views – “For” Public Relations Ethics and Standards

Jay Black and Ralph D. Barney wrote in the Journal of Mass Media Ethics, “Ethical behavior is the right thing to do. The best reason to behave ethically is the personal knowledge that you have acted in a morally appropriate manner.”21

In the history of public relations, there appears to be a perception of “sleazy,” or unethical practices being perpetrated on the various constituencies that the field purports

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to serve. One university professor has even called public relations professionals, “The whores of journalism.”

The concept of basic distrust between the media and public relations professionals is a long-standing issue. According to Philip Seib and Kathy Fitzpatrick, “Some of today’s journalists were actually taught that public relations is inherently unethical.”

In a 1994 study of newspaper editors, it was found that many journalists expect public relations professionals to be evasive and to withhold information." While journalists may have their own problems regarding ethics and ethical behavior in gathering, writing and delivering the news, they generally tend to look with disdain on public relations practitioners.

Steven R. Van Hook has stated that ethics “does matter, both in the big picture and in the bottom line.” Van Hook has acknowledged that many people perceive public relations as something “less than respectable.” This would underscore the importance of ethical behavior by public relations professionals.

David Guth and Charles Marsh say that public relations professionals live their lives under the guidance of several codes of ethics: societal codes, professional codes,

22 Sanders, Luther W., Ed.D., Professor of Journalism, University of Arkansas at Little Rock, Class Lecture, Spring, 1993.
24 Ibid
25 Sanders, Luther W., Ed.D., Professor of Journalism, University of Arkansas at Little Rock, Classroom Lecture, Spring, 1993.
27 Ibid
organizational codes, and personal codes. So, under these established values, ethical behavior would not be a goal, but a part of the daily life of the public relations practitioner.\textsuperscript{28}

In the book Strategic Communication in Business and the Professions, the authors write, “Trust in organizations begins with leaders serving as role models for ethical behavior.” “Employees may refrain from ethical behavior if they see their leaders performing unethical acts. Managers may ask, “If ethical behavior means different things in different situations, how do I know for sure that my own actions are proper?”\textsuperscript{29}

Dr. E.W. Brody, a journalist, professional public relations counselor and professor of journalism at the University of Memphis (Tennessee), says that the essence of public relations is that “We’re dealing in relationships.” He also states that public relations “…is the management of relationships, and that public relations becomes the conscience of the organization. One should never over-promise and under-deliver, but much better to do the opposite—under-promise and over-deliver to your client or publics.”\textsuperscript{30}

Brody also says, that as public relations professionals, “We not only need to talk the talk, but walk the walk.”\textsuperscript{31} This would seem to lend itself to the argument for ethical behavior in the areas of business in general, and in particular, the work of public relations.

The Public Relations Society of America, in a document approved by the PRSA Assembly in October of 2000, \textsuperscript{32}adopted a “member code of ethics.” In the document, it is written, “The foundation of our value to our companies, clients and those we serve is their ability to rely on our ethical and morally acceptable behavior…our new code elevates our

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid
\textsuperscript{32} PRSA Member Code of Ethics, October, 2000, Public Relations Society of America, New York, N.Y.
ethics, our values, and our commitment to the level they belong, at the very top of our daily practice of Public Relations.”

The Public Relations Society of America (PRSA) code provides a member statement of professional values, which includes advocacy, honesty, expertise, independence, loyalty and fairness. It also states (in the preamble), that “ethical practice is the most important obligation of a PRSA member.” In addition, the PRSA code provides a “Member Code of Ethics Pledge,” whereby each member is asked to pledge him or herself toward ethical conduct, and to adhere to the code of ethics pledge.

A member is asked to sign and date this pledge, with the understanding that those found to be in violation of the code, might be barred or expelled from membership in this professional society.

Much emphasis has been, and is being placed on the importance of ethical conduct in the practice of public relations. Many reasons are given, from a variety of sources. One of these, Sarah J. Zupko, suggests that many organizations and educators are calling for the establishment of a “universal ethics code,” in order to provide a common set of principles, tenants and standards.

Zupko also lists additional reasons for ethical behavior in the work of public relations: (1) The resolution of moral dilemmas, (2) Trust, which would result in greater opportunities for participation in management policy decisions, (3) A more stable arena for

\[33\text{ Ibid}\]
\[34\text{ Ibid}\]
\[35\text{ Ibid}\]
professional conduct and behavior in the work, and (4) Enhance credibility with both management and the additional publics that practitioners serve.37

In the book Media Now, the authors write, “Continuing growth and change in the practice of public relations require continuing attention to the issue of ethical conduct. Public relations professionals face conflict between the interests of their clients and standards of conduct defined by the Public Relations Society of America’s Code of Ethics. These standards require practitioners to maintain high standards of honest and fair play and always to operate in the public interest while serving the interests, and maintaining the confidence, of their employers.”38

One example would be the failure in the late 1990s of Bridgestone/Firestone and Ford Motor Company to warn the public and their customers about structural weaknesses in tires installed in the Ford Explorer sport utility vehicle, and then to remain silent or uncaring for many weeks after the failures became public knowledge. More than 140 deaths and more than 500 injuries have been attributed to accidents in the vehicles equipped with the faulty tires.39

The public relations practitioners who worked for these companies didn’t initiate the actions that led to these events, but one could argue that they played a role in perpetuating the deception by promoting the company’s actions, and then defending them as innocuous, even after they became public.40

Views -- “Against Public Relations Ethics and Standards”

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37 Ibid
39 Ibid
40 Ibid
In many instances, public relations professionals engage in propaganda efforts. As agents for their organizations, “Propaganda agents are the people who facilitate messages directly and through the media for an institution…their purpose is to send out ideology with a specific objective to a target audience for the benefit of the institution, but not necessarily for the good of the receivers.”

Shirley Biagi, in her book *Media Now*, offers an opposing perspective, which seems to argue the point that public relations people can be professional, while still acting in what some might perceive to be in an unethical manner. “At the highest level of the profession, PR people are low-key, candid, creative, knowledgeable, warm, witty, harming, friendly, personable, self-confident. The best ones communicate as well or better than some of the best journalists today; they are true communications technicians. We have found few hollow shells of human beings, bereft of moral conviction and marching in step with whatever orders their clients or employers bark out. Many were genuinely excited about their profession; some were swellheaded; only a few harkened back to their journalism days to assure us they were really ‘okay.’”

Then, too, we saw no cabals or international PR conspiracies to control the public’s mind—though quietly controlling minds is, in fact, what PR people attempt to do on a case-by-case basis. PR people have chosen their profession, and most seem reasonably satisfied with being effective advocates for their clients…Some will even admit that what they do is manipulation, but manipulation with a noble, higher goal in mind: defending or

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advancing the cause of their client. There are two sides to every story, goes the argument. They are, in a sense, the equivalent of attorneys in the court of public opinion.” 42

Edward Bernays, arguably at least one of the founders of modern-day public relations, wrote, “The three main elements of public relations are practically as old as society: informing people, persuading people, or integrating people with people.”

In 1955, Bernays wrote, “Public relations is the attempt, by information, persuasion and adjustment, to engineer public support for an activity, cause, movement, or institution.” 43

By 1985, Bernays had further defined the practice of public relations as “giving a client ethical advice, based on research of the public that will win the social goals upon which the client depends for his livelihood.” 44

In the book Public Relations—A Value Driven Approach, the authors write, “Are public relations practitioners ethically obligated to communicate the full truth of a matter? In all our different relationship-building activities, do we strive to present an unbiased view of the complete truth, as we know it? Or do we strive to present only the information that will benefit our organization—in other words, do we deliver only selective truth? To oversimplify, are public relations practitioners objective communicators, like journalists, or are we advocates, like lawyers? 45

Craig Miyamoto, speaking about the ethics dilemma in public relations, states, “In public relations ethics, there are no right or wrong answers. There are only courageous decisions. In public relations, you need to take every risk you can.” I believe that it is

43 Ibid
44 Ibid
unethical for public relations professionals to fear failure. In public relations—as in life—we need to make courageous decisions, day-in and day-out.”

Speaking bluntly, Miyamoto also says, “Your employer signs your paycheck. No work, no public relations ethics decisions. It’s as easy as that.”

Mass communication professor Dave Berkman takes the “con” or opposing view to some of his university peers and public relations professionals. He says, “The bottom line in PR is to make the client look good. If, in a given instance, it happens that truth and desired image coincide, fine; but that is only a coincidental concern.”

In a 1994 study of newspaper editors regarding dealing with public relations people brought this comment: “Public relations people are hired by someone to represent that particular constituency. It comes with the job…any newsperson worthy of the title recognizes the job of a PR person and should never assume the PR view of things is necessarily the way it is…I don’t like some of the things I’ve encountered PR people doing over the years, but I accept it as part of the process.”

Public relations practitioners exercise ethical behavior do so out of a sense of personal morality, and wanting to be respected by his/her various publics, rather than as a result of vague, codified ethical guidelines, it is argued by Donald K. Wright. Wright also

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49 Ibid
argues that “ethic codes are largely ineffective because there is no enforcement mechanism, and the codes are only as good as the people who subscribe to them.”51

Much of Wright’s criticism is directed at the codes of the various professional associations. He feels that many codes are filled with “meaningless rhetoric.” Ultimately, Wright says, public relations professionals conduct themselves ethically because “they believe in themselves and want others to respect them.”52

Wright conducted a study to examine the ethical and moral values of people in public relations work, with the primary thrust of the study that, “public relations never will be any more ethical than the level of basic ethical morality of the people who are in public relations.” He found that the structure of moral values of American public relations workers was based on morality, including socio-economic, religious, puritanical, financial and social responsibilities.53

On many occasions, the ethical, or proper thing to do is unclear to the practitioner in the public relations arena. On October 29, 1998, former United States astronaut and United States Senator John Glenn, then 77-years of age, went back up into space in the space shuttle Discovery.54 Throughout the nine-day flight, NASA arranged for interviews and press conferences, which featured Glenn, along with other officials, some from his historic flight in the Friendship 7 in 1962, which orbited the earth three times.

The purpose of the flight was to participate in the experiments and measurements along with the rest of the crew, while at the same time taking part in experiments, which were to test the effects of space travel on the aging.

52 Ibid
53 Ibid
NASA took full advantage of the publicity. Both the agency and Glenn authorized the sale of Mattel-created “Hot Wheels” action-pack kit for children. This toy contained a figure of Glenn with official outfits, small outfits of both the old and new space vehicles, and other items.\textsuperscript{55}

Some observers (including journalists) saw the presence as primarily a public relations stunt, designed to give the space agency a much-needed boost in image, which had suffered a great setback with the tragic Challenger explosion in 1986.\textsuperscript{56}

Obviously, it worked. The media loved the angles and stories provided to them. The events captivated the imagination of the general public. In fact, the mission was ranked as the “best stunt” of 1998, in a poll reported in PR Week magazine. Interestingly, the events came at a time when NASA was asking a skeptical Congress for additional funding.\textsuperscript{57}

Some people might call this shameful, unethical exploitation for ulterior purposes. Others would call it a brilliant public relations effort. Both charges were leveled toward the agency as a result.

\textbf{Discussion}

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid
The question of ethics has been discussed since the beginning of the practice of the work of public relations. “It is clear,” wrote 20th Century philosopher Ludwig Wittgensten, “that ethics cannot be put into words.”

It appears that two schools of thought came into being, with two pioneers in the field. On the one hand, Ivy Ledbetter Lee believed in open communications with the media, and was known as being frank and candid to the press. He believed in honesty, especially in telling the story of business. He fought the muckrakers, many of who were perceived to be at times, practicing unethical behavior themselves.

On the other hand, Edward L. Bernays, who arguably competed with Lee in the field, saw public relations as a type of science, applying psychology and behavior manipulation to achieve the ends for his clients.

If you compare the two, Lee appears to be the more forthright, and perhaps “upright” of the two public relations fathers. Bernays would appear to be somewhat the opposite, believing that full disclosure was not necessarily in the best interests of the cause.

At a time when ethics has come into question in our world, particularly in political and business circles, it appears that more attention has been placed in the area of public relations. Suspicion can fall on public relations professionals, whenever they go about doing their work. Public relations work draws from several areas: journalism, public speaking, rhetoric, propaganda, psychology, and others.

What is right or wrong? What is ethical or unethical? The best attorney’s answer would be, “it all depends.” It all depends upon the point of view. With several theories concerning ethical behavior, it can become confusing. In this study, three were identified. There are others, and variations of these three. If the public relations person adheres to one school (for example, “The end justifies the means,”), and the journalist to another (what
is best for all), then there will be a disagreement as to the approach is an ethical one. It becomes a question of concepts, and opinions—and those vary.

Codes of Ethical Conduct, or behavior, have been developed, debated, and advocated, even adopted. But even one of the most prominent codes, that of the Public Relations Society of America, has “softened” its approach. PRSA developed its first statement of principles in 1950, and has modified it since then. But between 1952 and 1985, only 168 cases were investigated, with only ten resulting in sanctions. It appears that unethical behavior is easier to assert than to prove.

The J.C. Penney Company’s statement of business ethics concedes, “No set of principles can eliminate the need for human judgment.” There is much variance as to what can be defined as unethical behavior. Ludwig Wittgensten says, “Defining ethics can be tough—almost as tough as behaving ethically.” It is difficult to measure, identify and conceptualize into a set of standards. While several of the current “codes of conduct” have been identified, it is interesting to note that now a call is coming out for a universal ethics code.

Part of the role of the public relations professional is that of being a counsel to the company or organization. In the case of the Bridgestone/Firestone/Ford case, it is unclear from the research as to what role the public relations staff had with these companies. One typical job function of a PR person is that of “damage control,” or as it is more commonly known, “crisis management.” It could have been that the public relations staff was providing counsel to the company, while management did not heed their advice. The possibility exists that the public relations staff did not know of these problems. They should have, since knowledge is paramount for the person in the PR role. But, if the information were withheld from them, does that make their public relations efforts unethical?
The inevitable comparison has always existed between public relations professionals and journalists. But their roles are, in actuality, quite different. It is true that public relations practitioners do their work with a lot of journalism efforts. But, they are quite different. A journalist is supposed to report the news and information to their readers/audience without bias, coloration, or slant. A public relations professional not only informs, but also persuades and advances the cause of their client. Journalists and public relations people are not the same, and should not be held to identical standards.

It is also interesting to note that several of the sources accessed for this study contradicted them. There were quotes listed by the same authors or speakers under both the “for” and “against” points. In some cases, they may have recognized how difficult it is to grapple with the issue of professional ethical behavior in public relations. The dilemma is not only how to define ethical standards, but also how to deal with it.

**Opinion**

Ethics is a difficult issue. In my mind, public relations work has become an essential part of management. Colleges and universities are seeing enrollments grow for majors in this field. The need for ethical behavior is being called for in all fields, and public relations is no exception.

Part of the call for ethics revolves around these codes of ethics, or behavior. I believe that basic codes, or tenants to guide behavior are good. What I do not agree with is the call for enforcement. Up to this point, public relations professionals are not licensed, so the issue of who or what agency would serve as the “ethics police,” is a real question—and at this point, a real point of argument.

Ethics are beliefs about right and wrong that guide the way we think and act. That, in many respects, is a personal set of beliefs. While we can agree on several points of
contention, there is a lot of flexibility in the field of public relations, which make ethical standards difficult.

Let’s face it—regardless of what some may say, the world is not always black and white. The issues are not always clear-cut. Again—it depends. Here’s an example: A Jewish married woman has sexual relations with a German soldier during World War II. Did she commit adultery? Some would say absolutely, while others would say it was her business. Now, here’s another bit of information about this example. The woman had sex with the soldier in order to save the lives of 200 Jewish men. Was it adultery? Was the behavior justified? Ethical?

Due to the varied nature of the business of public relations, the need and desire for respect may never be what it could, or perhaps should be. Public relations professionals need to do a better job—with all of their “publics.” Ethics comes down, ultimately, to individuality. Our own personal ethics governs our behavior, what we are willing to do, and how far we are willing to go. Ethical behavior is a part of our character, and our daily lives. While it is an important issue for the practitioners, I believe that it is best dealt with through education, recommended codes of conduct, and personal commitment.

Public relations professionals are in a position of advocacy for their publics. There are many instances where PR counselors face conflicts between the interests of their clients and the various codes of conduct, or ethical behavior. Again, it is up to the practitioners to maintain high standards of honesty and fairness, to operate in the best interests of their public(s), and maintaining the confidence of their employers. Ethical behavior is, ultimately, an individual decision, based on that individual’s values, their responsibilities, their clients, and the circumstances in the moral dilemma. “Let your conscience be your guide,” in all of your efforts.
Title: Redefining Haudenosaunee Healing Practices Using Early European / Haudenosaunee Encounter Narratives

Topic Area: Social Work

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Abstract:

Past literature in the healing practices of the Haudenosaunee has focused primarily on two features; these included the use of psychoanalytic theory and practice in the realm of psychological ailments and the use of botanical methodology in combat against physical disease. This paper contends that healing in Haudenosaunee society is better aligned with social work ideology and practice and that psychology and herbal treatment knowledge are properties found within a social work framework. Analyses conducted of early European / Haudenosaunee encounter narratives were used to compare contemporary definitions of social work versus those of early Haudenosaunee healing practices.
Title: Environmental Justice Analysis: How has it been implemented in Draft Environmental Impact Statements?

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Environmental Justice Analysis: How has it been implemented in the Draft Environmental Impact Statements?

Abstract:

Since the signing of the Executive Order 12989 on February 11, 1994, environmental justice analyses are required in the draft environmental impact statements (DEIS’) prepared under the National Environmental Policy Act. From a total of 2062 DEIS’ produced during 1994-2001, approximately 994 documents had some form of environmental justice assessments. These DEIS’ were evaluated as a separate subset to determine which agencies were preparing the analyses. In addition, the types of methods used in the analyses and how decisions were made in these assessments was the focus of this research. The results show that about half (47.9%) of the documents had environmental justice analyses with an average around 65% for more recent years. Most analyses are being conducted by the US Navy, Department of Energy, Federal Highway Administration, and the Army Corp of Engineers. Only about half (49.3%) of the documents focused on low-income as the sole variable. Recommendations are made for practitioners and policy makers to rely more on geospatial tools like geographical information systems and to build more sophisticated methods for environmental justice analyses. Something a collaborations between practitioners at EPA and CEQ, along with the DEIS preparers, and academe have the capacity for doing.
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Environmental Justice Analysis: How has it been implemented in Draft Environmental Impact Statements?

Introduction

This study examines how environmental justice considerations are incorporated into draft environmental impact statements (DEIS’), which are generated for federally proposed actions under the National Environmental Policy Act. A major impediment towards including environmental justice in DEIS’ is the lack of a standard definition that can be quantified or measured for the concept, and the determination on when there may be a disproportionate impact to those communities once they have been identified as being at risk. It has been difficult for preparers of DEIS documents to know how to measure, and then, make a determination of impact without some detailed guidelines for these concepts. Granted there has to be flexibility in guidelines which are applied across the United States to account for different communities and populations. However, having to create a new and unique approach for each community has proven to be problematic for DEIS’ preparers. In addition, there is no comprehensive review of environmental justice methods that can be used in DEIS’ or analytical measures for preparers to start with when working on communities that may have environmental justice concerns. Therefore, we examine how environmental justice has been analyzed in DEIS’ since it became a requirement and evaluate whether the sophistication of that analysis has improved over time.

We ask the research question, what types of tools and analyses are being implemented in DEIS’ for environmental justice assessments? While there has been considerable debate in the literature on how to define and identify environmental justice communities (Rubin et al, 2002), advancing to the stage of applying those definitions has remain elusive for preparers of DEIS’. Because the guidance is broad and generally not prescriptive in how to conduct environmental justice assessments, we anticipate a wide range of tools that have been implemented as well as a general improvement in sophistication of those tools over time as DEIS preparers become more familiar with the concept and its assessments.
To answer our research question, we examined all of the DEIS documents since the environmental justice executive order requirement was signed into law on February 11, 1994 by President Clinton (Executive Order 12898). The four-page order simply states that “each federal agency shall make achieving environmental justice part of its mission by identifying and addressing, appropriate, disproportionately high and adverse human health or environmental effects of its programs, policies, and activities on minority populations and low-income populations.” This simple, yet groundbreaking, executive order established an Interagency Working Group on Environmental Justice headed by EPA, with representatives from a wide variety of executive agencies and offices. This Working Group serves as a clearinghouse, coordinates data collection, and reports to the President on environmental justice strategies. In addition, it provided assistance to DEIS preparers on the definitions of terms in the executive order such as minority, minority population, low-income population, disproportionately high and adverse human health effects (Council on Environmental Quality, 1997). President Clinton also issued a memorandum along with the executive order that directs federal agencies to analyze environmental effects, including human health, economic and social effects of federal actions, and effects on minority and low-income communities. This memorandum was the link from the executive order to the preparation of DEIS’ which are required for all major, significant federal actions under NEPA (Clinton, 1994). To evaluate the DEIS’, we first explain the conceptual and working definitions analysts use from the guidance materials on minority and low-income to identify the environmental justice communities. We also explain how DEIS’ preparers are instructed to make determinations of disproportionate impact.

**Definitions of Environmental Justice for DEIS Preparation**

In July 1999, EPA issued the final guidance on how environmental justice should be considered in DEIS reviews (EPA, 1999). This guidance is intended to be used by EPA reviewers in conjunction with the EPA’s Policy and Procedures for the Review of Federal Actions Impacting the Environment (1998) and the Council
on Environmental Quality’s (CEQ) Guidance for Considering Environmental Justice under the National Environmental Policy Act (CEQ 1997). DEIS’ preparers must demonstrate in the analysis for environmental justice how a conclusion was made in regards to the determination on whether or not an impact was disproportionately high for an identified environmental justice community or population. EPA (1999) recommends that methods useful for identifying whether a minority or low-income population is disproportionately and adversely affected by a proposed action include locational and/or distributional tools (e.g. geographical information systems), ecological and human health risk assessment, and socioeconomic analyses. It also suggests the use of obvious sources of data from the Census, and state and local agency departments such as taxation and employment, commercial database firms, or community members.

CEQ (1997:8-9) is careful not to provide a standard definition for environmental justice communities that could be not applicable in identifying these communities across different regions of the United States. Instead, it suggests sources of data that are similar to EPA’s sources such as public health agencies, industry, and include being aware of cumulative and intercultural factors that may amplify the effects. CEQ (1997:10-11) even states that it will not prescribe any specific format for examining environmental justice such as designating a specific chapter or section in a DEIS on environmental justice issues. CEQ instructs DEIS preparers to integrate environmental justice concerns in an appropriate manner so as to be clear, concise, and comprehensible within the general format.

The impact of the environmental justice analyses is stated in the EPA (1999) guidance. The identification of a disproportionately high and adverse human health or environmental effect on an environmental justice community does not preclude a proposed action from going forward or compel a conclusion that a proposed action is environmentally unsatisfactory. However, if environmental justice concerns are relevant to the DEIS, then EPA has to factor it into the project rating that occurs on all DEIS’ under the requirements of the Clean Air Act Section 309 (1971). There has not been a single DEIS that has been rated as environmentally unsatisfactory based on the environmental justice analysis. To begin
evaluating the methods for how environmental justice analyses have been conducted in DEIS’, first the operational definitions of low-income and minority population have to be explained as well as the approach for determining disproportionate impacts.

**What is a Low-Income or Minority Population?**

Under the CEQ (1997:25) guidance, low-income population is defined as an area with the annual statistical poverty thresholds from the Census Current Population Reports, Series P-60 on Income and Poverty. Agencies are instructed to consider a community as “a group of individuals living in a geographical proximity to one another or a set of individuals where either type of group experiences or common conditions of environmental exposure or effect.” Populations affected by the proposed action first are identified in terms of racial and ethnic composition, and incomes. To do this, the composition of the community is compared to the characteristics of the larger region. For instance, comparisons are made between the percentage of the environmental justice community residing near a proposed project in relation to the percentage of that same community located within a single or multi-county surrounding the proposed project. Thus, environmental justice communities surrounding the proposed project are characterized in terms of income distribution levels and racial/ethnic diversity then those same factors are examined to the larger region for comparison to determine if there is a potential minority or low-income population that could be impacted. For the analyses, EPA (1998) proposes a variety of computer related tools like geographical information systems, digitized files form the Census, zip codes, and a variety of existing data bases like the Toxic Release Inventory, CERCLIS, Permit Compliance System, a variety of aerial and emergency operations systems, and Department of Transportation’s chemical transit information, to name a few.

Minority populations are specifically defined as individuals who are members of the population groups such as American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian or Pacific Islander, black not of Hispanic origin, or Hispanic. Using this definition of minority persons, EPA (1998) states that minority populations are identified by either: a) the
minority population of the area exceeds 50% or b) the minority population percentage of the area is “meaningfully greater” than the minority population percentage in the general population or other appropriate unit of geographic analysis. The selection of the appropriate unit of geographic analysis may be a governing body’s jurisdiction, a neighborhood, a census tract, or other similar unit that is to be chosen so as to not artificially dilute or inflate the minority population. A minority population also exists if there is more than one minority group present and the minority average as calculated by aggregating all minority persons meets one of the above stated thresholds.

EPA (1998) described in detail how the Interagency Working Group came up with the concept of “meaningfully greater” to identify minority populations. A minority population may be present if the affected area is “meaningfully greater” than the minority population percentage in the general population of the other appropriate unit of geographic analysis. The affected area refers to the region of the proposed project. The analyst is told to use the potentially affected populations under various alternatives as a benchmark for comparison where possible. A simple demographic comparison to the next larger geographic area or political jurisdiction should be presented to place population characteristics in context and allow the analyst to judge whether alternatives adequately distinguish among populations (EPA 1998: 14-16).

EPA (1998) also warns about using census data since it can only be disaggregated to the census tract or census block levels whereas “pockets” of minorities or low-income communities could experience disproportionately high and adverse effects, which are missed in the traditional analysis. Analysts are strongly encouraged to identify whether high concentrations or pockets of minority and low-income populations are within the specific geographic areas. The analyses are instructed to look at each situation on a case-by-case basis to determine if there is a disproportionately high and adverse effects occurring from the proposed action. Specifically for low-income analyses, preparers are instructed to consider state and regional low-income and poverty definitions along with the Census Current Population Reports.
In making a determination on disproportionately high and adverse human health effects for an environmental justice community, three factors are to be examined to the extent practicable. First, analysts are to determine if the risk and rates of health effects are significant or above generally accepted norms. This can include bodily impairment, infirmity, illness or death. Second, analysts are to determine if the risk or rate of hazard exposure is significant and appreciable exceeds (or likely to exceed) that of the general population or other comparison group. Third, analysts are to determine if the health effect by cumulative impact or multiple adverse exposures from environmental hazards is likely to occur.

EPA (1998, Section 5.3) also suggests as one alternative, the development of an index or ranking systems for scoring potential disproportionately high and adverse effects that could be applied to targeted areas and used as a tool to screen locations. One EPA regional office developed a sophisticated ranking scheme to determine whether an environmental justice indicator exists. The formula provides a means for determining whether an environmental justice situation exists and includes factors such as population exposed, degree of impact, and degree of vulnerability (EPA 1998). The example cited in the EPA (1998) guidance explains how three variables that include population density, percent minority population, and the percent of economically depressed household data were the most critical analytical factors in the index.

Ultimately, EPA (1998:18) states that the analyst is to ascertain which techniques will best suit the project and be flexible to consider additional avenues which may be unique to the project. Over reliance on Census data is discouraged, and more collection of data from state agencies and local officer is suggested.

Finally, environmental justice assessments are to be conducted for all reasonable alternatives in the DEIS. The conclusions from these analyses, including any results that find there are no environmental justice issues for a proposed project, should be described fully in the DEIS. Using these definitions form EPA and CEQ, we look at all of the DEIS’ from the start of the executive order to 2002.
Methods

To evaluate how environmental justice analyses have been conducted in DEIS’, we examined all of the documents from 1994-2002. The data collection only includes up to the first quarter in 2002. During this period, there were 2062 DEIS documents submitted to EPA. Approximately 47.9% of all DEIS documents that were submitted during this time period for review by EPA included environmental justice analyses (n=994). Generally about half of the documents were including some level of environmental justice assessment, even if it is simply recognizing that there were no environmental justice concerns associated with the proposed project. The other DEIS documents did not include any statement about environmental justice.

One way to examine how pervasive the environmental justice assessment have been in DEIS’ is to evaluate the number of DEIS’ submittals along side with the DEIS’ that included environmental justice assessments. Figure 1 shows the total amount of DEIS’ distribution over time submitted for EPA review along with the DEIS’ that had incorporated environmental justice analyses. Another way to examine how pervasive environmental justice assessment have bin in DEIS’ is to construct a percentage or rate of inclusion per total over time. In Figure 2, the percentage of annual DEIS’ using some form of environmental justice analysis is graphed over time to standardize the difference in numbers of DEIS’ submitted each year. These figures show an important trend over time. When looking annually at DEIS documents, it appears federal agencies incrementally began to incorporate the new requirements into DEIS’ for environmental justice. Beginning in 1994, the year the executive order was issued, about 8.4% of the documents included some environmental justice analysis. This increases to 27.8% by 1995, just one year later. One explanation for this increase is that in the early years was the DEIS preparers had little guidance from CEQ or EPA on how to conduct the assessments. While certainly more proposed projects probably had environmental justice concerns than reflected in these percentages, the preparers as well as EPA reviewers may not have been accustomed or trained in environmental justice analyses and no DEIS’ before them were useful to use as guides.
By 1996, federal agencies started to more actively address environmental justice with 40.5% of the DEIS having some analyses then moving to 56% in 1998. By 1999, federal agencies preparing the documents were including environmental justice between 65% to 70% of the documents. It is not likely that proposed actions were impacting minority and low-income communities more during these years than previously. Instead, this indicates that preparers of these documents were getting more aware of how to include environmental justice into the DEIS’, and it is reasonable to assume that the analyses would be getting more sophisticated in how to handle different communities with low-income or minority populations. Thus, by 1999, at least 1338 DEIS’ had been made available with environmental justice analyses that preparers in the following years could use as a reference for a baseline in assessing communities. Therefore, today more than half of the DEIS’ address environmental justice issues.

Content analysis was performed on the subset (n=994) of DEIS documents that at least mentioned environmental justice. A variety of variables were coded to capture the range of environmental justice methods being used. This included the type of analysis performed, what geographical units were used, the level of empirical analysis used (if any), and the outcome of the determination for a potential impact. The expectation was that based on the guidance, a diversity of methods would be used to assess environmental justice communities with more advanced methods being implemented over time.

Results

Who is preparing the environmental justice analyses?

A variety of federal agencies are preparing DEIS documents which include environmental justice assessments (Table 1). The Federal Highway Administration (22.3%) had largest amount of total documents with environmental justice analyses as a percentage of the subset (N=994) with the Forest Service (13.2%) and Army Corps of Engineers (9%) following behind. Smaller contributors to the
subset include the Bureau of Land Management (7.3%), Navy (6.3%), and the Department of Energy (4.8%). All other agencies had less than 4% of their documents with environmental justice analyses as a percentage of the sample of 994. These percentages are not surprising since the majority of documents submitted during this same time frame were the Forest Service (25.8%), the Federal Highway Administration (15.4%), Army Corps of Engineers (9.2%), and the Bureau of Land Management (7.7%). All other agencies submitted less than 6%. Table 1 shows the break down of all the agencies that included environmental justice in some manner in their DEIS documents.

Also reported in Table 1 is the percentage of DEIS’ with environmental justice included per total DEIS submitted to EPA for each agency (Table 1 column 3). This comparison standardizes for the high volume producers of DEIS’. Based on this comparison, those agencies that produced at least 35 documents during this period and included environmental justice were Forest Service (24.5%), National Park Service (30.0%), Bureau of Land Management (45.6%), Army Corp of Engineers (46.6%), Federal Highway Administration (69.4%), Department of Energy (82.8%), and US Navy (90.0%). This shows that agencies like the Army Corp of Engineers, Forest Service, and Bureau of Land Management are frequently preparing documents and including environmental justice analyses. Agencies such as the Department of Energy and the National Park Service may not be preparing as many documents as other agencies, yet these agencies are including environmental justice analyses frequently in their documents.

Table 2 shows the geographical profile for the states and territories of the United States that submit DEIS’ with some level of environmental justice analysis. Geographically, California was involved as the state with the single largest number of DEIS documents (136) submitted from 1994-2002, and it had the highest frequency in their documents of including environmental justice analyses (13.7%). Other states where geographically proposed projects were located included environmental justice in the DEIS document include Washington (4.9%), Nevada (3.4%), New York (3.3%) with all other states contributing less than 3%. While it is not surprising to have California as the largest state for DEIS’ with
environmental justice analyses, it was surprising that given the definitions of minority and low-income in the executive order, more states in the southwest, west or south were not represented in the sample.

**Type of Analyses for Environmental Justice Assessments**

The main research question investigated is what types of analyses are being conducted for environmental justice assessments in DEIS documents? We expected a diversity of approaches that should become more sophisticated over time. The data show in Table 3, of the 994 documents with some environmental justice assessments, about half included some level of empirical analysis (49.3%) while only a small percentage (4.4%) relied upon a qualitative history. A little less than half (46.3%) of the documents merely stated that there was no impact without a substantial analysis either qualitatively or empirically. Overall, there was not a high level of sophisticated methodology being used that relied on empirical analyses to make the determination on either the identification of minority or low-income populations, or potential impact to those communities.

We also evaluated further the type of analyses based on the use of low-income (see Table 4) and minority (see Table 5) factors. About half (51.5%) of the DEIS’ documents had no minority empirical analyses and a little less than half (47.9%) employed the use of descriptive statistics, and only 6 documents actually had statistical tests using race as a factor. In the area of income, most documents (54.1%) had no empirical analysis for income and less than half (45.2%) employed the use of descriptive statistics, and only 7 documents actually had statistical tests using income as a factor. Because of the degree of support and instruction for the use of empirical methodology by EPA and CEQ, this finding was somewhat surprising. We expected to find more reliance on these data sources mentioned in the guidance documents.

**Who is impacted and to what degree?**
Besides investigating the type of analyses being implemented to assess environmental justice, we evaluated which groups may be potentially impacted, and how frequently? We found of the 994 documents, about 45.2% of the DEIS’ included low-income as the sole factor. Analyses also included a variety of combinations of race and income. For instance, all races and low-income was included 19.6% of the DEIS’. Native American and low-income (10.4%), Hispanic and low-income (3%), and African American, Hispanic and low-income (2.4%). A small percentage of documents also extended the environmental justice community to include persons under the American Disability Act. One result of this finding is that low-income populations were more likely to be identified as potentially impacted than minority groups from proposed actions in the DEIS’.

Based on the findings for environmental justice analyses stated in the DEIS’, the degree of impact was tracked (see Table 6). Most of the DEIS documents (93%) reported no potential impact based on the analyses. However, some documents report slight (3.9%) or moderate to severe (3.1%) potential impacts. Thus, the outcomes of the environmental justice analyses are yielding an impact only a small percentage of the time. One conclusion could be, if the analyses are adequate, the environmental justice communities are less than 6% of the time having proposed projects by the federal government that could potentially have a disproportionate impact on their communities.

**What analyses were actually performed?**

One way to make some conclusions about the adequacy of the analyses is to determine what methods were actually performed. The geographical unit or spatial distributional area is a key factor to performing any environmental justice assessment. It is the foundation for determining an environmental justice community at the start of the analysis. Therefore, we tracked the spatial units being used and what these units being compared to as required in the guidance by EPA guidance (1998).

We found that most analyses did not include a geographical unit (57.2%). When a geographical unit was included to identify a potential environmental justice community, the most frequent unit
used was the Census block or tract (17%). Other units used much less frequently included the county (8.8%), the radius around the proposed project (6.2%), and the city (6%). DEIS' much less of the time (5% or less) used the zip code, reservation, island, or region as a geographical unit. In other words, generally these analyses were not getting to neighborhoods or communities that might be the so-called “pockets” of minority or low-income groups mentioned by EPA guidance.

When evaluating the comparison population which should be the larger spatial area used in relation to the potential environmental justice community, there were similar results. This group was used for the purpose of relating it to the minority or low-income comparison group to determine if the potential environmental justice community is “meaningfully greater” concentration than the rest of the population in the analyses. We found similar results that included geographical units such as the county (8.8%), state (5.6%), city (2.8%), radius around the proposed project (2.7%) were relied upon as the comparison group with again most documents (65.2%) not including a geographical comparison group.

Keep in mind most of the documents did not use empirical variables in the environmental justice analysis. Of those that did, the data was focused on minority and poverty rates (18.6%) or minority, poverty and household income considerations (6.7%). Very few analyses included variables that were listed and encouraged for use in the EPA guidance documents such as public assistance, unemployment, education rates, or other data gathered from nontraditional sources like community groups, nonprofit organizations or other more local government sources. Certainly, the encouragement to use risk, rates, or other indices/scales was for the most part not incorporated into the analyses as suggested by EPA and CEQ.

In addition to the issues on type of analyses and methods utilized, we wanted to capture the notion of attention given to environmental justice. Empirical analyses may not always capture the qualitative detail or description which may be useful in understanding the analyses performed. Therefore, to track how much attention was given to environmental justice in each DEIS as a gross indicator, we tallied up both the number of pages, and
paragraphs for each environmental justice section. This is a standard technique used in policies like nuclear energy, smoking, and other issues that appear in newspapers or other public documents (Tzoumis, 2001).

We found that about 20% of DEIS’ dedicated at least 1 paragraph and about 12% dedicated about 2 paragraphs. The remainder of the DEIS’ 3 or more paragraphs with the largest space being 133 paragraphs. Another attention indicator is the number of pages devoted in the DEIS to environmental justice. When comparing the number of pages, there were about 34.6% of the DEIS’ with at least half a page giving attention to the environmental justice topic. About 12% of the DEIS’ dedicated at least 1 full page to the topic. The greatest number of pages was 38. Thus, several of documents are discussing the issue of environmental justice if not performing empirical analyses.

In addition, we coded the number of DEIS’ that listed environmental justice in the table of contents as a header that a member of the public could easily find the analyses. Many (70%) of the documents listed the topic environmental justice in the table of contents, which made it easy for the community to look up in the participation and comment process. One significant problem for members of the public is trying to locate these analyses in the document particularly if it is not listed in the table of contents. We tracked where environmental justice was located in the document and most (96.2%) of the time it was a separate section but there was no consistency on where it was located in the document. For instance, some documents had it in the socioeconomic impacts or others under alternatives. There was no pattern to where a member of the public could expect to find these analyses, particularly, if it was not listed in the table of contents.
Discussion

There are several findings that need to be seriously considered by policymakers at EPA, CEQ and the DEIS preparers. First, most documents find no potential impact of proposed projects to minority or low-income communities (93%). However, many of the analyses were not sophisticated enough in the use of geographical or empirical methods to ensure this decision of no impact was a valid or verifiable determination. Many documents still are not including environmental justice analyses in the DEIS. Second, even if these analyses were accurate, it might have been difficult for affected community members to find the analyses since there is not requirement to place the environmental justice analyses in a standard section of the document where it could be easily found. Placing it in the table of contents as a minimum should be a requirement to assist with the public involvement process for communities.

Second, clearly there has to be flexibility in using different methods and approaches toward understanding environmental justice issues. We are not suggesting a one-size-fits-all methodology towards identifying these communities or the potential impacts. However, there is not enough rigor in the current methods being utilized or a discerning enough level of detail that can capture the so-called “pockets” of environmental justice populations that may exist in a community surrounding the proposed project. This lack of using geographical tools and other information that is available at the neighborhood level was one of the most surprising findings of this study.

EPA could assist with solving this deficiency by encouraging further development of empirical measures which involve spatial or locational analysis when documents are being developed. We expected to see an increase in the use of geographical and informational tools for decision making in these analyses over time. EPA could also encourage development of an index or scale to guide analysts by working with the academic community that studies urban regional planning, and environmental policy and management. More investment in developing methods for evaluating environmental
justice could be developed by government and the academic communities working together than is currently available.
Figure 1: Annual Amount of DEIS' submitted from 1994-2001 (N=2050)
### Table 1: Agencies Using Environmental Justice Analysis in DEIS from 1994-2002 (N=994)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency Name</th>
<th>Frequency of EJ DEIS</th>
<th>Frequency of DEIS submitted</th>
<th>Percentage of EJ DEIS/DEIS submitted by Agency (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Federal Highways Administration</td>
<td>222 (22.3%)</td>
<td>320 (15.4%)</td>
<td>69.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Forest Service</td>
<td>131 (13.2%)</td>
<td>535 (25.8%)</td>
<td>24.5</td>
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<td>Army Corp of Engineers</td>
<td>89 (9.0%)</td>
<td>191 (9.2%)</td>
<td>46.6</td>
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<td>Bureau of Land Management</td>
<td>73 (7.3%)</td>
<td>160 (7.7%)</td>
<td>45.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>United States Navy</td>
<td>63 (6.3%)</td>
<td>70 (3.4%)</td>
<td>90.0</td>
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<td>Department of Energy</td>
<td>48 (4.8%)</td>
<td>58 (2.8%)</td>
<td>82.8</td>
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<td>National Park Service</td>
<td>36 (3.6%)</td>
<td>120 (5.8%)</td>
<td>30.0</td>
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<td>Federal Transportation Administration</td>
<td>35 (3.5%)</td>
<td>44 (2.1%)</td>
<td>79.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>United States Army</td>
<td>35 (3.5%)</td>
<td>45 (2.2%)</td>
<td>77.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Federal Aviation Administration</td>
<td>34 (3.4%)</td>
<td>38 (1.8%)</td>
<td>89.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bureau of Reclamation</td>
<td>29 (2.9%)</td>
<td>43 (2.1%)</td>
<td>67.4</td>
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<td>United States Air Force</td>
<td>22 (2.2%)</td>
<td>38 (1.8%)</td>
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<td>Bureau of Prisons</td>
<td>19 (1.9%)</td>
<td>24 (1.2%)</td>
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<td>General Services Administration</td>
<td>17 (1.7%)</td>
<td>33 (1.6%)</td>
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<td>Tennessee Valley Authority</td>
<td>14 (1.4%)</td>
<td>17 (.8%)</td>
<td>82.4</td>
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<td>13 (1.3%)</td>
<td>77 (3.7%)</td>
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<td>11 (1.1%)</td>
<td>42 (2%)</td>
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<td>Bureau of Indian Affairs</td>
<td>10 (1.0%)</td>
<td>15 (.7%)</td>
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<td>Bonneville Power Administration</td>
<td>9 (.9%)</td>
<td>21 (1.0%)</td>
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<td>Minerals Management Service</td>
<td>9 (.9%)</td>
<td>14 (.7%)</td>
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<td>Nat’l. Oceanic and Atmospheric Admin.</td>
<td>9 (.9%)</td>
<td>47 (2.3%)</td>
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<td>United States Marine Corp.</td>
<td>7 (.7%)</td>
<td>7 (.3%)</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<td>Department of Agriculture</td>
<td>6 (.6%)</td>
<td>16 (.8%)</td>
<td>37.5</td>
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<td>National Aeronautics and Space Admin.</td>
<td>6 (.6%)</td>
<td>7 (.3%)</td>
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<td>Small Business Administration</td>
<td>5 (.5%)</td>
<td>5 (.2%)</td>
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<td>U.S. Coast Guard</td>
<td>4 (.4%)</td>
<td>6 (.3%)</td>
<td>66.7</td>
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<td>Department of Defense</td>
<td>4 (.4%)</td>
<td>5 (.2%)</td>
<td>80.0</td>
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<td>Department of Transportation</td>
<td>4 (.4%)</td>
<td>6 (.3%)</td>
<td>66.7</td>
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<td>Department of Justice</td>
<td>4 (.4%)</td>
<td>7 (.3%)</td>
<td>57.1</td>
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<td>Nuclear Regulatory Commission</td>
<td>4 (.4%)</td>
<td>6 (.3%)</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Area Power Administration</td>
<td>4 (.4%)</td>
<td>5 (.2%)</td>
<td>80.0</td>
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<td>Animal &amp; Plant Health Inspection Service</td>
<td>3 (.3%)</td>
<td>6 (.3%)</td>
<td>50.0</td>
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<td>Environmental Protection Agency</td>
<td>3 (.3%)</td>
<td>16 (.8%)</td>
<td>18.8</td>
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<td>National Capital Planning Commission</td>
<td>3 (.3%)</td>
<td>3 (.1%)</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<td>Housing Urban Development</td>
<td>2 (.2%)</td>
<td>4 (.1%)</td>
<td>50.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Office of Surface Mining</td>
<td>2 (.2%)</td>
<td>3 (.1%)</td>
<td>66.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Economic Development Administration</td>
<td>1 (.1%)</td>
<td>2 (.1)</td>
<td>50.0</td>
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<td>Food and Drug Administration</td>
<td>1 (.1%)</td>
<td>1 (.1%)</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Emergency Management Agency</td>
<td>1 (.1%)</td>
<td>2 (.1%)</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Boundary and Water Comm.</td>
<td>1 (.1%)</td>
<td>1 (.1%)</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Department</td>
<td>1 (.1%)</td>
<td>2 (.1%)</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>994 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>2062 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>48.2</strong></td>
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Table 2: DEIS’ submitted with Environmental Justice Analysis by State or Territory (N=994)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CA</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>IN</td>
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<tr>
<td>Multiple States</td>
<td>86</td>
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<td>NJ</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>No States</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>AL</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WA</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NV</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>CT</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NM</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>KY</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NY</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>MA</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>TX</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>MS</td>
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<td>.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>AZ</td>
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<td>2.8</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>ID</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>MI</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>UT</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>OH</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.7</td>
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<td>MT</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>Washington D.C.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>GA</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>FL</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>RI</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OR</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>21</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>VT</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>MD</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>ME</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>MO</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>NH</td>
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<td>.3</td>
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<td>TN</td>
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<td>1.8</td>
<td>DE</td>
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<td>.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>Guam</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WI</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>IA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CO</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WV</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>OK</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IL</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MN</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>(American Somoa)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WY</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>Puerto Rico</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>994</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VA</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.1</td>
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<td></td>
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</table>
**Table 3:** Type of Environmental Analysis Performed in DEIS from 1994-2002 (N = 994)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analysis Type</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Empirical Analysis</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>48.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States No Impact</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>46.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualitative History</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>944</td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 4: DEIS’ using Income in Environmental Justice Analysis from 1994-2002 (N=994)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Empirical Analysis</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>54.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentages or frequencies</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>45.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statistical tests</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>994</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Table 5:** DEIS’ using Race in Environmental Justice Analysis from 1994-2002 (N=994)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Empirical Analysis</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>51.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Percentages or frequencies</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>47.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Statistical tests</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>994</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 6: Degree of Impact Stated in DEIS’ 1994-2002 (N=994)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of Impact</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>93.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slight</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate/Severe</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>994</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References

Clean Air Act Amendments 1971 Section 309 42 USC Section 7609.


National Environmental Policy Act 1969 42 USC Section 4321.


From High School to University: Preliminary Case Study Findings of Japanese Students’ Changing English Study Methods

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Abstract

This article discusses the first set of findings from a larger ongoing longitudinal study on Japanese university students’ English study methods. The article details the mixed methods approach and results concerning if and how students’ English study methods change from the high school to the university level. It was hypothesized that most students would feel the pressure of the new demands placed on them at university after their university entrance examination studies had passed and would hence seek out different study methods to meet those new demands. Overall, results from this sample indicate that students view their high school English learning as deficient and will make alterations to their study methods at university, particularly by placing emphasis on listening and university facility use, in order to compensate for those deficiencies. Other trends and results of interest, such as students’ newly found freedom and responsibility, are discussed.
Introduction

As demonstrated in a previous article (Rubrecht, 2003a), university educators in Japan (including but not limited to instructors of English) should question whether or not students who have matriculated to university are fully prepared for the academic demands that await them beyond the high school level. Academic instruction in Japan prior to university aims primarily to assist students in passing their university entrance examinations. Three years of English study each at the junior high and high school levels, plus the likely attendance of juku (cram school) or other academic instruction outside of the school system does not guarantee that students will be ready to face the rigors and challenges of university English classes where they must engage in and perform functions in English never previously expected of them (e.g., speaking, writing, and listening in the target language). In fact, as the Japanese education system relies largely on yakudoku (literally “translation reading”) or some other form of grammar-translation below the university level (Gorsuch, 1997; Rubrecht, 2003b), the chances are great that students will be required to do more than simply translate for their English courses at the university level.

With university matriculation comes the encountering of a new curriculum. This curriculum has its own agenda about which students have little understanding. Being so caught up in the examination process, they do not consider their future university studies (Mutch, 1995). This disregard for university course content, though natural in the face of examination preparation, nonetheless presents university freshmen with additional problems. Having not yet developed a schema for studying at university, coupled with a high school learning environment where (a) ways of learning were prescriptive, (b) there was little room for students to explore and experiment with modes of learning, and (c) learner autonomy was implicitly discouraged (Holden & Usuki, 1999), students do not enter university English classes with a “clean slate” regarding study methods (Long & Russell, 1999). With little idea about what to expect from university courses, including how to prepare and study for such courses, they may utilize the same study methods they used in high school, a move that could prove academically disastrous. As effective study methods have consistently been found to be related to academic performance (see Bailey & Onwuegbuzie, 2002, for an overview; see also Hsiao & Oxford, 2002), how university students approach and view their studies after university matriculation becomes a point of
concern for students, educators, and parents alike.

This article discusses the first set of findings (hereafter referred to as “the present study”) from a larger ongoing longitudinal study and presents results gathered after one year of data collection concerning Japanese freshmen university students’ study methods before and after university matriculation. The overarching question behind this research asks if students’ English study methods, when compared to the methods they used in high school, undergo change over the course of their university experience. It is hypothesized that most students would feel the pressure of the new demands placed on them after their university entrance examination studies had passed and that by the time they graduate from university, most would have sought out new ways to cope with the demands of university study. The present study utilized both quantitative and qualitative methods for data collection.

**Research Background**

Previous literature regarding the issue of potential study method change in response to the new demands and opportunities afforded Japanese university freshmen is surprisingly scarce. What is abundant, however, is literature detailing what can be found on the university entrance examinations and how the senior high school years essentially only prepare students for these examinations.

Although it is not the purpose of this research to point out perceived flaws of the Japanese university entrance examination system, the criticisms leveled at the examinations neatly sum up why one should suspect that the language learning practices at the high school level should differ from those found at the university level and, consequently, why students’ study methods should change in response to these differences. The criticisms can be divided into three distinct premises: the underlying purposes of the university entrance examinations, the limited range of English skills the examinations test, and the consequential washback onto the high school level created by the examination system. Each of these will now be briefly explained.

Stated thirty years ago, Anderson’s (1975) perception that the university entrance examinations are used as a means to judge and manipulate students still holds true today. The examinations represent the culmination of students’ study and hard work, but because graduation from university is practically an indispensable prerequisite for later success in
Japanese society (Beauchamp, 1998), entry to university becomes a crucial endeavor that is governed by the need to screen and rank students into the structure of the university system. For potential employers, academic credentials count far more than academic performance, making the competition for admittance to the more elite universities intense (Leestma & Bennett, 1987). In the words of Pettersen (1993), “in this cold meritocracy, a student’s entire future depends not just on getting into college, but into the right college” (p. 58). With screening more important than learning, and because of “vested interests, parental fears and ambitions, and an indigenous preference for a hierarchical society” (Wray, 1999, p. 144), the university entrance examinations continue to function in a way not initially intended but which nonetheless finds a place in Japanese society.

Common sense dictates that effective foreign language study should include all four skill areas (i.e., reading, writing, speaking, and listening) in addition to components of the target language culture. In Japan, few students below the university level are exposed to even half of these areas. Although English or other foreign language sections are found on most university entrance examinations (Watanabe, 1996), the content of these examinations is limited mainly to written sections requiring an understanding of grammar and vocabulary (Vogel, 1978) as well as requiring the ability to translate from English to Japanese (Teweles, 1995). Knowledge about English is tested, not ability to perform or otherwise communicate in the language (Berwick & Ross, 1989; Kitao, Kitao, Nozawa, & Yamamoto, 1985; Kobayashi, 2000; Law, 1995). As pointed out by Brown and Yamashita (1995), only a handful of university entrance examinations even bother to test students on their English listening skills.

As expected, the combination of an examination with an underlying agenda coupled with discreet and pre-defined testing areas makes for devastating washback that determines methodology and pedagogical practices in the high school English classroom (Anderson, 1975; Beauchamp, 1998; Blumenfeld, 1992; Duke, 1986; Kay, 1995; Kobayashi, Redekop, & Porter, 1992; Leonard, 1998; LoCastro, 1996; Shimahara, 1979). Secondary education becomes little more than organized examination preparation (Shimahara, 1979) where high school instructors are forced to make classes lecture-driven so that the maximum amount of information can be imparted to students. This passive method of instruction has drawn criticism, for it fails to teach students to effectively communicate in the foreign language (Takizawa, 1994). As related by Wray (1999), complaints from a panel of educators and company presidents sponsored by the English
Language Education Council centered on the failings of these examinations, specifically on how they do not emphasize communication and promote only those skills outside listening and speaking, thereby causing high school teachers to teach English as if it were a “dead language.”

As already mentioned, English instruction at the high school level involves translation, mainly because of the vocabulary and grammar needed for the examinations (Bridges, 1998) and because the examinations have no speaking component (Hayes, 1979). *Yakudoku* is the translation method of choice (Anderson, 1975; Duke, 1986; Law, 1995). Class time often involves mechanical drills and the memorization of grammatical structures and vocabulary (LoCastro, 1996; Nishiyama, 2000; Samimy & Adams, 1991), with most of the instruction done in Japanese (Hyland, 1994; LoCastro, 1996). Although it has been documented that high school students believe their English classes to be foundational and useful for diverse purposes in later life (Kobayashi, 2000; Matsuda, 2000; Rubrecht, 2004), they resign themselves to their more immediate goal of university entrance. This discreet and passive nature of instruction fails to foster communication in English (Browne & Wada, 1998) and only increases students’ dependence on their instructors to provide them with information regarding what and how to study.

There are other reasons why the Japanese keep communication out of English language instruction below the university level. The same today as nearly 140 years ago during the Meiji Restoration, English continues to be the medium of information, technology, media, and the transfer of culture from foreign countries into Japan (LoCastro, 1996). For these purposes, communicative competence (Savignon, 1983) in the language need not be emphasized. For the Japanese, teaching translation rather than communication has long been accepted as a deficient yet necessary part of the education process.

The impact of the university entrance examinations extends beyond simply what students study. It may be argued that the examinations just as deeply influence how students study. Rausch (1996) believes that the examination system squeezes out of students an “awareness and reliance on any natural or preferred learning style” (p. 12). This situation may not matter much initially because it is in the interest of the high schools and their instructors to prescriptively teach students what they will encounter on the examinations. Being forced to study a certain way for certain subjects (such as memorizing to “learn” English vocabulary) can be beneficial if it aids students in passing the examinations. However, when the examination hurdle has been cleared, students are left with learning
styles that (a) are not of their choosing, (b) may conflict with their natural or preferred learning styles, and (c) give students the erroneous impression that there are few and limited ways to study foreign languages. Students will consequently be left to fend for themselves at university, under-equipped and hobbled by their high school instruction.

Some researchers in Japan have found results supporting the notion that university English courses, compared with high school courses, focus more on student learning than on student testing. Johnson (1996) reports that via a questionnaire using learning orientation factors and strength of motivation questions with a pool of Japanese university freshmen learning English, it was discovered that four learning orientation factors emerged, none of which were related to testing purposes (e.g., for examination preparation, the passing of university-level English courses, etc.). Rather, “students want to learn and use English for future work, for enjoyment, to experience the culture of English speakers, and for knowledge of the English-speaking world” (p. 55-56), which are factors similar to those reported by other researchers (e.g., Clément & Kruidenier, 1983; Dörnyei, 1990; Johnson & Takeo, 1996; Matsuda, 2000) and represent English language learning goals never before pursuable by these students.

The work of Rausch, Johnson, and others therefore indicates the following two points:

1. Learning style is necessarily channeled into specific study methods below the university level in response to the university entrance examinations but need not be so channeled at the university level, where such rigorous examinations no longer exist.
2. English is not so much a subject for testing purposes at university as much as it is a subject to be incorporated by the students for other purposes.

Taking these two points into consideration, it becomes necessary to assess the role of English at the university level, students’ attitudes toward English language learning at this level where there are no life-altering examinations, and students’ subsequent approaches to the learning of English in university classes. The present study aims specifically to address this last area. Do students’ study methods undergo change as they are forced to fulfill new demands, or do students cling to the “tried and true” methods of English language learning that they practiced in high school, regardless of whether or not such methods are really
useful and required for the wider range of language learning activities found at university and beyond? When provided the opportunity at university, do students revert to more natural and personally fulfilling methods of study that were closed off to them in high school? These are just a few of the questions this longitudinal study aims to answer.

**Methodology**

The present study (the first phase in the longitudinal study) meant to assess:

1. how incoming Japanese university freshmen claimed to have studied English in high school.
2. how these students planned to study English at the commencement of their first semester at university.
3. how they claimed to have actually studied after one semester of study at university.
4. how they claimed to have studied after their second semester of study at university.
5. student perceptions of their study methods at university (e.g., if their study methods were the same as or different from their high school English study methods, if the study methods they were using at university were useful or detrimental to their study/grades, etc.).

**Study Site and Participants**

All data collected involved students at a single private Japanese university located in central Japan. Analyzed data came only from students who were screened and met the following criteria:

1. All participants must be native Japanese, with Japanese as their native (i.e., first) language.
2. None of the participants may have lived abroad for more than one year since entering elementary school.
3. None of the participants may have stayed abroad for longer than 30 consecutive
days (such as in an exchange program).
4. All of the participants must be entering freshmen in their first semester of university study.
5. All of the participants must have studied English in high school.
6. All of the participants must be English majors.

As a note of caution, students majoring in English at this university may not be considered typical Japanese university students because the university pushes them relatively hard in their studies. University study in Japan has commonly been considered a “four-year vacation” (Keaton, Kelly, & Pribyl, 1997, p. 327) because the pressure of university entrance is over and students play a waiting game until graduation and recruitment by employers, but the students enrolled at the university in the present study are not allowed the luxury of relaxing. Even so, this difference was never considered detrimental to the study. In fact, because the students at this university are required to do considerably more than just attend classes for course credit, study methods can potentially become a point of considerable importance for them.

Instrumentation

To most effectively tap into the beliefs of the incoming EFL (English as a foreign language) freshmen, a four-step approach was used that employed both questionnaires and interviews:

Step 1: Administration of a questionnaire at the beginning of the first (i.e., spring) semester.
Step 2: Administration of a follow-up questionnaire at the end of the first semester.
Step 3: Interviews with several students during their second (i.e., fall) semester.
Step 4: Administration of a third questionnaire at the end of their second semester at university.

By using a mixed-methods approach, it was hoped that information could be gleaned that would simultaneously be broad in scope to allow for the painting of an overall picture of these students’ past and planned study methods as well as be precise enough to encompass specific reasons for planned continued use and/or abandonment of past study
methods. Because the present study meant to tap learner beliefs of how they study English (in the past, present, and future), questionnaires were thought to be limited as to the information they could provide. As Japanese students from the elementary to the university level may not be aware of or ever question their study methods, it was thought that questionnaires alone could not do a sufficient job of probing for information. Interviews could aid in data triangulation and, if conducted in a thorough and thoughtful manner, “allow learners to reveal beliefs which are not addressed in [a] questionnaire and to describe the reasons, sources, behavioral outcomes, and other dimensions of their beliefs” (Sakui & Gaies, 1999, p. 486). Additionally, it was thought that the quantitatively-driven research portions would allow for deep understanding of meanings while the qualitatively-driven research portions could verify those meanings (Onwuegbuzie, 2000).

**Instrument Construction**

In line with questionnaire construction theory, the questionnaires (called Questionnaire 1, Questionnaire 2, and Questionnaire 3, respectively) presented unnumbered questions that were as short and unambiguous as possible and were printed on the minimum number of pages (Dörnyei, 2001). They were written in Japanese and proofread by a native Japanese speaker. Questionnaire piloting was also conducted.

The questionnaires were composed of multiple choice and open-ended questions, with the latter type dominant on all three questionnaires so as to encourage the students to provide and explain their answers in their own words and so as to not let them be restricted by predetermined categories. In general, Questionnaire 1 meant to gather background information on this group of freshmen (e.g., age, educational experience, etc.), the study methods they used in high school, and why they studied English. Questionnaire 2 delved further into past study methods and students’ reflections on how they studied after their first semester at university. Questionnaire 3 asked students to relate if and how their study methods changed (a) from high school to their first semester at university, (b) from first to second semester, and (c) from high school to university in general. Students were provided informed consent and anonymity at every stage of the research.

The interviews conducted with students meant to establish:

1. how the participating students studied English in high school (e.g., if they used educational institutions, specific study methods, etc.).
2. whether or not students considered their study methods in high school as effective.
3. students’ study methods thus far at university.
4. students’ views on comparisons between how they studied English in high school and at university.
5. students’ perceptions concerning topics of interest uncovered from the first two questionnaires.

The semi-structured nature of the interview questions allowed the direction of the interviews to change and evolve depending upon how the participants responded to them. This allowed for the probing of potentially interesting response themes (Merriam, 1998). Questions were posed in the students’ native language of Japanese to allow freer participant expression, although English was used occasionally.

All interviews were held in my university office, which afforded privacy and allowed for the audio recording of the interviews. Average interview length was 25 minutes. Each interview consisted of (a) an explanation phase so the students would know what to expect in regard to the kinds of questions asked and that they should answer honestly and freely, (b) a question phase delving into their study habits and other topics of interest, and (c) a “cool down” phase inviting the students to add information not addressed in the interviews. The students were asked to participate in future interviews, to which all agreed. All interviews were later transcribed into English for data analysis.

**Questionnaire Administration**

Questionnaire 1 was administered during the second week of the first semester. Questionnaire 2 was administered during the eleventh week of the first semester. Questionnaire 3 was administered during the twelfth week of the second semester. Students were informed by email that the questionnaires were located in the university’s Self Access Center (SAC). The email, sent by the SAC coordinator, urged students to complete the questionnaire in the SAC during their required weekly SAC time, though some students took the questionnaires home to fill out later. Students were given two full weeks to return the questionnaires. Any questionnaires received after this two-week period were not included for consideration in the data analysis phase.
Participant Interviews

Because it was deemed necessary to conduct interviews prior to the administration of Questionnaire 3 (i.e., after students had experienced university life but had not forgotten how they studied in high school), I initially chose students who answered both Questionnaires 1 and 2 (n = 71; male = 40, females = 31) and who evinced characteristics across a broad spectrum in terms of educational background, varied study methods, and so on, the reason being that, first, there was no guarantee that those students who were selected would not drop out of the university or opt not to participate in a series of interviews. A large initial base of interviewees would hopefully help prevent problems associated with participant “mortality.” Second, as I had yet to determine trends behind students’ study methods, it was hoped that a large “random” selection of perceived types would shed some light onto why students would desire to either retain their high school study methods or change to adopt new ones.

Unfortunately, very few of the solicited participants acquiesced to interview participation, thereby forcing me to broaden my search to include any willing students who filled out both questionnaires. Eventually, only six such students agreed to interview participation.

Research Results

The following results should be viewed with caution. To begin with, although there was a total of 226 freshmen English majors enrolled at the university at the beginning of the 2004 academic year, relatively few students filled out the questionnaires. Questionnaires 1, 2, and 3 had response rates of 130 students (57.5%), 101 students (44.7%), and 72 students (31.9%), respectively, indicating a steady decline in student participation. Moreover, while it was hoped that students who filled out one questionnaire (particularly the first one) would fill out all three, this was rarely the case. Only 29 students filled out all three questionnaires (less than 13% of the target freshmen). Why there was such relatively poor cooperation from the students can potentially be explained by a number of factors, including student apathy toward questionnaires and location and timing of questionnaire administration (in the SAC during students’ required study time, often at busy times of the semester). Regardless, this low and inconsistent participation was not thought to unduly
influence the effectiveness of data gathered because it was never imperative for students to have answered all questionnaires for student perceptions and trends to be identified. Furthermore, each questionnaire screened students to make sure they met all participation criteria.

An additional problem encountered was that some students did not complete the questionnaires as instructed. In some cases, they did not rank responses when required. In other cases they left questions or entire pages blank. Although considered only partially complete, such questionnaires were not discarded. As most of the skipped questions tended to be open-ended questions requiring deep self-reflection, it is likely that they did not answer such questions either for a particular reason or because they did not have an answer. Due to some students failing to answer some questions, where appropriate, the number of students who responded to a question is provided in parentheses below.

**Questionnaire 1**

Table 1 details information of interest from the students’ background. Overall, the students appeared to be typical university freshmen in terms of age, reasons for studying English in high school, mean length of time studying English prior to university matriculation, and types of learning English outside the regular school system.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. Student background information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean student age (n = 130): 18.5 years (SD = 4.4 months)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most common first-ranked reasons for studying English in high school (n = 126):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· English was a required course: 88 students (69.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· English was an enjoyable subject: 22 students (17.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most common second-ranked reasons for studying English in high school (n = 126):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· English was necessary to pass the university entrance examinations: 53 students (42.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· English was an enjoyable subject: 28 students (22.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean length of time of English studies prior to university (n = 128): 6.5 years (SD = 1.7 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean length of time of English studies under native speaker tutelage (n = 114): 2 years (SD = 2.6 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of students who studied English outside of high school (n = 125): 100 students (80%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean length of time for students studying English via most common type of institution outside of high school (n = 125):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· jukut: 2.5 years (SD = 2.4 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· yobikō: 2.2 months (SD = 6 months)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· home tutor: 1.1 months (SD = 4.5 months)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of particular interest were results depicting that while on average students spent
two years receiving instruction from native English teachers, the high standard deviation along with an inspection of the data indicated that only a few students had such English learning exposure while many others had no such exposure at all. This was thought to be a significant finding for two reasons. First, having mostly native English speakers as instructors at university, as was the case for these students, would expose the students to demands likely not required of them in high school under instruction from native Japanese instructors, such as listening to live English on a daily basis. Second, native English instructors would likely conduct classes in ways foreign to the students (i.e., via Western pedagogical and methodological patterns). Both of these reasons could potentially cause students to reexamine their previous study methods.

As can also be seen, juku was the most common institution of English instruction for this sample, but the relatively high standard deviation also suggests that a great number of students spent little or no time at juku, and that those who did attend such classes attended them for generally lengthy periods of time. In addition to juku, yobikō (preparatory school), and home tutors, some students mentioned other methods of English study, but the figures were too insignificant to warrant calculation.

Table 2 lists how students responded to questions concerning how they studied English in high school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2. Most common English study methods in high school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most common first-ranked methods for studying English in high school (n = 127):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Study alone (at home, in library, etc.): 67 students (52.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Study by English instruction institutions like juku: 36 students (28.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most common second-ranked methods for studying English in high school (n = 127):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Study with a friend/classmate: 42 students (33.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Study alone (at home, in library, etc.): 27 students (21.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These results were not surprising, nor were the responses to the follow-up question of “was the response you ranked as number 1 in the previous question a useful study method for you?” 74 students (63.8%, n = 116) responded that it was useful while 43 students (37.1%) responded that it was not (with one student providing both a “Yes” and “No” answer).

Questionnaire 1 provided students space to relate (a) what they considered to be the most effective way(s) of studying English, (b) how they planned to study now that they
had matriculated to university, (c) if the study methods they planned to use at university and
the study methods they used in high school were the same or not, and (d) why they thought
their proposed study methods at university would be the same or different from those used
in high school. Some difficulty was encountered in categorizing these and later responses,
partly because of the open-ended nature of the questions and partly because students’
responses could be placed in multiple categories. For example, when asked about their most
effective method of studying English, several responded with “reading English passages
aloud,” which incorporates both elements of reading and speaking. Several students even
offered multiple methods, all of which had to be taken into account and placed in
appropriate categories. The breakdown of the most common answers to questions (a)
through (c) as explained above looks as detailed below in Table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3. Most common answers to effective, planned, and potential disparity between high school and university study methods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) the most effective way of studying English (n = 117):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· interacting with foreigners, including foreign teachers: 26 students (22.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· speaking English and/or reading English aloud: 23 students (19.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· reading: 15 students (12.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· memorizing vocabulary words and/or studying grammar: 10 students (8.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) how students planned to study now that they had matriculated to university (n = 121):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· utilize foreign teachers and friends: 39 students (32.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· listening: 38 students (31.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· utilize university facilities, including the SAC: 26 students (21.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· reading: 14 students (11.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) if the study methods they planned to use at university and the study methods they used in high school were the same or different (n = 119):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· same: 18 students (15.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· different: 102 students (85.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· same and different: 1 student (0.8%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Categorizing responses to question (d) became somewhat complicated. Few
students answered that they would use the same study methods, making categorizing almost
unnecessary, but some responses included their not knowing any other way to study, their
past methods have so far been successful for them, watching Western movies has been
useful, and studying alone is most effective for them. It was easier to categorize the
responses of students who said that they would use different study methods, although 36
distinct categories were generated as a result. Responses (n = 119) included because high
school English was not useful (17 students, or 14.3%), the university has good facilities and
there were few or no foreigners present in high school (both by 9 students, or 7.6% each), and because they professed needing listening ability, as listening practice was not done in high school (6 students, or 5.0%). The picture that developed from this question was that the SAC would be extensively used, particularly for improving listening ability.

Table 4 below lists how students planned to study English specifically for their first semester at university, while Table 5 details students’ responses to questions concerning their motivation and effort as found in the final section of Questionnaire 1.

Table 4. Planned study methods for their first semester at university

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most common responses to how students planned to study at beginning of first semester freshmen year (n = 102):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>· listening: 25 students (24.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· class review, class preparation, and/or both: 23 students (22.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· utilize the SAC: 14 students (13.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· get in touch with English or get used to English: 13 students (12.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· do homework: 12 students (11.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· increase vocabulary: 11 students (10.8%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Student motivation and effort

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motivated to study English at university? (n = 124)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>· Yes: 120 students (96.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· No: 4 students (3.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Put in efforts in English studies this first semester? (n = 119)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Yes: 80 students (67.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· No: 39 students (32.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effort needed for success in English university classes? (n = 124)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Yes: 122 students (98.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· No: 2 students (1.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reason behind students’ choice of majoring in and learning English at university was thought to be of importance because motivation can be indicative of goals and desired outcomes (see Rubrecht, 2004). 56 students rated their future job as the main reason for studying English at university (45.9%, n = 122). The next highest top rating was for communication (25 students, or 20.5%). The most common number two reason was for communication (36 students, or 29.5%), followed by for a future job (24 students, or 19.7%), which are not dissimilar from Johnson’s (1996) findings reported above. In classical terms, it would appear that the students in this sample possessed mainly instrumental motivation as well as a lesser yet still apparent integrative motivation orientation for learning English.
When asked more directly what they would consider their main reason for studying English to be, the above figures were largely confirmed. Of 123 respondents to this question, the highest rated reason was for “instrumental purposes” (66 students, or 53.7%). However, surprisingly, the next highest number one rating was for “personal purposes” (30 students, or 24.4%). “Integrative purposes” was the highest second-ranked reason (52 students, or 42.3%), again followed by personal reasons (30 students, or 24.4%). It can be seen that most of the students are therefore learning English mainly for instrumental reasons but have integrative reasons in mind as well. That personal reasons are also present is in line with past research on language learning motivation in EFL contexts (Dörnyei, 1990), particularly with Japanese learners of English (Benson, 1991; Rubrecht, 2004).

Questionnaire 2

Similar to Questionnaire 1, Questionnaire 2 was divided into three parts: a student screening section, a section to clarify responses derived from Questionnaire 1 that revolved around the educational study methods students professed to use in the past such as juku, and a section that allowed students to reflect on their study of English after their first semester at university. The section about past educational study methods was important because several students who answered Questionnaire 1 professed that they would continue to use such institutions, which ran counter to my suspicion that once reaching university such institutions would no longer be necessary, hence further stimulating students to alter their study methods. The final section asked open-ended questions on what they thought of their English studies in their first semester, how they studied, if the study methods they employed were successful for them, and whether or not they planned to use those methods again in the second semester.

While half of the students who responded to this questionnaire reported studying English outside their high schools (51 students, or 50.5%), only 2 students (0.2%, n = 96) said that they would like to continue using additional English-learning institutions, their answers being English conversation schools. The 79 students (85.9%, n = 92) who said they would only study English at university gave reasons that included added time and expense for these other institutions and how the university fulfills all their language learning needs. Overall, it appeared that students were content with receiving all of their English education at university.

The questions in the final section of this questionnaire asked students how they
approached their English studies during their first semester, if they believed those study methods were useful, if they planned on studying via said methods, and if they planned to continue using said methods. These questions were asked because it was thought that most or all of the students who had filled out Questionnaire 1 would also fill out Questionnaire 2, which was not the case. Upon comparing student names and numbers on the two sets of questionnaires, it was discovered that only 71 students had filled out both questionnaires. As there were other questionnaires given to students at the beginning of the semester when Questionnaire 1 was distributed, the students may have just been confused as to which questionnaire they had filled out. This discrepancy in continuation from Questionnaire 1 to Questionnaire 2 meant it was difficult to ascertain if students’ study methods had changed or remained the same.

However, Questionnaire 1 had asked students how they planned to study and if those methods coincided with how they planned to study during their first semester. These answers from these 71 students were then compared with Questionnaire 2’s responses of how the students actually studied during the first semester. 57 students (86.4%, n = 66) responded that they planned to discontinue their high school study methods at university, though as in Questionnaire 1 students often gave multiple responses or responses that could be placed into multiple categories. The most common reasons given why they would change their study methods overwhelmingly involved perceived deficiencies with their high school English instruction, with 27 responses directly attributed to such reasons. Such deficiencies included just doing reading and writing, only learning by memorization, and the fact that the English learned in high school is not usable at university or in the real world. Relationally, students identified their previous study methods as bad, ineffective, or impractical (9 responses).

The answers of how students planned to study in the upcoming second semester (in Questionnaire 1) were compared with how students said they actually studied (in Questionnaire 2). It was found that 20 students who mentioned a proposed plan of study actually studied that way, with most answers involving either listening or use of the SAC. When asked if the study methods they actually used in the first semester were effective or not, 44 students answered affirmatively, 22 answered negatively, 4 students did not answer, and 1 student said both “Yes” and “No.” Of those 20 students who answered both questionnaires, 15 thought their planned and actual study methods were effective. 1 student did not answer concerning study method efficacy while 4 students said they used their
planned study methods but found them ineffective.

**Questionnaire 3**

Administered one month prior to the end of the students’ second semester, Questionnaire 3 meant to tap into students’ views about if and how their study methods changed from high school to their first semester at university and from their first to second semester. Students were encouraged to be specific about ways in which their study methods did or did not change. They were also requested to indicate if, overall, they continued to use past study methods and if those study methods were effective for them. Finally, students were requested to indicate if the study methods they employed in high school were the same or different overall from the study methods they were now using after almost two full semesters at university.

Although the response rate for this third questionnaire was the lowest yet at 72 usable questionnaires, Questionnaire 3 was still informative. Difficulty was again encountered in categorizing responses, but Table 6 below presents the most common responses to the various questions posed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6. Most common responses to Questionnaire 3’s open-ended questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>How did your study methods change from high school to first semester at university? (n = 71)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· listening became central at university: 18 students (25.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· avoided direct translation at university: 5 students (7.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· engaging in conversation at university: 5 students (7.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· needing to do reading first and checking word meanings later at university: 4 students (5.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>How did your study methods not change from high school to first semester at university? (n = 69)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· continue to write to learn English: 12 students (17.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· learn new vocabulary words: 6 students (8.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· nothing special: 6 students (8.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>How did your study methods change from first to second semester? (n = 66)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· no change: 29 students (43.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· did more listening: 9 students (13.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>How did your study methods not change from first to second semester? (n = 63)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· nothing special/no change because classes have not changed: 20 students (31.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· still do a lot of listening: 7 students (11.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· still do reading: 6 students (9.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One area of interest from these responses came from the fact that listening was referred to repeatedly as an area of change. In fact, when asked how their study methods changed from high school to university, 41 students (57%, n = 71) mentioned listening in
some capacity at university.

This questionnaire revealed other interesting figures. When asked if their study methods changed overall from high school to their first semester at university, 54 students answered affirmatively (76.1%, n = 71), with the more common reasons being a focus on listening making English easier to understand (6 students, 8.5%), the need to do more listening practice (5 students, 7.0%), increased exposure to native English-speaking teachers, more conversation, the students simply becoming more used to English, and the need to do more things now at university compared to high school (4 students each, 5.6%). When asked if there was change from first to second semester, only 19 students answered affirmatively (27.5%, n = 69). Based on student responses, most answered that there was no change because they maintained study methods between semesters (6 students). Change was only necessary, it seemed, when the students professed to either study harder second semester (3 students) or because they became more positive about their studies, spoke aloud more, had more free time to study, or used the SAC more (all by 2 students each).

The final section of the questionnaire asked students to consider their English study methods overall and to consider if they continued or discontinued using those methods. Different from the questions in Table 6, the questions reproduced in Table 7 were meant to elicit a more global perspective regarding study methods without the need for students to write lengthy explanations. As can be seen below, a high percentage of students thought they used their high school study methods in both first and second semester. It appears, though, that most students were transferring methods between semesters. Finally, the vast majority (93.1%) reported that their study methods overall were different between high school and university. When asked why they believed their study methods differed, students remarked that speaking (19 students) and listening (12 students) have become necessary and that university English study is more practical than high school English study (8 students).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7. Student opinions about having continued/discontinued previous study methods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall, did you use your high school study methods in first semester at university? (n = 71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Yes: 30 students (42.3%), 20 of whom thought their high school study methods to still be effective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· No: 41 students (57.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall, did you use your high school study methods in second semester at university? (n = 72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Yes: 25 students (34.7%), 18 of whom thought their high school study methods to still be effective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· No: 47 students (65.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall, did you use the same study methods in both first and second semester at university? (n = 72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Yes: 60 students (83.3%), 49 of whom thought that the study methods employed were effective</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What turned out to be the most surprising result from this questionnaire was that when asked how their study methods changed from high school to first semester at university, 41 students (56.9%) again specifically mentioned listening in some capacity¹. For example, students mentioned needing to listen to and/or mimic their tapes or CDs, study by listening now when they never did before, and how listening represents meaning above and beyond just sounds.

The Interviews

Six students (4 males, 2 females) consented to participating in interviews. From the interview transcriptions, trends or other answers of interest were sought. As described in the methodology section above, parts of the interviews were dedicated to exploring topics uncovered from Questionnaires 1 and 2.

The interviewees were Akira, Masashi, Riku, Tsuyoshi, Emiko, and Misa (all pseudonyms). To briefly relate how they responded to the interview questions concerning how they studied in the past and how they studied at university, it was discovered that only Akira and Masashi had studied at institutions outside of high school. Only Emiko said that she maintained her high school study methods at university (mainly because the advanced study techniques she used like shadowing and listening to English radio at least thirty minutes per day had been so effective for her previously).

Several themes of interest were uncovered in the interviews. First, Akira, Tsuyoshi, and Emiko all mentioned that university in Japan is either just for play or at least has a freer atmosphere than does high school (i.e., students need not be as serious about studying as they were in high school). Riku mentioned how high school study is only for university entrance examination preparation. Misa mentioned how her university instructors were not as strict as her high school teachers had been. Tsuyoshi would agree with her, as he claimed that his strict high school teachers caused him to be more efficacious in his studies.

¹ Although conversation involves listening, responses of conversation were not included in this total.
Another theme uncovered from the interviews centered on how the existence of native English instructors at university brings about change in students’ study methods. Not only did some students (e.g., Akira, Masashi, and Emiko) find talking to the native English instructors beneficial in helping them reach their goal of improving their English, but having these instructors requires them to take a different approach to their classes.

Of particular interest was the fact that many of the responses found in the first two questionnaires matched in terms of expressions used. For instance, the following three Japanese expressions were found frequently enough in students’ responses to warrant making them an area of exploration in the interviews:

1. *nareru* (? ? ?), or “get used to”
2. *mi ni tsuku* (? ? ? ?), or “gain (an ability)”
3. *tomadou* (? ? ?), or “be perplexed or confused”

For example, when students were asked in Questionnaire 1 how they planned to study now that they had reached university, several gave the response of “getting used to English” (*eigo ni nareru, ? ? ? ? ? ?*). Although for this specific question only 11 students answered with this particular phrase, the phrase of “getting used to English” appeared in various other places throughout Questionnaire 1 and was even described by one student as being the best shortcut to learning English.

It was hoped that students using the same expressions would evince some deep significance behind their thinking processes, making the exploration of the topic worth probing in the interviews. Table 8 below lists the responses of the interviewees when asked their opinions about the frequency and use of these common expressions by the freshmen class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8. Interviewee opinions about common expressions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akira: <em>Nareru</em> means getting used to the environment because there were no native English teachers in high school, and it is important to get used to the pattern of the classes at university.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masashi: These expressions reflect middle or average ability. The Japanese will use these expressions because they are reserved (i.e., do not say yes/no clearly) when not yet perfect at doing something.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riku: No deep meaning to the expression, just that students have understood little by little.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsuyoshi: Believed students thought questionnaires were difficult, so they just found ways to answer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emiko: <em>Mi ni tsuku</em> is from a TV commercial a few years ago. <em>Nareru</em> means to have made efforts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misa: <em>Nareru</em> means being able to deal with classes, or getting used to the style of the classes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although not all of their opinions matched, Akira and Misa mentioned very similar things, that is, that *nareru* involved getting used to the pattern or style of the classes. Following from what Masashi stated above about how students would likely continue using their old high school study methods at university unless exposed to or taught other methods, this need to get used to university classes and university life not only follows from what has been speculated elsewhere (see Rubrecht, 2003a) but also makes sense. Exposure to foreign teachers who only speak English in class means that getting used to a new way of learning becomes imperative.

**Discussion, Implications, and Continued Research**

The present study represents the first step of examining if and how Japanese university students change their study methods in the face of new academic requirements encountered in university English courses. It should be stressed that these results cannot be taken as conclusive, nor can they be generalized to other students in other English programs. For the purposes of this research, it was deemed that generalizability could be sacrificed if a better understanding of the phenomenon at hand (i.e., of changing study methods) could be obtained (Onwuegbuzie, 2000). Even with this caveat understood, several issues of interest deserve dissemination, explication, and further consideration regarding the larger longitudinal study and potential other future research.

Looking across the results from this preliminary investigation, the somewhat unexpected general emphasis by these freshmen on expecting to study differently at university compared with how they studied previously in high school was evident in their reported views on (a) listening and (b) SAC use. For instance, from Questionnaire 1, the second most commonly reported answer to the question of how the students planned to study at university was “listening” by 38 students (the only greater response was “utilize foreign teachers and friends,” reported by 39 students). When also asked in Questionnaire 1 how they planned to study at the beginning of their first semester at university, students responded with “listening” and “utilize the SAC” (the first and third most common responses, respectively). As conveyed above, Questionnaire 2 showed that 20 students who proposed doing listening or utilizing the SAC as a study method for the first semester
reported actually studying in those ways. For Questionnaire 3, responses to the question asking how students’ study methods changed from high school to university evinced listening as the most common response. When asked how their study methods changed between semesters, most students answered with the response “no change” followed by “did more listening.” The second most common response to the question of how their study methods did not change between semesters was that they continued to engage in a great deal of listening.

The interviews echoed these questionnaire response trends. Three interviewees mentioned listening as a study method at university. With the exception of Masashi, all interviewees mentioned utilizing the SAC as a method of study. That the interviews produced the same themes as identified in the questionnaires is encouraging and indicates that the data collection techniques employed for the present study performed well, especially considering that (a) only one interview was carried out with only six students, (b) the interviews were conducted at the beginning of the second semester prior to the administration of Questionnaire 3, and (c) the short interviews covered a limited range of topics.

That students identified listening and SAC use as their most commonly proffered study methods indicates two things. First, I believe it means that students see a pressing current need for listening and/or a need to compensate for the years of high school instruction that largely lacked listening components. Stated simply, listening represents half of what is required for (face-to-face) communication. Because students’ high school learning was not for communicative purposes, listening gets singled out as the skill most desired. Second, students probably mentioned using the SAC as often as they did because the university not only actively encourages students to use the SAC facilities but also requires students to attend the SAC weekly every semester (with dire consequences for non-attendance). Thus, essentially from day one, students learn of the importance of going to and using the SAC. As the SAC is fully equipped with modern audio/video equipment, the latest in computer technology, and is also the location of occasional homework assignments designated by instructors, students soon identify the SAC as a study instrument. Whether or not students continue to view the SAC in such a positive light over the course of their four years at university remains to be seen.

When viewing all of the present study’s results, it was discovered that in addition to listening and SAC use, these freshmen appeared ready to abandon their high school study
methods for two interconnected reasons. First, students perceived multiple deficiencies in their high school English instruction that lead them to believe their previous study methods (and relatedly, their high school English instruction) were not practical nor usable in the real world, including at the university level. This belief was foreshadowed by students’ responses from Questionnaire 1 indicating that most students expected to study differently at university compared with how they studied in high school. In the end, it was discovered that students viewed their high school EFL learning as being impractical and essentially only for testing purposes, a theme that has been discussed elsewhere in a similar situation (see Kang, 1999). Second, students tended to equate university life with freedom, the “window of free time” between the rigors of university entrance and the secure yet potentially monotonous workplace. In fact, the free nature of university may be a crucial point with regard to study methods because students can realize that change is possible or even necessary once at university. Whereas high school represented the need to pass an examination, university represents coming-of-age opportunities to explore life, including diverse study methods.

Ironically, this sense of freedom may in part originate from the presence of the native instructors at university. It appears that these instructors represent in part, the symbol of this freedom and advancement “into the world at large.” Few students learned from native English instructors below the university level, as evinced from responses to Questionnaire 1, yet so many students reported in Questionnaire 2 that they would rely on the native instructors and do more with their English studies because the native instructors taught the courses. Results of a study by Long (1997) indicate that Japanese students have generally positive attitudes concerning their foreign instructors and that students evaluated their native instructors by different standards than their Japanese counterparts. Perhaps the students in the present study placed a great number of expectations on the native instructors. While it has been documented that such instructors draw special attention as being representatives of the target language culture and invite long-lasting consequences outside of and beyond the learning environment at university (Bergin, 1999; Shimizu, 1995), perhaps students will change their views of their instructors after their “newness” has worn off.

The notion of freedom at university may actually be evinced by the fact that many students predicted they would change study methods while relatively few students reported change in their study methods between semesters. I say this because Japanese freshmen
arrive at university from a wide range of different high schools. High schools in Japan run the gamut between public and private (Lynn, 1988), coeducational or single-sexed (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999), and academic, vocational, or a mix of both (Beauchamp, 1982), meaning that students’ learning and experiences in high school, while likely similar in many respects, are definitely not consistent. Some students are challenged more than others, and some students are provided more opportunities to learn and excel more than others.

The consistency is apparent when students predict that their study methods will change upon university matriculation. They realize their high school English lessons were aimed at helping them pass the university entrance examinations, but they also realize that those lessons – including the study methods they fostered and, to a certain extent, the contents of those lessons – did not fully prepare them for what they would encounter at university. First semester therefore becomes the time when students make predictions about how they will study (which, as found in the questionnaires, often coincide with how they were unable to study in high school). They get a feel for the new environment and try out new methods because they are free to do so. By the end of first semester, students come to realize what is expected of them, what they are able to do, and how much effort they want to expend in their classes. The students who made study method changes between first and second semester, it may be speculated, are still searching for personally appropriate methods (e.g., methods that fit their learning style). This freedom at university therefore means freedom to learn.

Like with other matters in life, with freedom comes responsibility, something these students seemingly recognize. I would argue that as these students take on freedom at university they also take on responsibility for their own learning, that is, students shift the endeavor of learning from instructor-guided teaching to individual learning. As mentioned above, high school English language instruction in Japan, being as heavily influenced as it is by the university entrance examinations, does not foster or promote learning autonomy in students. However, based on the present study’s results, students appear increasingly more autonomous as they take on more responsibility for their own learning, which is precisely the definition of autonomy (Holec, 1981, as cited in Usuki, 2001). Whether these students equate freedom with responsibility on their own or were guided to this view by others (their instructors, their parents, etc.) is a question open to further investigation.

For continued research for the longitudinal study, listening, SAC use, and students’ impressions about university will be further explored. These students’ study
methods will still be examined, as trends only tell part of the story. Future questionnaires in the next and subsequent years will involve students detailing their current study methods, the efficacy of those methods, and the impressions students have about if and how those methods are improving their skills in English (i.e., if students consider those methods to match their learning styles or learning preferences). Additionally, as students change their study methods they probably also change their views about university life, English use, and even themselves, some inquiry will target their views on these and other matters. Other researchers are encouraged to conduct their own studies on students’ study methods, in Japan and elsewhere, so that a more global picture of method change can be documented and better understood.

References


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Geocaching in Michigan: Attitudes and Behaviors of Organization Members

Geocaching, “geo” for geography and “caching” for the process of hiding a cache, involves individuals setting up caches all over the world and sharing the location coordinates on the Internet so that others may search for the cache with a GPS (global positioning system). Initiated spring 2000 outside Portland, Oregon today people in 213 countries participate in this sport. In just four years more than 138,000 caches have been hidden to engage more than 100,000 participants worldwide. The behavioral aspects of the sport are the focus of this paper as we examine geocaching organization members’ attitudes and behaviors toward environmentally responsible behavior in this technologically dependent natural area sport.

An electronic message contacted 480 geocachers in Michigan and invited them to participate in a questionnaire regarding geocaching. The survey instrument focused on a variety of areas, including environmentally responsible attitudes and behaviors. The sample consisted of Michigan Geocaching Organization members. Responses were received from 250 geocachers (52% response rate). Survey respondents were mainly white (97%), men (72%), 43.5 years old, with some college education. Most respondents were employed fulltime (74%).

Respondents were relatively new to the activity, in that most respondents (46%) had 1 – 2 years of geocaching experience. Many respondents (41%) engaged in finding rather than hiding caches, though 55% of the respondents had hidden at least one cache within a 10-month period. At least 80 percent of respondents agreed important or very important experience components were to experience nature, get away from the usual demands of life, get physical exercise, and test their skills. Geocaching has increased the number of visits to parks and recreation areas for more than 80% of the respondents. These areas include city parks, county parks, State parks, and federal parks and outdoor areas. About half of the respondents were willing to travel 50 miles or less (one way) to find a cache, although another third were willing to travel 100 miles or more.

About one-quarter of the respondents said they always ‘cache in – trash out’, a behavior encouraged by their national organization. More than half of the respondents strongly agreed that “it is mostly up to me whether I cache in – trash out” and “most people who are important to me would approve of my caching in – trashin out”. Nine in ten respondents said it was very important to pack out everything you bring into an area. Thus, strongly environmentally responsible attitudes and behaviors appear to exist within this group.

This empirical examination of participants in this emerging activity indicates an increased use of public lands by geocachers, but strong environmentally responsible attitudes and intended behaviors. The data also indicate a strong belief in not contributing to littering, and moderate interest in cleaning up after other people. This desire to keep public lands clean and natural looking for future visitors is an area that managers can emphasize in partnership with geocaching organizations.
Class, Race, and Space:
The Efficacy of Social Networks in Mixed-Income Housing

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Abstract

Years of research have shown that being confined to the inner city leaves residents of those communities with little access to essential social and economic resources (i.e., networks to jobs, etc) (Wilson 1987, 1996; Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klebanow, & Sealand, 1993; Massey & Denton 1993; Jargowsky 1997). The people who are trapped within poor urban neighborhoods are limited not only by rising social problems and structures in the community but also by a lack of opportunistic networks. All of these barriers combine and result in a lack of important and necessary resources and opportunities. Residential isolation combined with concentrated poverty are believed to be the source of many attendant problems. These include high levels of unemployment, crime, out-of-wedlock births, and welfare dependency, making social and economic mobility difficult to attain (Wilson 1996, 1987; Jargowsky 1997).

One of the most recent efforts that has been implemented in large-scale to deconcentrate poverty is found in the affordable housing industry. Academic scholars have long noted the problems associated with concentrated poverty but it has only been in the last decade that professionals in the affordable housing industry have begun to modify housing policies to address some of the problems associated with concentrated poverty. Mixed-income housing is increasingly becoming an alternative model to traditional assisted-housing initiatives. Mixed-income housing is becoming more popular because of its potential to reduce social ills within neighborhoods and provide individuals and families with greater access to resources.

With this change in housing policy, it is essential to consider whether current and new residents are in fact benefiting socially and economically by living in mixed-income
communities and to understand the assumptions behind this new housing model. One of the premises behind a mixed-income approach is that people, and especially children, will benefit from living close to people who are not poor because those people can be viewed as having important values that are in accordance with “mainstream society”. One of the primary assumptions is that by placing people in close proximity to one another they will interact and social networks will be formed, which will ultimately result in reducing social isolation and provide greater economic opportunities.

This thesis is an empirical examination of the mixed-income concept. It addresses the viability of a mixed-income approach to address problems of concentrated urban black poverty. Specifically, this thesis looks at the effects of living in mixed income communities by examining residents in these communities.

My design will include a mixed-methodology approach using both quantitative and qualitative components. A qualitative methodology is ideal for understanding the processes at work in a mixed-income neighborhood and the way in which the neighborhood contributes to economic self-sufficiency and social interactions. The use of a qualitative methodology enables me to have the ability to examine both the individuals at the sites as well as the spatial context in which they live. In order to better understand these issues of race, space, and class I will examine two different types of mixed-income developments as well as a third low-income site that does not include the mixed income component. The third site will be used as a control. First, I will conduct in-depth face-to-face interviews with people at all three of the sites. Second, I will construct a survey with the information I have obtained through the in-depth interviews and survey respondents at each of the three sites to garner information about their social
networks as well as demographic information. Third, through fieldwork I will do a
descriptive analysis of the neighborhoods to better understand the concept of
neighborhood effects. Fourth, I will use quantitative methods to examine the larger
neighborhood context and to compare the different neighborhoods and their similarities
and differences.

This research will address the question of what are the social and economic
implications for families living in a mixed-income community? Do residents of these
communities form social relationships? What is the efficacy of these relationships? Do
they result in reducing social isolation and or in bolstering social and economic
opportunities, or do they further entrench/stigmatize the poor? This research will shed
new light on the assumptions behind mixed-income strategies as a means of
deconcentrating poverty, the ways in which race and ethnicity effect the viability of a
mixed-income approach, the efficacy of social networks, and provide new insights for
social scientists that can further the discussion of race, space, and class.
Political Ritual and Social Function in Local Government: An Ethnographic Study of a City Council Meeting.

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Durkheim was one of the first sociologists to consider the concept and purpose of rituals in society. Society feels the need to uphold and reaffirm at regular intervals the collective sentiments and the collective ideas which make its unity and its personality (Durkheim, 1915). This paper is concerned with the role played by rituals and rituals as symbols in a local political organization. A number of sociologists as well as anthropologists have applied a particular theory of ritual to the politics of advanced industrial societies. Most of these studies suggest that rituals act as a means of reaffirming social values and provides renewed social cohesion (Shils and Young, 1953). Another group of scholars argues that political rituals are not necessarily promoting value integration, but are rather mobilizations of bias (Lukes, 1975; Schattschneider, 1960). Using fieldwork, I test Durkheim and ‘neo-Durkheimian’ assertions that rituals in modern societies provide a means of communicating and reaffirming moral values as well as providing grounds for social solidarity. In addition, I examine the alternative concept of “mobilization of bias” in political rituals. I examine Durkheim’s theory of the social functions of ritual in the context of the political rituals performed at a City Council meeting, to understand whether Durkheim and neo-Durkheimian theory is still applicable in contemporary political rituals. First, I will provide a working definition for ritual. Second, I will discuss Durkheim’s theory of religious beliefs and ritual. Third, I will examine the neo-Durkheimian’s theory of ritual. Fourth, I will examine City Council meetings in light of the mobilization of bias function. Fifth, I will discuss the role of ritual in my own fieldwork. Finally, I will discuss the limitations of my research.

An Understanding of Ritual

Rituals are grounded in and governed by rules. Rules allow rituals to be patterned and involve some normative pressure on its participants (Lukes, 1975). The literature on rituals has revolved around the topic of religion or with religion and magic (Wilson, 1957; Firth, 1951). Despite this concentration on religion, rituals need not be inherently religious. There are a
number of rituals that are practiced outside of the religious sphere. There are practices similar to
religious rituals, such as political ceremonies, where references to the supernatural or mystical are
either not central or else absent (Lukes, 1975). This research will address these practices, where
religion does not play a central role.

Symbolism plays a role in our understanding of ritual. Some sociologists and
anthropologists have stressed the non-instrumental character of ritual, others the symbolic nature
of rituals. The non-instrumental form is described as, “the standardized behavior in which the
relationship between the means and the end is not intrinsic” (Goody, 1961: 159). The expressive
form has been defined “where the means appear clearly disproportionate to the end, explicit or
implicit, whether this end be that of knowledge, communication, or production” (Sperber, 1974:
16). It becomes difficult then to untangle what constitutes symbolic rituals. Symbols allow for
humans to actively respond to a reality that imposes itself and humans can actively create and re-
create the world acted in (Charon, 1985). As previously stated, rituals are governed by rules. It
is the combination of rituals and symbols that link together to produce the actor’s behavior.

To more clearly understand what is a ritual and what is not a ritual, a working definition
is necessary. For the purposes of this paper a ritual is defined as, “rule-governed activity of a
symbolic character which draws the attention of its participants to objects of thought and feeling
which they hold to be of special significance” (Lukes, 1975: 291).

*Durkheim and Rituals*

Durkheim suggests four social functions of rituals. First, a disciplinary and preparatory
function. Religion acts as a means of imposing self-discipline on an individual. Second, a
cohesive function, namely that religion and rituals in general bring people together and in turn
reaffirm their solidarity. Third, there is a revitalizing function to rituals, where members are
made keenly aware of their social heritage. Fourth, Durkheim mentions the function of euphoria,
a function where people have the sense of pleasantness based on social well-being. Theories regarding symbolic rituals stem from the Durkheimian tradition.

Durkheim used religion as a means to explain rituals and sacred objects. There are two main components of Durkheim’s interpretation of religious belief and ritual. The first of these is a cognitive means of understanding the social world. In other words, religious belief can be understood in terms of the social world in a symbolic manner. Religion was defined as, “a system of ideas with which the individuals represent to themselves the society of which they are members, and the obscure but intimate relations which they have with it” (Durkheim 1915: 225). This first interpretation is found on the individual level. Individuals are strengthened in the social natures.

The second way of interpreting religious beliefs and rituals is through sociability. Sociability binds the individual to the social entity as a whole (Durkheim in Giddens, 1972). Religious rituals or rituals in general can be seen as a way of expressing social realities. This expression can provide a flag or can be seen as a rallying sign for others. The sociability aspect provides the grounds for the group to renew the sentiment of the collectivity (Lukes, 1975).

This is why all parties political, economic or confessional, are careful to have periodical reunions where their members may revivify their common faith by manifesting it in common. To strengthen those sentiments which, if left to themselves, would soon weaken, it is sufficient to bring those who hold them together and to put them into close and more active relations with one another. (Durkheim in Collins, 1994: 209)

Durkheim’s early work has been instrumental in providing a base for understanding public rituals. Although Durkheim focused on religion as his example for explaining ritual, his theory can be applied to a wide array of contemporary political rituals.

**Neo-Durkheimian Theory**

Political rituals are critical mechanisms for social solidarity and cohesion. A number of studies have been conducted to further apply Durkheim’s theory of ritual in contemporary society
(Shils and Young, 1953; Warner, 1962; and Bellah, 1968). A study conducted by Shils and Young (1953) examined the meaning of the Coronation in Britain. Shils and Young contend that adult members of society have some level of standards and beliefs about which there is agreement.

The polis or community is not just a group of concrete and particular persons; it is, more fundamentally, a group of persons acquiring their significance by their embodiment of values which transcend them and by their conformity with standards and rules from which they derive their dignity (65).

Thus, Shils and Young argue it is the importance of the moral rules and the expression of those morals that bind a society together. The Coronation acts as a ceremony in which the affirmation of moral values can be expressed, it is an act of national communion (Shils and Young, 1953). Shils and Young suggest that the Coronation as well as other ceremonial events act as a space in which society reaffirms their moral values and renews their devotion to those values. “The Coronation Service itself is a series of ritual affirmations of the moral values necessary to a well-governed and good society” (Shils and Young, 1953: 67). The Coronation allows members of society to come together and express their internal agreement about what is important.

Although the Coronation is a symbolic act that could take place out of the public eye it does not. The Coronation Service and the process that follows is shared and celebrated by nearly all the people of Britain (Shils and Young, 1953). Through radio, television, newspapers, and festivities throughout the country, the Queen and the people were brought into a great nationwide communion (Shils and Young, 1953). In order to convey the appropriate moral messages, the Coronation ceremony includes an elaborate display of symbols and rituals. These symbols and rituals include such items as the presentation of the Bible. The Bible acts as a symbol that the queen will be mindful of the law. “The Bible is the vessel of God’s intention, a source of continuous inspiration in the moral regulation of society” (Shils and Young, 1953: 69). Similar symbolic rituals include: the oath, the anointing, presentation of the sword and the orb, and the
benediction. Each of these symbolic rituals acts as a means of conveying the moral principles of society.

In another example of the neo-Durkheimian tradition Lloyd Warner (1962) examines ceremonies in the United States. Warner specifically studies Memorial Day ceremonies. Memorial Day ceremonies, like the Coronation, are viewed as a means of expressing collective representation. These ceremonies not only express a unification of society but a sacred unification as well. “They consist of a system of sacred beliefs and dramatic rituals held by a group of people, who when the congregate, represent the whole community, and they are sacred because they ritually relate the living to sacred things” (Warner, 1962: 278). Thus, differences in faith and class are set-aside in order for the community to come together.

Other holidays celebrated in the United States perform the same function. Holidays such as Christmas, the Fourth of July, and Thanksgiving facilitate this same form of social integration. These ceremonies provide a basis for individuals to minimize their differences and to reaffirm the values of society. These holidays are a part of the “ceremonial calendar of American society, which functions to draw all people together to emphasize their similarities and common heritage; to minimize their differences, and to contribute to their thinking, feeling and acting alike” (Warner, 1962: 7).

The Durkheimian and neo-Durkheimian traditions provide a framework for interpreting and understanding rituals in modern society. I use the theory of the social function of rituals to better understand the way in which rituals play a crucial part in the integration of modern societies. In particular, I will examine the question of whether the social functions of ritual are an appropriate means of understanding the politics of City Council meetings?

Methodology

I carried out a three-month observation study at a City Council meeting in a large metropolitan area. The meetings are held in a large governmental office building in the central
city. The Council is composed of 17 members. Seven of the members are at-large member and 10 of the members are district Council members. The Council meets once a week on Thursdays at 10:00AM for a public meeting that typically lasts between an hour and an hour and a half in length. I attended all of the Thursday weekly meetings. I began my observations the first week of February and concluded my observations at the end of April.

During the study, I took field notes on all the public meetings I attended. Council members are present at the meetings as well as members of the public, reporters, photographers, assistants to the council members, and security officers. I did not interact with the Council members although I did occasionally interact with other members of the public who were in attendance. I did not conduct any interviews while at my site, instead my focus was on what I could discover based solely on observations. I collected over 80 pages of field notes during this three-month period.

Council meetings are structured meetings that follow the same format every week. A “City Council Calendar” is available every week that lists: “Bills on final passage,” “Bills on second reading and final passage,” and “Bills on first reading.” The Chair of the Council leads the meetings every week and follows the same format every week. Each meeting begins with a prayer, followed by the approval of the previous meeting, requests for leaves of absence, a welcome to the public, presentation of resolutions, presentation of any new bills or resolutions from each council member, presentation and vote of bills on final passage, and finally speeches by council members. One might expect, as I did, that the majority of the meeting would center around the bills on the agenda. I expected that the presentation of bills and voting on bills would dominate City Council meetings. This is not the case; on most days, the resolutions dominate the meetings. The resolutions generally occupied half to three-fourths of the time allotted for the meeting. In contrast, the presentation and voting on bills traditionally took about a quarter of the time. It is for this reason that the focus of the analysis is on the presentation of resolutions at City Council meetings.
I developed my argument using dimensions and language presented in Emile Durkheim’s, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1915) as well as other texts that present Durkheim’s work on ritual and symbolism. I use my observations at City Council meetings as a means of understanding and examining Durkheim’s four social functions of rituals. My data relies almost entirely on my observation field notes, and secondary source material on political ritual and social integration. The names of all members of the council and public as well as the place have been changed.

*The Prepatory Function*

Rituals prepare individuals for social living. Rituals provide a structure and a discipline for individuals. “Social existence is possible only as individuals are able to accept constraints and controls” (Nisbet, 1965: 138). According to Durkheim, asceticism is an inherent element in all social life.

City council meetings are ridden with the prepatory function of ritual. These prepatory rituals begin even before one enters the room where the council meetings are held. In one example, security is present at every council meeting and each person is checked before they enter the room. My first encounter with security was managed by a series of commands from the security officers: “Um okay we just need to search your bag. Okay hold out your arms. All right turn around please. All right you’re done.” Each interaction with the security officers was managed in the same fashion in order to maintain the ritual and ultimately to impose a constraint on the individual. Constraints provide a means of shaping the behavior of the individuals who are participating in the ritual. I too was a part of the prepatory ritual of security. I upheld my role as an individual being shaped for social living in accepting the constraints of the situation:

I place my backpack on the desk. I reach in the pockets of my coat and pull out my keys. I set the keys on the desk. I turn around keeping my arms out, he moves the club across my backside.
The security officers are upholding their role in maintaining a ritual to provide structure and discipline for individuals in society. Each person who allows the security officers to do their job participates in the molding of individuals to accept constraints in society.

There are visual symbols placed around the room as well to facilitate asceticism. These visual symbols include both the placement of furniture and other obstacles as well as signs placed around the room. The furniture provides a particular structure that in turn regulates the behavior of individuals:

There are a number of chairs set up around the perimeter of the room. There is also a wide hallway that lines the perimeter leaving a wide space between the chairs and what appear to be marble columns. There are two rows of the marble columns. A metal fence connects the columns and there is a gate across from where I sit that swings open to let people into the middle part of the room. There is a security guard in front of the gate.

The desks where the council members as well as the desk where the Chair sits are separated from the public area:

In the middle of the room there are a number of wooden desks set up with wooden chairs sitting behind each desk. There are maybe 30 of these desks in the room. Towards the front of the room there is what appears to be an altar. On the second step of the altar is a very large pulpit with a microphone and a huge wooden chair behind it. The wooden chair has a large cushion and looks like it was made for a king.

The way in which the furniture is arranged structures the behavior of those in the room. The gates and columns limit access to the center stage area of the room. The altar and desks for the Council members function as a means of separating themselves from the public.

There are signs placed around the room as well to discourage certain behavior. There are two signs in particular that I notice; these include a “Handicapped Only” sign that is on the fence that attaches the columns, as well as a sign that reads, “Do Not Approach the Railings.” Each of these signs conveys a clear message of expectations for the public in this setting. These signs are a part of the ritual of Council meetings, and aid in preparing the public for their role at the meetings.

Security, the furniture, the columns and rails, as well as the signs placed around the room facilitate boundaries and constraints on individuals. The reason in part for these controls is to
regulate the behavior of individuals in order to maintain harmony. The public is constrained by both physical barriers as well as written materials in order to impose self-discipline, so that the Council can perform its function of honoring individuals and passing bills.

The Cohesive Function

Ceremony and ritual brings people together and thus serves to reaffirm their common bonds and to enhance and reinforce social solidarity (Nisbet, 1965). “Rites are, above all, means by which the social group reaffirms itself periodically” (Durkheim, 1915: 553). Through City Council meetings, the council members can set aside their differences in order to reaffirm the moral values of society as well as the values of the council.

From the evidence I have obtained through observations it appears that the “Resolutions” part of the meeting is the space in which this reaffirmation occurs. Council members present resolutions to an individual or a group. Sometimes a resolution is presented by an individual council member but was issued through a group of council members, for example:

The resolution is to honor the YMCA Black Achievers. Councilman Rich, Councilman Garcia, and Councilwoman Brownstone walk up to the lower podium. Councilman Rich begins to speak on behalf of the rest of the members.

Ultimately all resolutions are supported by all members of council. In another example, a resolution is proposed by councilwoman Brownstone and passed by the entire group.

Brownstone: A resolution concerning a seal for African American achievement for eleventh grade students at William Morrison High School.

Chair: All in favor indicate by saying aye.

Council: Aye.

Chair: Those opposed? (silence)

Chair: The ayes have it, the motion carries.

In a final example, the Chair of the council introduces the council members involved in the resolution and indicates the support of the entire council.
Our first order of business is to present the resolutions that were passed at last week's council meeting. Will Councilwoman Brownstone, Councilman DeSoua, and Councilman Marino please come to the front in order to present the resolution concerning Doc Frash. I am excited and pleased that this resolution is being presented to honor Doc Thrash’s life and accomplishments and is supported by all members of council.

The presentation of resolutions allows for a space in which members of council do not argue, and where council members act as a cohesive unit in support of the values associated with each of the resolutions passed. Resolutions are signed by all members of council and when voted on all council members vote in favor of the resolution. Over my three-month period of observations all resolutions passed without any opposition. Council members set aside any differences in order to come together to share in this collective sentiment. “Whatever their stated purpose, the essential thing is that men are assembled, that sentiments are felt in common, and that they are expressed in common acts” (Durkheim, 1915: 553).

The Cohesive function may in part explain the emphasis on resolutions and the de-emphasis on the presentation and voting on bills. Resolutions allow the opportunity for the public to share in solidarity with the council. People can come together and reinforce their shared set of beliefs. When resolutions are introduced in council meetings, council members unanimously vote in favor of the resolution. I never witnessed a meeting where anyone opposed a resolution. In contrast, however, council members often opposed bills or asked for the consideration of an amendment to a bill. In one example, a bill that discusses a service agreement between the city and the Redevelopment Authority that will deal with neighborhood blight is on second reading and final passage. One of the council members offers an amendment to the bill. He is visibly upset about the current state of the bill, “this tax-supported debt program will fail.” Other council members join in and an argument breaks out between two of the council members.

Councilman Henny: Will you please read the amendment? (The clerk reads the amendment aloud)
Councilman Kramer: Is this amendment even legal? I mean is this legal or political? Can the chief council please advise as to whether this amendment is even legal, this seems like a political move.

The discussion continues and eventually the amendment is put to a vote.

The clerk begins calling out each city council member’s name. As each member is called they provide a response of either aye or no. The votes are tallied and there are 12 “ayes” and 5 “nos.” The motion falls and there is a group of people in the back of the room who start to clap. A man in the back is holding up a yellow sign that says, “Thieves at Work!”

The bills or amendments to bills are introduced by individual council members and are often political in nature. It is apparent from the example provided, that bills or amendments to bills, do not necessarily provide the same cohesive function as resolutions. Thus, the bills do not bring about the same feeling of solidarity as resolutions. When voting occurs, the votes are often split, indicating a divide in people’s allegiances. This same divide does not occur when council votes on resolutions. It is for this reason that I believe the emphasis in these public meetings is on resolutions as opposed to bills. Since these meetings are open to the public the presentation of self becomes very important. The presentation of resolutions not only brings together members of the Council in solidarity but the Council can present itself to the public as a cohesive unit as opposed to a divided group. Having the Council appear to be unified rather than divided gives the public a sense of well-being and calm that a cohesive, organized unit is settling the matters of this community.

The resolutions are presented to a diverse group of individuals and groups. In one example a resolution is presented to an African American woman who is considered by council members to be a leader in the African American community.

Vicky Lee is the Emily Post of this city; she is an expert etiquette advisor. Vicky Lee is a woman who stopped working as an editor ten years ago and decided to go into the bridal world in order to better represent African Americans. She felt that African Americans were not being well represented in terms of seeing their faces in bridal magazines so Vicky Lee decided to bring that issue to the forefront by working as a wedding consultant.

In another example, a resolution is presented to a woman from the Girl Scouting board to honor the advances made by women.
Girls and women have made a number of advancements over the years and in part these advancements can be attributed to the Girl Scouts. Today we would like to honor those advancements by presenting a resolution to Ms. Brown, a representative from the Girl Scouting board.

By honoring the Girl Scouts and Vicky Lee, the council can reinforce the value that women are important members of society. The council also brings in these different individuals and groups that might otherwise not be in attendance to publicly display this notion of solidarity. Those receiving the resolutions come to the council meetings to obtain their awards and at the same time reaffirm social solidarity with other members of society. By presenting resolutions to a diverse group the council is able to reinforce social solidarity not only within the council itself but solidarity with other communities as well. Since people often live their lives occupied with their personal interests, the ceremony of presenting resolutions enables cohesion.

Since society is a necessary condition of human civilized living, it is imperative that this condition be remedied, that periodically at least man be given the opportunity to commune with his fellow social beings and to express his solidarity with them. (Nisbet 1965: 139).

The presentation of the resolutions provides a space in which social solidarity can be expressed and common bonds can be reaffirmed.

*Revitalizing Function*

Ceremonies and rituals aid in perpetuating and renewing faith and values in society. “Traditions must be perpetuated, faith must be renewed, values must be transmitted and deeply embedded” (Nisbet, 1965: 139). The resolutions as well as the prayers given at the City Council meetings provide this revitalizing function. Each week a different council member asks a religious delegate to give the prayer at the beginning of the meeting. The religious members have included bishops, rabbis, priests, and ministers. Although the question remains as to why exactly religious members come to governmental public meetings, in part the explanation may lie in their
revitalizing function. These religious delegates help to renew the faith of the members and remind the council of their purpose and moral obligations. In one example, a rabbi is giving the invocation.

The Rabbi is giving the prayer. The prayer begins with explaining how the council is fulfilling one of the commandments by trying to promote justice and fairness. He talks a great deal about God’s wishes and America in general. He thanks the council for doing all they do and trying to do God’s will.

In another example, as a part of his invocation a reverend is telling the story of a boy named Timmy and a blacksmith:

The boy and the blacksmith were friends and one day there is a fire in Timmy’s house. Timmy is calling for help and the blacksmith hears him. The blacksmith comes to the house but Timmy is on the third floor and the blacksmith cannot reach him. The blacksmith decides to climb up on the burning building and each time he puts a hand on the building he scorches his hand. Finally, the blacksmith gets to the window where Timmy is and he puts Timmy on his back and climbs down. When the blacksmith gets to the second story he falls. Both Timmy and the blacksmith wind up being okay but Timmy’s family dies in the fire. A judge has to figure out whom Timmy is going to go and live with. A bunch of families show up who are interested in adopting Timmy. Each family states their case and finally the blacksmith comes up. The judge asks the blacksmith what do you have to give to Timmy? I have these (the reverend holds out his arms). The judge awards custody to the blacksmith. (The reverend continues talking)

You all know who Timmy is don’t you? Timmy is the child living in North Loveton who doesn’t have enough to eat. That is why you are all here, you are set up to help people and that is what you are here to do.

The invocations given each week are ritualistic and function as a means of renewing faith and the values of the council. “Men celebrate certain rites in order to remain faithful to the past, to keep for the group its moral physiognomy” (Nisbet, 1965:139).

The resolutions themselves function in part to convey the values of the council and their social heritage. Although the resolutions are presented to those outside of the council, those that are chosen to receive this honor uphold or promote some value found in the council as well. In one example, a resolution is presented to the YMCA for Black Achievers Day.

Councilman Rich begins talking about the YMCA. He is talking about how the YMCA builds strong kids, strong families, and strong communities. That some of the most important things about the YMCA is its ability to overcome barriers, the professional
successes that have come out of the YMCA, and its commitment to continued community involvement.

The director of the YMCA Black Achievers program speaks up:

This is a day I am going to remember for the rest of my life. For this is the day that we are recognizing black children’s achievement and success.

This example illustrates that the revitalizing function serves not only the members who traditionally attend the council meetings but values are transmitted to and from other members of society as well. At another meeting, a man is being honored by Councilman Garcia for his work with the Latino community:

We are here today to recognize the work of this man and this amazing group that has benefited and continues to benefit the Latino community. El Grupo del Barrio is a group that successfully combines and promotes education, peer socialization, and spirituality.

This resolution and articulation of this resolution expresses the moral values of both the individual being honored as well as the council.

The resolutions clearly illustrate the values that are an integral part of the group. These rites serve to sustain the vitality of the social heritage and to keep the crucial parts from lapsing from memory. “The group periodically renews the sentiment which it has of itself and of its unity; at the same time individuals are strengthened in their social natures” (Durkheim, 1915: 536).

The Euphoric Function

Ceremony and ritual serve to establish a condition of social euphoria, in other words a social feeling of well-being (Nisbet, 1965:139). This is especially important in cases where adverse conditions disrupt the smooth functioning of the group. These adversities threaten the sense of well-being of the group. The group can then counterbalance the disturbing action through ceremony and ritual. In one example a council members speaks out of turn to identify a group of people in the room:
A group of adults has come here today to show their support for public education. (The adults are holding signs). These adults have students and they care about these students and about public education. These people are involved in the ongoing training for parents who care about public education. (Everyone in the room claps).

The issues surrounding public education in this particular community have created tension at the council meetings. Thus, by a group displaying an expression of dissatisfaction they can address the issue that has caused them grief. Another illustration of this point comes from a meeting where a councilman is recognizing a group of former prisoners:

I want you to look at this group standing at the back of the room. These individuals are former prisoners who were used in medical testing conducted by the University of Glasbow. These individuals continue to cope with the problems brought on by those medical experiments still today. I am proposing a resolution acknowledging these courageous individuals.

In this instance, the wrongdoings of the past are publicly revealed and expressed in order for the group to bear witness to the past and remedy the situation. This coming together of individuals, and expressing a like emotion aids in compensating for the original loss. Durkheim’s theory, however, is limited in its ability to understand the general sentiment of the group. There is an assumption that because the group is a collectivity it shares the same sentiment and this sentiment raises social cohesion. Durkheim uses funerals and the rituals surrounding death as a means of explaining the euphoric function. “Of course they have only sad emotions in common; but communicating in sorrow is still communicating; and every communion of mind, in whatever form it may be made, raises the social vitality” (Durkheim, 1915: 574). It is difficult to know whether the group in fact shares the same sentiment but what is important is that there is a perceived sense of solidarity. Through the ritual of proposing and passing resolutions the group is able to maintain the feeling of well-being.

Mobilization of Bias

While I found Durkheim’s social functions of ritual to be relatively comprehensive in explaining rites, there is an additional social function that exists. This new category is referred to
as the mobilization of bias (Schattschneider, 1960). The mobilization of bias is, “a set of predominant values, beliefs, rituals and constitutional procedures that operate systematically and consistently to the benefit of certain persons and groups at the expense of others” (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970: 43). Steven Lukes (1975) further extends this category to note that ritual has a cognitive dimension and is situated within a less-structured, conflictual, and pluralistic model of society. Rituals can then be seen as modes of exercising or gaining power. The addition of bias as a social function requires the consideration of the internalization of particular political paradigms. It is necessary to consider the mobilization of bias as a function of rituals. The resolution presented to Vicky Lee, the wedding consultant and businesswoman, is an example of this bias. Although Vicky Lee is being awarded a resolution in her honor for her role in the African American community, Vicky Lee appears to have an agenda that extends beyond thanking the council for this honor:

Vicky Lee is looking around at the group who is flocking her on all sides. As she looks around she mentions each and every persons name that is standing around her and says what they do for a living. I see my niece up here a recent graduate of Titum University, I see my friend and colleague and amazing business woman Margaret Baker, I see Tony Kramer a wonderful wedding photographer, I see Amy York an editor for “Bridal Star” magazine, I see. . .

The tribute continues like this for some time. Although it is difficult to say definitively what Vicky Lee’s specific agenda is at the Council meeting, she appears to be exercising power in order to promote her business and her business associates. The promotion of her business and her associates may in turn be at the expense of others in the community. The mobilization of bias is an important means of studying political rituals, however, my own research is inadequate for producing sufficient examples of this bias.

The mobilization of bias requires a much deeper understanding and examination of political rituals. If we are to truly understand the deeper meaning of politics and rituals we need to concentrate on the mechanisms through which politics influences what individuals want, what they regard as possible and even who those individuals are (Edelman, 1964: 20). Most
importantly, a close examination would address the way in which social control is managed and manipulated in a class-structured society. “Rituals, can serve to reinforce and perpetuate dominant and official models of social structure and social change” (Lukes, 1975: 302).

‘The Law’ is then a powerful means of understanding ritual and symbolism. The law is established in part to instill the vision of social order. Through this social order justice is achievable through a regular and sanctified process (Lukes, 1975). The laws ability to maintain order and prevent chaos makes it a highly valuable and useful function for society.

It protects us on the one hand from arbitrary power exercised without regulations. It saves us from the mob, and also from the dictator. It prevents capitalism from turning into communism, democracy from becoming the rule of an unthinking people. It gives all people an equal chance for success, and at the same time protects those who have been born in more favored positions of privilege and power. (Arnold, 1962: 34).

Thus the council meetings act in a similar fashion as the law. Resolutions are often presented to groups or individuals with less power or prestige than the council members occupy. For example, the children from the “African American Historical Oratorical Competition,” the organizer of “Barbershop Talk Family Day,” and the Emily Post of this city, Ms. Vicky Lee were all honored with resolutions. The resolutions provide a forum in which these individuals and groups can receive official approval through an important body without compromising the power position of the Council. The law is the greatest instrument of social stability because it recognizes the desires of the underprivileged, and gives them a forum in which these yearnings can achieve and receive official approval without involving any particular action which might joggle the existing pyramid of power (Arnold, 1962: 34).

Limitations

Three months of observations at City Council meetings provides a solid base for beginning to understand the political functions and rituals, however, I am extremely limited in my ability to generalize any of the findings. Although it appears that the social functions of ritual
described by Durkheim are present at the Council meetings, further observations as well as interviews are warranted.

I purposefully did not choose to interview council members, in order to garner a better basic level understanding based solely on observations. I felt that due to time constraints I would not be able to interview a sufficient number of council members. I was concerned with the possibility of introducing further bias into the study by only interviewing a few individuals. In further research, however, semi-structured interviews would be advantageous. Interviews would provide a clearer understanding of why council members think some of the symbolic rituals such as the invocation and the resolutions are included in the meetings. Interviews with those people receiving resolutions would be fruitful as well. Interviewing the honorees would provide me with a better idea of how resolutions get negotiated and who is a greater force in driving the resolutions. Interviews would also provide information on how the honorees felt about receiving a resolution and what they consider the function of the resolutions to be. I was unable to obtain that information simply through observations.

Schattschneider’s theory regarding the mobilization of bias is crucial to understanding political rituals. My research was limited in being able to sufficiently address this point. Although I am convinced that power is being exercised at council meetings I do not have sufficient evidence to move beyond the instrumental and symbolic aspects of the political rituals. Further observations as well as interviews would shed more light on this social function.

Further research at other city council meetings in both large and small cities, would provide valuable information about the ability to generalize findings. Important information could be collected about the structure of meetings in other communities. This would enable researchers to understand whether there are significant differences in council meetings found elsewhere. My observations provide further evidence and support for Durkheim’s theory of the social function of rituals. Although these observations provide but a glimpse into the world of local politics they can sufficiently advance the debate regarding the mobilization of bias versus
the more simplistic notion of political ritual as producing and expressing value integration and social integration.

Conclusion

In this research, I have tested Durkheim and neo-Durkheimian theories regarding the social functions of ritual in a local governmental organization. There is evidence for the social functions of political rituals described by Durkheim, that include a preparatory function, a cohesive function, a revitalizing function, and a euphoric function (Nisbet, 1965). Likewise, these functions are displayed at various times depending on the nature of the situation and what function needs to be promoted. Additionally, I included another social function, the mobilization of bias. Although there is evidence for the four social functions described by Durkheim and other neo-Durkheimians, in order to understand political rituals in a more meaningful manner the mobilization of bias should be considered more thoroughly.

Political rituals can provide a variety of social functions, some of which create social cohesion and others that mobilize bias and exercise power. Previous research conducted by neo-Durkheimians have often been too simplistic in their interpretation of rituals and not included the cognitive dimension of exercising power. Political rituals should be examined more thoroughly in order to more deeply understand who is promoting specific agendas and how rituals are used to strategically and effectively get participants and observers to internalize particular paradigms.
Bibliography


The public right to know in a sea of global media.

Helen Shaw    Athena Media

Speaker bio: Helen Shaw is managing director of Athena Media, a content creation and media consultancy company based in the Digital Hub in Dublin Ireland. She was formerly managing director of public radio at RTE, Irish public broadcasting, in Ireland and completed a fellowship at Harvard University in 2002-2003 on media globalisation. She is the author of the forthcoming Irish Media Handbook – published by Gill and Macmillan later this year.¹

¹ ‘We have to stop thinking of public broadcasting as a stand-alone organisation and see it as the principal node in an emerging network of public and civil initiatives that taken together, provide the basis for new shared cultural space, a digital commons, that can help forge new communal connections.’ – Prof Graham Murdock (Loughborough University, UK)².

How could there be an issue about information flows and participatory democracy in an age of global media? We are, it seems, drowning in a sea of content and choice. Yet despite the plethora of digital choices and new media offerings the debate over media control and freedom and its impact on the quality of information in the public domain has never been sharper. Public broadcasting is frequently proclaimed dead or dying but beneath the surface the reality may be the concept of public media content is not dying but being transformed by both the landscape of new technologies and a move to seeing information as both a global resource and public good beyond the matrix of media conglomerates.

In Europe public broadcasting in the last twenty years has gone through a wave of peaks and valleys dictated often by the level of national and state support for the concept of publicly funded broadcasting content. In the mid 1980s-to 1990s the push to deregulated, open markets and the prospect of expanded broadcasting horizons through digital led many to see the death of public service broadcasting.

The Peacock report in the UK in 1986 recommended all BBC services would be sold on subscription and defined public broadcasting in the future as largely delivering only the things that commercial operators would not provide – leaving commercial operators free of public obligations. That market view of media content production has prevailed from the centre of the European Union. As the European Commission’s Director General for Competition has stated– ‘the emphasis has shifted from protection of some broadly defined public interest ….towards opening up markets, ensuring free and fair competition and promoting the interests of consumers’ (Lowe 2004:1)

¹ see www.athenamedia.ie/
Yet since the turn of the century, and particularly post 9/11 and the subsequent invasion of Iraq, many states are reflecting on not just the need to protect some vague concept of public interest but also the clear connections between public, not for profit media and participatory citizenship.

The overwhelming market emphasis on consumer needs and rights is being balanced by a renewed public focus on the needs and rights of citizens and the recognition that consumers and citizens are not the same creatures. Indeed not only are they not the same but the needs and rights of consumers versus citizens can frequently be in conflict.

The market view of media content creation has also ensured that public broadcasting is frequently defined in terms of its audiences pushing many mixed economy broadcasters, who, like RTE, receive both public and commercial advertising revenue, into a populist model chasing audience figures as aggressively as their commercial competitors. In a sense, this confusion of mission has at its core confusion over whether public media is serving consumers or citizens. Unless citizenship comes first many broadcasters have ended up in no-man’s land attempting to please both advertisers and public interest simultaneously. For public broadcasting the other dilemma it is facing is the impact of media fragmentation where the concept of a public tax, or TV licence fee, on content becomes challenging when many people are watching a diverse range of channels, mostly commercially funded, and feel reluctant to pay a content tax or fee for something they may not wish to receive or want.

The BBC in its strategy for its Charter renewal has anticipated this by defining public media content as a public good similar to public health and education and similar to other civic public goods like libraries and museums. Even if you never use the libraries the western European intellectual philosophy which anchors their public funding in that it is in everyone’s social and civic interest to have free and open access to information, knowledge and ideas.

In Ireland the debate over public media was altered by the bringing together of a temporary, ad-hoc committee of independent professionals in the Forum on Broadcasting (April 2002). The Irish public broadcaster, RTE, had previously applied for a TV licence fee increase which was rejected by the then minister although RTE’s funding was, at that stage, two thirds dependent on commercial advertising revenues. A somewhat hostile stand-off, with some political and newspaper commentators calling for the privatisation of the public broadcaster, was changed through the work and report of the Forum which provided an intellectual framework to consider the nature of media content and society beyond the self-interested positions of the players involved. The Forum placed the continued need to fund RTE in a social and civic framework and indeed the civic and cultural needs of a small

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3 The Forum on Broadcasting was established under ministerial order to produce an independent report on the future of broadcasting in Ireland. The Forum report was issued in August 2002 and the ad hoc members were Dr Maurice O’Connell (chairman), Gillian Bowler (businesswoman), Jean Callanan (business sector), John Horgan (leading media academic), Donal Kelly (former RTE political broadcaster), Declan Kiberd (literature academic and writer), Patricia Quinn (then Head of the Arts Council). The Irish Department for Communications responded by November 2002 and its documents are available on its website www.dcmnr.gov.ie
nation (just 4 million people) where over 80% of homes have access to trans-national broadcasting from the UK BBC and commercial channels.

It defined the need for enhanced regulation and increased accountability for broadcasters, particularly the public broadcaster, but clearly outlined the social and national need to have a securely funded, and clearly mandated, public broadcasting system. Such a system underscored national and civil society in conjunction with a healthy and openly competitive market. It is that competition between providers, both public and private, which secures choice and quality.

The work of the Forum report and the Government’s response led to a significant increased in the TV licence fee by the end of 2002 but with increased accountability mechanism, including a Charter for RTE, which defines its role and social contract with the public. The Charter effectively creates a public mandate for RTE and provides the public broadcaster with operational and ethical framework which can be used to measure the broadcaster’s performance on an annual basis.

Other initiatives also included a decision to combine broadcasting regulations and create a super-regulator (Broadcasting Authority of Ireland) across public and commercial broadcasting (a process which is still awaiting new broadcasting legislation). Even more interestingly a Ministerial decision to siphon off 5% of the RTE TV licence fee to create a Broadcasting Funding Scheme which any broadcaster can avail off to make specific content including cultural and heritage programming.

This debate over the future of broadcasting as serving consumers or citizens is seen in the UK super-regulator Ofcom which states its exists to serve the interests of the ‘citizen-consumer’ – merging the two together in a typical Anglo-Saxon kenning. The initial and primary focus of Ofcom was consumerist but lobbying from public advocacy bodies forced the word ‘citizen’ into the frame creating what is, I believe, an unrealistic hyphenated animal which suppose that all consumer interests match all citizenship interests.

That gap between consumers and citizens is one we see every day in both our own lives and in public policy’s attempt to manage the often conflicting rights of individuals and communities. As consumers we tend to think as individuals – what is the best price/result for me – often regardless of the social impact of that result. Naomi Klein’s bestseller ‘No Logo’ attempted to get consumers to look behind the

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4 Published by Dept of Communications, Marine and Natural Resources (DCMNR) June 2004. RTE’s response to the Charter is RTE’s Guiding Principles which were issued in November 2004 and both documents are available on www.rte.ie

5 The Government had initially planned to speed track this new legislation and regulation but it has now put back the publication of new legislation until Autumn 2005 reflecting the current debate over the scope and scale of the new regulator and the need to create a viable, long-term digital content and transmission strategy.

6 The Broadcasting Funding Scheme was passed into law in December 2003 and the fund will be operated and managed by the current regulator, the Broadcasting Commission of Ireland (BCI). The fund is worth in excess of Euro 8 million a year and the funding scheme will begin to operate by mid 2005 – by which point it will be worth in excess of Euro 20 million. The genres of content open to be funded include Irish language, history, culture, heritage, archive programme initiatives etc. The fund will be open to all terrestrial broadcasters regulated in Ireland both public and private.
price and the label at the origin of the product and the social and human price paid for goods manufactured in developing world sweatshops. As individual consumers we think short-term rather than long term and seek to maximise our satisfaction in the market place and frequently need incentives or penalties to think of global price tags in terms of the environment, natural resources or human rights impact of our consumer decisions.

In Ireland there are a couple of examples which fit the bill. Some years ago our Government introduced a levy on plastic bags to order to reduce their use on a national environmental basis. The levy was not popular with consumers or retailers yet within six months it had reduced the use of plastic bags radically, changed the living environment for people, and increased consciousness about waste and resources. The levy was a citizenship rather than a consumerist focused measure which, within a matter of months, saw people not just using cloth ‘green bags’ but actually ticking off retailers who gave them a plastic bag for free. Equally the smoking ban in Ireland which last year saw all buildings including pubs having to implement a smoking ban was resisted by both smokers and retailers who argued their consumer and market rights. The social, communal and long-term rights of the entire country won out and again within one year had not just become a way of life but had reduced cigarette smoking by 18-24%.

In a global media environment where a handful of mega-conglomerates dominate the world’s content creation the public domain aspect of information and citizens is paramount. While previously the concerns about media independence generally centred on excessive state control or political interference - today the axis of influence is seen as both state/political and market/commercial. Intensive media ownership concentration has become the hallmarks of media markets like the US and a state directed market liberalisation policy influenced the US Federal Communications Commission’s (FCC) June 2003 media ownership deregulation and the UK Communications Act 2003. Ironically in the UK it was the House of Lords, led by film director Lord Puttnam, which pushed vigorous debate on the UK Communications Act and forced the insertion of the public interest clause which can be used as a veto in media mergers.

The House of Lords debate in 2003 used US examples of the impact of media ownership concentration, particularly in the radio market, and how it had eroded real choice and public news service obligations. In the US the impact of increased media deregulation from 1989-1996 was accentuated by the US’s weak public broadcasting model which is neither securely funded nor clearly defined. PBS TV has no more than 2% of the TV market share and its lack of resources has undermined its foreign news coverage which resulted in it being the only TV service in the US which actually lost audience during the US invasion of Iraq in spring 2003.

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7 Taken from ‘Regulating for Consumers and Citizens’ – presentation by Helen Shaw to the Broadcasting Commission of Ireland (BCI) annual conference November 18 2004.
8 For a detailed breakdown of the top ten global media conglomerates and current interests see MediaGuardian media Directory 2005, edited Chris Alden.
9 See ‘The Age of McMedia’ Helen Shaw, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs (WCFIA) which studies the US media market, ownership concentration and the impact on public information and knowledge – www.wcfia.harvard.edu/fellows/
The subsequent debate over the role of the media in reporting the post 9/11 environment is now the subject of many books. Influential US media like the New York Times have had to apologise to readers for cases of unquestioning coverage in the run up to war. The lack of independent media sources has been blamed on the connections between politics and big business in the US and on the relatively insignificant role the public broadcaster plays. While NPR is both admired and trusted its coverage of the conflict remains dependent on the BBC since it has a small foreign bureau staff - smaller than most middle-ranking newspapers in the US – compared to the BBC which is the largest news gathering force in the world. Public TV’s foreign news gathering is equally limited by resources and its reputation is more based on commissioned quality factual documentaries.

The extremes of the US media market have provided warning flags to both public and policy debates in Western Europe. In Ireland over 80% of all homes have access to trans-national TV services and over a third has digital TV\textsuperscript{10}. Ireland has the second highest penetration of digital TV in Europe yet no digital terrestrial platform. Digital is delivered through BSkyB satellite or NTL cable networks and BSkyB alone has at least 25% of Irish homes. The challenge rapidly facing the Irish state is how to secure the free to air delivery of its terrestrial services, particularly its publicly funded services, in a global TV world where half the TV content being watch is delivered from non terrestrial and therefore non regulated companies through a satellite offering which again is non-national.

The issue of sports rights and the challenge of maintaining the Irish language, which is overwhelmed by English content, have also focused policy attention on the need to protect and ring-fence the public and national interest in what the electronic media provides.

Throughout 2004, following the Hutton report in the UK, and the resignation of the Chairman, Gavin Davies, and the Director General, Greg Dyke, of the BBC there has equally been a focus on the level of political interference and control in public broadcasting and indeed on the accountability of public broadcasting to its public audiences. One year after the BBC resignations the BBC is now facing into its Charter renewal negotiations, for its funding, with a commitment to increase mechanisms of good governance and accountability but equally with the knowledge that it was the BBC, not the Blair Government, which won the public relations campaign and that, if anything, the level of Government pressure highlighted through the Andrew Gilligan/David Kelly case has probably made it more difficult, not more likely, for the Government to exert direct pressure on the organisation again. In reality the history of public broadcasting’s often tense relationship with the state is that these high profile flares up can often secure future independence by showing both sides, and indeed the public, the stakes that are being played.

Increasingly the public good aspect of information and knowledge is linked to public representation and participation as well as to deliberation. ‘A better informed political debate is the only way for...people to determine how broadly or narrowly to define our interests’, Prof Joe Nye of Harvard University wrote in his study The Paradox of

\textsuperscript{10}ComReg (Irish telecommunications regulator) market survey end 2004.
Power\textsuperscript{11}. Essentially the connection between a healthy popular democracy and information has been well mined from Plato to Thomas Jefferson and while media globalisation can challenge and threaten that connection the digital era also offers us the potential to reinvent and expand the concept of a public information domain.

Prof Graham Murdock talks about a new digital commons in his model of a reinvention of public broadcasting in that he, like others, sees the potential for public media to expand and make real their connection to their public through interactive multimedia. Far from seeing public broadcasters are media dinosaurs he sees not for profit content media as the key means of balancing our hyper consumerist and free market model by ensuring that new media is used as a social and democratising tool rather than solely a profit engine. New media offers public communities the potential for greater representation and participation through digital offerings but only if that space is defined and retained through legislation and regulation. In Ireland the development of community radio and television, in association with the new 5\% Broadcasting Fund could mean that previously disenfranchised minorities and communities get a voice and the ability to exercise their Article 19 right of the UN Charter on Human Rights to ‘seek, receive and impact information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers’.

In many senses the very pressure of the global media market has re-ignited the public media fire not just for broadcasters but for policy-makers. Joseph Stiglitz at the World Social Forum in Mumbai in 2004 talked of the need to convert the market globalisation model into a social one where global needs and rights like health, education and information would be seen and identified as global goods\textsuperscript{12}. The concept of a global goods philosophy has been re-kindled by the Tsunami tragedy on Dec 27\textsuperscript{th} 2004 in South East Asia. For many across the world the human, social and environmental impact of the disaster underscored the inter-connectedness of our global world and the need to find new global civic means of managing it.

The free flow of information, independent of commercial and political pressure and control, is the backbone of both national and international civic society. As Jefferson said ‘the information of the people at large can alone make them safe’ while James Madison saw ‘free communication among the people’ as the core of self-government and that it was ‘the only effectual guardian of every other right’.

Health, education and environmental rights and issues can not adequately be dealt with without the existence of such a free flow of information, knowledge and ideas. This has been dramatically seen in international AIDS programmes in the developing world which failed to have impact because there was a trusted and free means of communications and indeed the World Bank is now investing millions in making that and serving that connection between development and media.

As we move forward in 2005 the potential and need for a reinvention not just of public broadcasting but of the concept of a social model of global information is evident. The raison d’etre for public broadcasting at a national level is common across the global, indeed our market driven global economy makes that more apparent all the

\textsuperscript{11}Nye, J. ‘The Paradox of Power – why the world’s superpower can’t go it alone’ Oxford University Press (2002), pg 139 chapter 5 ‘redefining the national interest’.

\textsuperscript{12}The Irish Times, op -ed by Helen Shaw, Jan 27 2004
time. The rationale is there to extend the national to international, the local to global and connect the communication forces which can help us humanise our world.

Nye makes the point that globalisation pushes downwards as well as upwards, increasing the significant of the local in the global sphere and fuelled not just the increased speed of e-communications but the falling cost of communicating at speed across the world. His phase ‘soft power’ reflected the growing significant of global cultural and communication goods in the new, digital information age.

The rapid development of the internet, allied with the roll-out of broadband networks, has on the one hand opened up vast new territories for the media empires to colonise but on the other hand it has also presented the means of transforming public, or not for profit, content and participatory communications. While Ithiel de Sola Pool’s description of new media as ‘technologies of freedom’ has been challenged in many ways the internet, and its ability to truly become an interactive multimedia content space, remains the means by which public media is and will be transformed and re-born. The net combined with new digital transmission platforms like DVB-M – which can make television a mobile medium – offer both commercial and social opportunities.

The forces which drive global profits to companies like News Corp and Viacom can also be used in a counter-flow to build and expand global not-for-profit media. In the future public ‘broadcasting’ may be more accurately re-named public media reflecting the convergent nature of new technologies and content creation for public media will become more diffused and decentralised with the majority of the content being made by independent production houses rather than centralised within public companies. The internal competition between producers will ensure better quality and accountability than the old centralised model and indeed more and more countries may begin to adopt a public media competition model where there is more than one public ‘broadcasting’ or media house and where some funds are made available to all broadcasters in order to stimulate ‘public interest’ content across both the private and public media. Our view of the old PBS model will become less dependent monolithic institutions and more on a spread of outputs which can benefit the widest stretch of the public. Many of our existing public broadcasters are and will become content providers ensuring the best value for public funds through a content market and independent production. The nature of the global information age will means more content can be shared internationally – so that public media can at one level enhance the local through specific cultural programming and connect to the global through production partnership and alliances ensuring that the combined resources of five or six public providers can deliver high quality and shared content.

While the challenge to a truly global reinvention of public media will be the vast difference in resources and technologies from north to south, the long-term potential remains that media globalisation forces can also ensure a greater spread of existing public media content into the development world.

The World Bank’s symposium on broadcasting in Washington last May brought together public broadcasters from across the world to explore the connection between global media and development. The project raised the potential for the combined
resources of global public media to become a lever not just in development but in diffusing the concept of not-for-profit information across the world. SABC in South Africa is attempting to play that role Africa while the spreading ideal of content beyond the conglomerates is generating debates in India and China. While the internet can be controlled through service providers and portals it remains the vehicle for new global communities, virtual communities which cross territorial and political boundaries.

For public media’s the envisaged future must include the development and creation of virtual global public media communities where information can be received, disseminated and exchanged, extending our national visions into a shared global public space which crosses language and boundaries. The nature of this development will be that more international public resources will be used to support the a global public information space in the recognition that through that all our other global public goods ambitions, like the UN Millennium Goals the Kyoto Protocol or the UN Charter on Human Rights, will be more effectively and efficiently achieved. Francis Bacon’s adage that ‘information is power’ is more true than ever today and the most powerful means of affecting change in the world will also be through the realisation of information as a global good which provides the framework for the realisation of all other global goods.
Teaching for Social Justice: Moving Students toward Multiculturalism

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Teaching for Social Justice: Moving Students toward Multiculturalism

Changing demographics tell us now, more than ever, there is a need for professionals to be prepared to provide effective services to persons of varied backgrounds. Colleges and universities often serve as one of the first major avenues through which persons are introduced to and educated about diverse groups. Thus, increasingly, colleges and universities are desperately attempting to find the best approaches for addressing growing multiculturalism and globalization. Strategies range from including diversity information in college orientation programs to infusion or integration into curriculum and required or elective courses.

When multiculturalism in the college curriculum is considered there are a number of factors to be explored. Among these factors are course content, modes of delivery, use of effective adjunct resources, establishing the appropriate environment, and other pedagogical issues (Garcia & Von Soest, 2000). Knowing the types of biases and prejudices students hold regarding different groups is also important as this can inform the instructor of what and how course content should be approached. This paper addresses each of these factors. Based on approximately 15 years of teaching social justice, anti-oppression, and multicultural courses at the graduate and undergraduate levels, the author presents the important elements of one such course. Student assessments of the effectiveness of classroom strategies and activities in increasing their knowledge and expanding views are presented. Students’ quotes are also used to highlight the type and nature of some of the biases and prejudices students shared.


Course Overview

The specific course reported on in this paper is required for students majoring in social work or those minoring in social welfare or African American studies at a predominately white university in the South. Students from other disciplines, including nursing and criminal justice, often take the course. The course syllabus states the purpose of the course is to...

...examine[s] issues related to gender, ethnicity, race, culture, sexual orientation, physical or mental ability, age and national origin. It is designed to introduce the student to a range of issues of oppression and social and economic injustice pertinent to the field of social welfare and to the profession of social work. References will be made to policies which affect populations negatively impacted by oppression and/or social injustice.

The course is a three-hour credit course, meeting once a week for 2 hours and 50 minutes for 15 weeks. The objectives for this course are to allow students the opportunity to: (a) demonstrate awareness, understanding and appreciation of cultural and social diversity; (b) gain an understanding of oppression and specifically how poverty, racism, sexism, ageism, heterosexism and legal bias affect these population subgroups in their social functioning; (c) articulate the role, values and the responsibility of the social work profession in relation to oppressed populations including people of color, women, gay and lesbian persons; (d) gain an understanding of issues related to oppressed populations and the implications for social change; (e) develop an awareness of personal and professional values and clarify conflicting values and ethical dilemmas in professional practice; and (f) gain
an understanding of social policies as they affect oppressed populations in light of principles of social and economic justice.

The structure and format of the course are presented to the students on the first day of class and appear in the course syllabus as follows:

This course is developed to be very interactive and builds from session to session. Students are expected to actively participate in the teaching-learning process. Different methods to be used include lectures, presentations, field trips, videos, in class exercises, and the general exchange of ideas, thoughts, and opinions….

Professionalism and mutual respect for the opinions and experiences of others is also accentuated on the first day of class and reinforced with the following statement in the syllabus:

It is my hope that each person in this class will leave more educated, aware and understanding of those different from themselves. For this to occur we must approach each area of focus with an open mind. Many of the topics we address will be very emotional to some. For others, these issues will have an even greater impact as they influence how we view others and ourselves. These are issues central to one’s development as a professional social worker and human service provider. There is a great deal of diversity of thought regarding the topics we will be discussing. As a result, I am sure that we can look forward to many informative, interesting and well-articulated exchanges. Throughout these exchanges we will conduct and express ourselves with respect for others. In this regard, slurs, and/or derogatory remarks about any group will not be tolerated. Failure to comply will result in dismissal from the class and failure of the course.
Class attendance is mandatory and students are expected to attend class regularly. Since the course meets once a week, students are strongly discouraged from missing class. There is a strong attendance policy that is highlighted for students on the first day of class. Additionally, the following statement is on the syllabus:

“Students are expected to attend class every week. Missing two classes could result in the student’s final grade being reduced one letter grade. Missing three or more classes could result in receiving a failing grade for the course.”

Class Activities and Components

A variety of instructional and experiential methods are used in the course. They are presented below with a brief explanation.

*Class discussions* refer to the numerous in class conversations held in reference to readings, current events, videos, cultural presentations, and diverse worldviews and experiences.

*Lectures* refer to the limited lectures conducted by the professor. These introduce constructs that are essential for understanding the dynamics of the phenomena discussed in the class. They include dominate/subordinate relationships, social justice and injustice, oppression, and related concepts (e.g., racism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism, and classism). Application of the new terms to readings and videos is emphasized. The textbook used in the course is Paula Rothenberg’s (2004) *Race, Class, and Gender in the United States: An Integrated Study (6th ed.).* The book provides a wide variety of readings on topics related to bias, prejudice, discrimination, and oppression.

*Group cultural project* refers to a major class assignment done in small groups. These are done on American Indians, Asian Americans, Black Americans, Gay/Lesbian persons, and Hispanic/Latina Americans. Students are instructed to
self-assign to a group based on the group they know the least about and about whom they want to learn more, the group they like the least, or the group with whom they have the most difficulty. No one is allowed to share their reason(s) for selecting the group they chose. This serves to counter concerns students may have regarding whether individuals think they “don’t like” or “have difficulty” with certain groups. Students are not allowed to be in a group of which they are members. Students are strongly encouraged to provide a cultural experience as they provide the following mandated information: group history/overview, cultural nuances, contributions to the U.S., a policy issue of relevance to the group, common myths, cultural sensitivity in work with this population, an issue of relevance for women in that cultural group, and the impact of doing the project on their beliefs, feelings, and knowledge. Additionally, the students must have a panel of three people who are members of the group on which the presentation is being done, one of who must be a social worker. The panel provides feedback to the students in the class on the accuracy of the information, the quality of the presentation, and anything that was offensive or especially pleasing to hear in the presentation.

*Individual paper* refers to an assignment focused on raising self-awareness regarding students’ culture, ethnicity, and/or heritage. Students are forced to examine their thoughts, beliefs, attitudes, and customs and how they are connected to their ethnicity, culture, and heritage. Students begin this paper with identifying any racial/ethnic groups and other groups to which they belong. Of these groups, students are instructed to identify one racial/ethnic group of focus for the remainder of the paper. Students must then provide a historical overview of that racial/ethnic group in the United States that addresses the group’s treatment and status in the
U. S. from historical and contemporary perspectives. Students then address the cultural aspects of that group, providing information like language, religion, art, food, music, and worldviews. Students are required to analyze their personal culture in relationship to the cultural information on the group of focus, looking for similarities and differences. The students conclude with a summary of what they learned from the assignment.

*Journal* refers to the assignment developed to provide students with an ongoing record of their thoughts, feelings, ideas, and any incidents related to oppression, discrimination, prejudice, advocacy, social injustice, and inequity/equity. It allows students a place to express themselves and say what they felt they could not or would not share in class. Emphasis is put on critical thinking and self-reflection.

*Videos* refer to a variety of videos aimed at encouraging critical analysis of the social construction and meaning of identity. One video, an USA network sponsored program entitled the National Hate Test, provides 16 different vignettes designed to have you identify hidden biases and prejudices, along with your values. Combined with factual information, the scenarios address such issues as racism, ageism, sexual orientation, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, ableism, and others. An internet version of the test can be found at [www.usanetwork.com/functions/nhday/nat2.html](http://www.usanetwork.com/functions/nhday/nat2.html).

Students are also shown an excerpt from an Oprah Winfrey episode focused on race. Included is the story of Josh Solomon, a young white male who changed his skin pigmentation with medication to live as a Black male. A segment of the show also documents the different experiences of two young Black males who are cosmetically made White. Discussion about the emotional costs of racism is a part
of the video. The video confirms there are differential race based experiences in
the U. S. based on skin color.

A third video students review is an Emmy winning video entitled Ethnic
Notions. Distributed by California Newsreel, this video critically analyzes the
social construction of differences. Using the history of Black Americans, the socio-
cultural interpretations of race and the contrived use of race as a means of power
and control is well presented and provides a much needed analysis.

A fourth video, distributed by Stir Fry Productions, that the students watch
is the Color of Fear. This video documents 8 men engaging in powerful discussion
about race and its meaning in contemporary society. Referred to as one of the most
powerful videos dealing with race, the Color of Fear serves a pivotal role in the
class as it raises consciousness regarding white privilege and the role of allies in
fighting racism.

*The Conducive Environment*

The classroom environment is important if students are to engage in honest
dialogue about oppression, social injustice, discrimination, prejudice, and
worldviews. Setting an environment that is conducive to such discussion is
important and given attention each class period. This process is initiated on the
very first day of class by student introductions. Each student must share with the
rest of the class their name, racial/ethnic heritage, college classification, and major.
Students are also encouraged to be honest in addressing whether or not the class
was required and if they would have taken it if it were not required for them. When
each of the students are finished the professor shares the same information,
explaining to the students that they will not be asked to do anything the professor is
not willing to do. This is done to get the students to begin to think about their
ethic identity. It also initiates the students into the practice of talking and sharing aspects of self in a group setting.

Another technique used to facilitate a safe environment is a confidentiality contract. The confidentiality contract states that while students are encouraged to go out and discuss what we discuss in class, they can not connect any statements to any identified person. They are, however, allowed to discuss anything the professor says and identify the professor as saying it. The professor emphasizes the importance of confidentiality and shares that intentional violation is viewed as an issue of professional ethics. Students are informed that the penalty for intentional violation of confidentiality is automatic failure of the course. Students are told that they have the right to not sign the contract and refusal will not effect their grade. Should a student decide not to sign the contract they are told that their refusal to sign will be shared with the class. This allows each individual to decide how much they want to share knowing someone did not sign the contract. The contract can be modified in whatever way students like. It is explained to them that the contract should reflect what they need to feel safe.

Students are also encouraged to disagree with the professor. The power differential in the classroom is acknowledged and the professor expresses the value she puts on individuals who are themselves and who don’t attempt to “professor please.” The importance of honesty is reemphasized. They are constantly reminded in all sessions of the class and for all assignments that how much they agree or disagree with the professor’s thoughts, ideas, and beliefs will not impact their grades.

Students’ fears of talking about such sensitive and emotionally charged issues in a diverse group setting are discussed. Fears students have about how
conversations about these issues will be interpreted by others are also addressed. It is made clear that “bashing” of any group will not be allowed, but the realities that have and do exist will be discussed. Students are reminded that they will always have an opportunity to provide clarification for anything they think might have been misinterpreted.

Additionally, the professor makes sure to discuss with the students the potential implications of having an African American professor in the context of this kind of course. These discussions revolve around how having a professor of color could influence the classroom dynamics for the Black and White students. Students are asked to give conscious thought to how the professor’s racial identification might influence their classroom behavior. Some attention is also given to how the issue of skin color might influence interactions with both groups, as well as the classroom dynamics. The professor uses her light complexion as an opportunity to discuss how skin color could potentially serve as a barrier or an advantage in same race and cross-racial relationships, including relationships with students.

Group discussions are also governed by a set of group rules that assist in establishing the classroom environment. The students are presented with a draft of group rules that can be modified by a majority vote. It is emphasized to the group that it is their class and the group guidelines should include what they need to feel safe. The guidelines presented to them include that it be mandatory to be respectful of different opinions, effort will be made to be aware of body language and nonverbal communication, and effort will be made to seek clarification rather than jumping to conclusions. Students are also reminded that it is acceptable and
encouraged for them to disagree with the professor and one another, while being
reminded that each person will be respectful in their use of language.

Recurrent Course Themes

There are a number of recurrent themes that the students are told they will hear reinforced throughout the semester. These also represent premises off which the professor operates throughout the semester. No one group has a monopoly on maltreatment is one theme. Another theme is that no one person can speak for an entire group. The professor also shares some philosophies that impact how the class is conducted. Among these is the professor’s belief that each person has a humanitarian commitment to create a socially just society. Students are also reassured that it is not the goal of the professor to get the students to think like the professor. Students are encouraged to engage in critical thinking, to question how they know what they know to be true, to question all sources of information, including the professor, and to develop a more proactive attitude towards informing ones self.

Methodology

This paper presents on the specific feedback provided by students during two separate semesters of an undergraduate, sophomore or above-level social work course taught at a predominately white institution in the South. There are two different kinds of information from student assignments used in the analysis for this paper, one assignment at the beginning and one at the end of the semester. Approval for use of the data was sought from the Institutional Review Board at the university where the course that provided the data was taught. Exempt status was given.
Design and Procedure

The first assignment used in this analysis was related to a homework assignment focused on students’ biases and prejudices. On the first day of class, students are instructed that they are to turn in the biases and prejudices they have toward women, any racial/ethnic groups, GLBT persons (gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered persons), poor persons, and any other groups they wish to identify. Students are also instructed that the most important aspect of this assignment is that they be honest. They are told that the value of the assignment is lessened if they are not honest. To encourage honesty from the students, they are instructed that they DO NOT have to put their names on this assignment. It is explained to them that the homework will be collected at the beginning of the next class period when the class roll is called. When students’ names are called for the roll the following class period, they turn their homework face down on a desk in front of the classroom. If a student brings a sheet up when their name is called the student is given credit for having turned in the assignment. Students could conceivably turn in a blank sheet of paper and be given credit for it. While this has never happened, some students put more time and effort into the assignment than others. After all of the sheets are turned in the professor mixes them up in front of the students to let them see that they don’t remain in the order of the names on the class roll. Once students turn in this assignment there is no way to connect a student to their assignment, unless the student chose to put their name or some other identifier on their document. This information is typed up into one document with individual responses being given a number. At the end of the semester all students are given a copy of these and they are discussed as a class. Before sharing this document with students, the professor reviews the statements to remove
information that could have been shared by the student throughout the course of the semester that might identify their biases/prejudices as theirs. Students are informed of the deletions in advance whenever possible. While some student quotes are used for emphasis in the present paper, a deeper qualitative analysis of any self-perceived changes in their biases and prejudices at the beginning and end of the course will be used for another paper that has a different focus. Depending on which final exam option students choose, they may use their biases/prejudices as a part of the final. This will be explained in more detail below.

The second assignment used in this analysis is related to the students’ final exam. Due to the nature of the course and the role of self-reflection and self-awareness in it, students are given a final exam with an option that forces them to engage in critical thinking and identify the ways in which the course was meaningful to them or achieved the course objectives. The final exam had two options and represented 10% of the total grade. Students were informed that they could choose either option with no penalty. Both options carried equal weight and students were informed that the assignments are graded equally. Students were also told the professor did not have a preference for which option they chose. They were also assured that their grade would not be based on how much they thought the course objectives were met or not met (Option 1) or how much they thought they had changed in terms of their biases and prejudices (Option 2), but the quality of their answers and how well they explained their answers. Option 1 provided students the opportunity to assess the success of the course in meeting the specific objectives listed on the course syllabus. Option 2 provided the students with the opportunity to address the utility of the course in assisting them in engaging in self-examination of biases, prejudices, behaviors, and beliefs. This option involved
identifying the biases and prejudices students turned in at the beginning of the semester as anonymous. Because Option 2 required students to identify which of the bias/prejudice statements were theirs, the professor felt it necessary to provide an option that would not force students to identify something that was previously provided anonymously in some cases. Additionally, students who did not complete the homework assignment needed a viable final option. Thus, exam option 1 was provided.

Regardless of the exam option selected, the exam contained the students’ evaluation of the course assignments in terms of expanding their views on different issues and learning new information and knowledge. These variables were measured using a likert-type scale. Students were instructed to circle the number that best describes how you feel about how these different components in the class contributed to you learning new information and knowledge and circle the number that best describes how you feel about the usefulness of the course assignments in terms of expanding your views on different issues. Following each of these statements was a list of class videos and activities students had watched and engaged in throughout the semester. Possible answers ranged from 0 – 4 with 0 equaling “not useful at all” and 4 indicating “very useful.”

Sample

The students used in this analysis represent the total number of students who completed the social injustice and oppression course in either of two semesters offered one year apart in the early 2000s. The total population number of participants consisted of 75 students. Of these 75 students, 66 (88%) of them were female with the other nine (12%) identifying as males. Forty-two (56%) were white and 30 (40%) identified as Black. Ages ranged from 19 years old to 53 years
old with a mean age of 23 (SD = 6). Social work majors accounted for fifty five percent of the 71 students who specified a major. The other disciplines most represented included criminal justice (7 %), psychology (5.3 %), and human development (5.3%) All of the other disciplines represented could be classified as falling under the liberal arts umbrella (e.g., public relations, human development, child development, communication studies, etc.).

Findings

A review of the bias and prejudice statements made by these students in their homework assignment indicates that there is a need for college programs to address diversity, multiculturalism, and social justice issues. Apparent in these statements is that there are still strong negative beliefs, stereotypes, and feelings that groups have toward and about one another. Some strong themes noted in a preliminary analysis of the data are the belief that racial discrimination, especially regarding Black Americans, is no longer relevant, disadvantaged groups want special treatment, awareness of ethnocentrism and White privilege, blaming the poor for their predicament, and homophobic attitudes.

The following student quotes make clear that some individuals no longer view race and gender issues as needing attention. “Blacks use race as an excuse.” Another student makes the point more clearly,

“I saw a Black man driving a car today and he had a bumper sticker that said ‘A Black Man Can.’ Whites would not dare put “ A White Man Can” on their bumper. I know a lot of people say it is because Blacks are minorities, but I do not believe that it is true anymore.”

As reflected in the following quotes, disadvantaged groups, especially women and persons of color, were seen as wanting special privileges and treatment. “Women
just complain too much about not getting equal treatment, but when it comes down to it, they want to be treated special. They need to decide.”

I think that women can’t decide what they want. If our society treats them more equal to men, they feel as if it’s not fair either. For example, they want to be treated more equally, like getting paid more, but they don’t want to lose benefits that you get from being a woman, such as, maternity leave, having doors opened for them, and getting help with heavy things.”

These feelings as applied to race are reflected in statements like “I am not biased with any ethnic group, sometime it aggravates me when people of African descent act like people of European descent owe them something.” This same sentiment is also seen in the following student quote.

I have a problem with people who think I owe them something. No one in my ancestry owned slaves and even if they did…at the time of slavery it was a Southern tradition… Slavery is over and I have no prejudice towards African Americans or any other group, but I hate to hear that some people feel that they deserve retribution for things that happened over 100 years ago.

Black students remarked on the ethnocentrism and white centered nature of society. One student stated, “Whites: They act as if they are superior. I have a problem that society lays things out on red carpet for them (whites).” Another student stated, “they think they are better than other cultural groups.” Statements like “Whites can use race as the advantage.” reflected students’ awareness of white privilege, whether they identified it as such or not.

Comments were also made by some of the students indicating that persons in lower socio-economic groups are in that economic situation due to a personal
defect of some sort. One student explicitly states…”all of them are uneducated and unclean.” Another student’s belief is made clear with the following quote. “Poor people that revel in their poorness and do nothing to pull themselves out of poorness make me mad.”

Numerous other stereotypical ideas and thoughts were identified regarding various racial/ethnic minority groups. Students made reference to the stereotypes regarding Asian Americans’ intelligence and lack of command of Standard English of some. Statements like, “Asians don’t speak English, smart” and “Asians are the most biased group because they think their races are better” are student quotes reflective of this. “Hispanics poorly educated, don’t speak English” addresses an often heard criticism of Latina groups in the United States. Toward Black Americans, one White students stated “I am prejudiced against black Americans. I feel they are disrespectful to others.” Another student stated “Black people because they are loud all of the time and very obnoxious.”

The following quotes reveal the homophobia present in some of the students. One student states “Gays try to force their beliefs on other people by making out in public by making out in the open, and trying to make advances on those who are straight.” Another says “Gays and lesbians all have STDs and they come on too strong and have to proclaim their homosexuality when no one cares about it.” Other students criticized them for their lifestyles and sexual practices.

Although this paper highlights many of the negative thoughts, ideas, and beliefs students might have against one another and others, it is important to know that many of the students expressed several disclaimers. Students quite often prefaced their remarks indicating they had shame, guilt, and disappointment for
having such thoughts. Additionally, students would remark that they knew many of the thoughts were incorrect and based on stereotypes. Although this consciousness is encouraging, it remains difficult to overlook the power of their self-expressed biases and prejudices.

Course Effectiveness

Students evaluated how useful the different components of the class were in expanding views on different issues and learning new information and knowledge. Of the course activities, students identified class discussion as most useful in expanding views on different issues. Seventy-one percent (53) of the students reported class discussions as very useful, while 21% of them (16) found class discussions to be of greater than average usefulness. Class discussions (92%) were followed by group projects in expanding students’ views. Eighty-nine percent of the students (67) reported group projects as being of more than average usefulness or very useful in expanding views. These were followed by lectures, journals, and individual papers being rated at greater than average usefulness or very useful by 88%, 76%, and 69% of the students respectively. Related to learning new information, (91%) of the students rated class discussions as being of greater than average usefulness (23%) or very useful (68%) for learning new information. The other course activities were rated in the following descending order for helping students learn new information at greater than average usefulness to very useful: group projects (89%), lectures (85%), individual papers (71%), and journal (67%).

Students also rated the usefulness of the different videos seen throughout the semester. The Color of Fear was rated the strongest in both learning new information (89%) and expanding views (95%). The National Hate Test rated equally with the Color of Fear for expanding views with 95% of the students rating
it as of greater than average usefulness or very useful. Following these two videos, students evaluated the usefulness of videos in expanding views at greater than average to very useful at the following rate: Ethnic Notions (91%) and the Oprah episode on racism (89%). In relation to learning new information, Ethnic Notions tied with Color of Fear for the most influential video with 89% of the students rating it as having greater than average usefulness to being very useful. These were followed by the National Hate Test (88%) and the Oprah episode (87%) being rated as having greater than average usefulness or very useful.

Discussion

While these data indicate that the resources and activities used in this class were useful to these students, the environment and tone of the class are important factors that will influence how the course and any related assignments are perceived and experienced by the students. The fact that class discussions were rated strongest in both learning new information and expanding views supports the need to have a classroom environment conducive to having healthy discussions. The high rating of the utility of the class discussions might also indicate that the techniques used in this course might be useful in creating an environment conducive to maintaining healthy discussions. Additionally, these results speak to the importance of being able to engage in meaningful dialogue about issues of race, gender, sexual orientation, and related topics. All of the activities were evaluated by more than 50% of the students as being of at least greater than average usefulness. This could indicate that all of the activities serve as effective techniques for expanding views and learning new information regarding subject matter relevant for social justice, diversity, anti-oppression, and/or multiculturalism courses.
The results of this study are limited in several identified ways. The convenience sample used does not allow for assumptions needed to generalize the results; thus, the results can not be generalized to other groups of students outside of those reported on in this study. Also, despite professor attempts to encourage students to be honest, there still may have been reluctance on the part of the students to negatively evaluate the course activities, especially as this was done as a graded assignment. Additionally, the author suggests the positive student/professor relationships had with most students could have also resulted in a higher rating. The author does think this limitation was countered by the history the students had with the professor over the course of the semester that included the students being encouraged to be honest and disagree openly with the professor. Despite these limitations, the results are still useful and provide those teaching such courses with learning activities and suggestions that contribute to some degree to learning by students.

Conclusion

This paper contributes to the ongoing discussion about successful classroom strategies for approaching multiculturalism, diversity, anti-oppression and social justice. These data suggest that all of the assignments used in this course are above average in their utility to students. The high value given to each course component and video evaluated suggests that these are resources that should be considered for inclusion in classes focusing on educating for social justice and multiculturalism. The author has provided a detailed description of each course component and video for those who might want to build on these in their courses. The pedagogical issues discussed provide meaningful insights into challenges common to those teaching
such courses, while providing guidelines and suggestions that appear to be helpful in structuring such courses.
References


Cultural Relevance and Salient Variables in Breast Cancer Screening: Explorations in the Development of a Contemporary Framework

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Cultural Relevance and Salient Variables in Breast Cancer Screening: Explorations in the Development of Contemporary Framework

Although overall cancer mortality rates have decreased in recent years, many racial/ethnic minority groups continue to experience certain cancers disproportionately with higher mortality rates. Breast cancer is one cancer in which racial/ethnic minority women have higher mortality rates than white women (Rawl, Champion, Menon & Foster, 2000). One factor that contributes to these differential mortality rates is under use of breast cancer screening procedures (Gotay & Wilson, 1998). This calls for increased attention to finding ways to improve breast cancer screening behaviors among racially/ethnically diverse, medically underserved women. This article presents a new conceptual framework in progress that focuses on improving breast cancer screening behavior among racial/ethnic minority women.

Literature Review

Defining Diversity

As health care disparities between groups become more apparent, the health community must find ways to meet the needs of those for whom the most traditional approaches to health care do not seem to be working (Mangione & Reynolds, 2001). One barrier to this is the use of traditional race categories, which are ambiguous and socially constructed. This presents challenges to accurate interpretation and application of research results. The research community is perplexed about how to best categorize populations to have the most meaning (Institute of Medicine [IOM], 2002). The National Cancer Institute (NCI) agrees with the IOM’s recommendation that it would be more
meaningful to gather data based on ethnic and cultural groups as opposed to racial categories, but cites many obstacles to this approach. Culture can often be referred to as a collective common thread that connects individuals to one another often reflected in shared identity, beliefs, values, and behavior that is socially learned, not genetically transmitted Diller (1999). Attention to gender, socioeconomic status, age, social status, life experiences, sexual orientation, literacy, and language provide some clues to new ways of viewing diversity in healthcare. A major barrier to this change is that the current state of knowledge on cancer, including breast cancer, is based on these racial categories (Agnew, 1999). While the model presented in this paper does not solve this problem, it is based on the understanding that culture serves a more functional role in understanding breast cancer screening behavior than race. Available data suggest that breast cancer is one cancer that places a heavy burden on women from the racial/ethnic minority groups often focused on in the United States. The attention to these groups in the development of the framework neither restricts the framework’s use with other racial/ethnic or cultural groups, nor does it seek to minimize the affects of cancer on their lives. Quite to the contrary, the framework is presented as a potentially helpful tool in reframing how we view cultural groups in health promotion and behavior. It is, however, driven by an effort to better meet the needs of those racial/ethnic minority groups highlighted in the cancer literature and documented as not benefiting from the overall decreases in cancer seen in the United States as a whole (Mangione & Reynolds, 2001).

Breast Cancer Incidence and Mortality in Diverse Groups

Many racial/ethnic minority groups are disproportionately impacted by a number of cancers. A review of Table 1 documents the overall cancer and breast cancer
incidence and mortality rates for major racial/ethnic minority groups in the United States. The categorizations used represent the way data is collected and reported by national cancer reporting agencies. As acknowledged by these agencies, there are probably errors in their data because of the small numbers of individuals in some racial/ethnic groups and data collection processes (NCI, 2002).

A review of Table 1 indicates that African Americans, as a group, have the highest overall cancer incidence and cancer mortality rates of all racial/ethnic groups in the United States. Following African Americans, overall U. S. cancer incidence rates by race/ethnicity are in the following descending: White, Asian/Pacific Islander, Hispanic/Latina American, and American Indian/Native Alaskan. Breast cancer incidence in the U. S. by race occurs in the following descending order: White, African American, Asian/Pacific Islander, Hispanic/Latina, and American Indian/Alaskan Native. When we look at mortality rates, a similar but slightly different pattern emerges. Overall cancer mortality rates by race/ethnicity occur in the following descending order: African American, White, Hispanic/Latina, Asian/Pacific Islander, and American Indian/Native Alaskan. Following African American women, breast cancer mortality occurs at the highest rates in White women, Hispanic/Latina women, American Indian/Alaskan Native women, and Asian/Pacific Islander women respectively (NCI, 2002). As is always the case when discussing groups of people, there can be individual and group specific variations that should be considered.
Breast Cancer Health Promotion and Prevention among Diverse Groups

Numerous studies indicate that the use of cancer screening and early detection procedures is one component of an effective approach to cancer control. The use of early detection and screening procedures is seen as one of the primary reasons for the overall downward trend in breast cancer mortality. (Rawl et al., 2000). An all-inclusive approach to early detection involves monthly breast self-exams (BSEs), annual clinical breast exams (CBEs), and annual to bi-annual mammograms. The American Cancer Society (ACS) recommends monthly BSEs, annual CBEs and annual mammograms for women aged 50+. It is recommended that women 40-49 have annual to biannual exams based on their own history and risk factors (ACS, 2000).

Despite recent criticisms and questions regarding mammography utility (Olsen & Goatish, 2001) regular mammography screening is still recognized as the most effective method for the early detection of breast cancer. Although its utility is impacted by factors such as race, ethnicity, age, socioeconomic status, education, and geographic region, regular mammography screening is credited with reducing breast cancer mortality rates by 30% for women in their 50s and 17% for women in their 40s (Hendrick, et al., 1997 as cited in IOM, 2002). When mammograms are combined with CBEs and BSEs, the chances for early detection are increased. Despite the generally agreed upon benefits of breast cancer screening programs, many women do not participate in screening behaviors on a regular basis. There is evidence that some groups of women, particularly women belonging to racial/ethnic minority groups, have poorer utilization rates for these screening procedures (Rawl, et al., 2000).
Recognizing the unjust nature of race related health inequities, The President’s Initiative on Race has an objective to reduce race related disparities in six areas of health, one of which is cancer (Corbie-Smith, Flagg, Doyle, & O’Brien, 2002). Healthy People 2010 is a national initiative concentrated on reducing health care disparities by the year 2010 (Mangione & Reynolds, 2001). Related to breast cancer, Healthy People 2010 aims to reduce breast cancer mortality rates from 27.9 per 100,000 (1998 mortality rate) to at least 22.3 per 100,000. Another goal of Healthy People 2010 is for 70% of all eligible women aged 40 and over to have a mammogram at least every two years (McPhee et al., 1997).

There exists, however, a number of factors documented as barriers to the utilization of breast cancer early detection and screening procedures by women belonging to diverse, traditionally medically underserved populations. These barriers can be categorized as personal barriers, social environmental barriers, and system barriers. Some personal barriers include other urgent life problems, personal costs, and monetary costs (Lacey, 1993, as cited in Walker & Figgs, 1995). Examples of social environmental barriers are lack of resources for cancer prevention and early detection information, distrust of the medical community, and living in socio economically depressed communities (Lacey, 1993, as cited in Walker & Figgs, 1995; Kornfeld & Fleisher, 1998). Systems barriers include such factors as issues of access, poor follow up procedures, and physician reluctance to provide screening information or referral (Lacey, 1993, as cited in Walker & Figgs, 1995; Mickey, Durski, & Danigelis, 1995). Although many of these barriers could be said to have a relationship with culturally based factors,
others like cancer knowledge and perceived risk and benefits of breast cancer screening are directly influenced by culture and cultural norms. While there is an understanding that cultural relevance goes beyond race and ethnicity, the need to address cultural beliefs, attitudes, and knowledge in the development of breast cancer health promotion models can not be overlooked (IOM, 2002).

Lack of knowledge and culturally related beliefs and norms regarding breast cancer, breast cancer early detection, breast cancer screening procedures, and breast cancer treatment account for some of the underutilization of these procedures by racial/ethnic minority women in the United States. African American women utilize breast cancer early detection and screening procedures at a rate of 10% (Lanin et al., 1998) to 20% less than that of white women (Phillips & Wilbur, 1995). Hispanic/Latina women are also documented as underutilizing early breast cancer detection procedures (Suarez, Roche, Nichols, & Simpson, 1997). Utilization rates of Asian American/Pacific Islander women continue to be low as well. Both Korean and Vietnamese women in the United States have reported low use of breast cancer screening procedures (McPhee et al., 1997; Sarna, Tae, Kim, Brecht, & Maxwell, 2001). Additionally, of Asian Indian women aged 40 and over, 54.8% reported having a CBE in the past 12 months, while 57% reported having had a mammogram in the same time period (Sadler et al., 2001).

Increasing breast cancer deaths over the past few decades in American Indian/Alaskan Native women are partly due to underutilization of breast cancer screening procedures. Cancer is the second leading cause of death among American Indians and Native Alaskan women (Burhansstipanov & Lovato, 1999; Key & Denoon, 1997) and breast cancer rates are increasing among native women. Simon (in press) discusses the role of cultural
beliefs and norms in some detail, while providing the clinical implications of these for breast cancer screening and how they can be used to facilitate breast cancer screening behavior in racially/ethnically diverse women. Attention needs to be given to the roles of cultural attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge and their relationship to breast cancer screening at personal, environmental, and systems levels. It is also important to remember that there is a great degree of variability among these groups and thus, there could be a great degree of variability in their cultural attitudes, beliefs, knowledge, norms, and cancer experiences. Additionally, attention needs to be given to the socio-cultural compatibility between patients of diverse racial/ethnic backgrounds, health care providers, and health care systems in order to reduce health care disparities. The most widely used health education and promotion models are said to lack focus on these socio-cultural differences and are criticized for not being relevant to the cultural diversity present in contemporary society (Gotay & Cook, 1998). There is a need to have health promotion and prevention strategies that are culturally relevant and effect meaningful change in diverse population.

A solid commitment to identifying how cultural factors influence breast cancer screening behavior requires building on what’s known and developing new ways to approach breast cancer screening behavior. Theoretical models and frameworks are needed to aid in guiding culturally competent research and practice on breast cancer screening behaviors in racially/ethnically and culturally diverse women. Building on traditional health behaviors theories’ empirical foundation and the increased attention to cultural explanatory models of health behavior, a framework is presented for examining breast cancer screening behavior in racially/ethnically and culturally diverse women.
Theoretical Models and Breast Cancer Screening

Theoretical models of health behavior are used to assist in predicting and getting individuals to engage in health behaviors. Two of the most used theories for explaining breast cancer screening behaviors are the (a) Health Belief Model (HBM), and the (b) Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) (Yarbrough & Braden, 2001). Although not used as often the HBM and TRA in breast cancer screening, Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) is also widely used to describe and predict health behaviors.

The HBM is one of the most used models for explaining health behavior in general. According to the HBM, health behavior is determined by five factors. These are: (a) perceived susceptibility to the disease, (b) perceived seriousness of the disease, (c) perceived benefits of taking actions against the disease, (d) barriers to taking action against the disease, and (e) cues to action. The HBM has been the most widely used model in breast cancer screening. In their review of the literature on breast cancer screening and use of the HBM, Yarbrough and Braden (2001) summarize concepts that interact to impact breast cancer screening behaviors. These concepts are perceived perceptibility to breast cancer, perceived seriousness of breast cancer, perceived benefit of engaging in breast cancer screening behaviors, and beliefs about their ability to master breast cancer screening behavior.

The TRA purports that health behaviors are largely influenced by individuals’ intentions and that these intentions are determined by individuals’ attitudes toward the behavior and the influence of the social environment (subjective norms) (Lammers & Fox, 1991). In terms of breast cancer screening, attitudes toward breast cancer screening involve beliefs about outcomes of performing breast cancer screening behaviors and
evaluation of the consequences or values of engaging in breast cancer screening behaviors. Social environment or subjective norms are impacted by normative beliefs (expectations of significant others) regarding breast cancer screening and the motivation to meet the expectations of others regarding breast cancer screening. To correct what was viewed as a limitation to the TRA, a third element, perceived behavioral control, was added to the TRA. The addition of this third factor to the TRA resulted in a newer version of TRA called the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB).

Based on SCT, individuals will engage in a behavior when they feel they have the power to engage in the behavior, have goals with values that support the change and expect outcomes worth the behavior change (IOM, 2002). According to SCT, women will engage in breast cancer screening behavior when they feel like they have the power and ability to engage in breast cancer screening procedures and they have goals that support early detection. Although not used as often as the HBM or the TRA, the SCT in health behavior change is acknowledged for its focus on the socio-cultural context of behavior change (Rajaram & Rashidi, 1998).

Focusing on the growing recognition that intentions are a strong predictor of health behavior, the Institute of Medicine’s Committee on Communication for Behavior Change in the 21st Century: Improving Health of Diverse Populations has identified three key determinants of health behaviors (IOM, 2002). Building on these widely used health behavior theories, HBM, TRA, and SCT, these three key determinants of health behavior are attitudes, perceived norms and personal agency.

Attitude refers to the extent to which a behavior is liked or disliked or looked upon favorably or unfavorably. Within the context of health behavior prediction, the
“critical” attitude is the attitude that one has towards performing the health behavior. Attitudes and beliefs are intricately connected and impact the intention to perform the behavior. Intentions are strongly associated with behavior performance (IOM, 2002). Thus, within the realm of breast cancer screening, the attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge held by women impact the intention to perform breast cancer screening behaviors and their actual performance of them.

Perceived norms refer to the extent that a behavior is perceived as appropriate and supported in one’s social environment or society at large. Norms are often defined by the degree of social pressure one feels to perform or not perform a given health behavior. The two types of normative pressures include beliefs regarding what significant others in one’s life think about performing or not performing the behavior and beliefs about whether or not significant others are performing the behavior (IOM, 2002). Regarding breast cancer screening, the influences of family/friends, health care providers, and community members are all important and impact screening behavior.

Personal agency refers to the extent that one believes they are capable of performing the behavior. In determining the personal agency, self-efficacy and perceived behavioral control are two important considerations. Self-efficacy and control speaks to the belief that one can perform the behavior, even under difficult situations. Perceived behavioral control makes reference to believing the individual has control over the behavior (IOM, 2002). Self-efficacy and control in breast cancer screening are related to the belief that one can engage in the breast cancer screening behavior if they so desire and it is under their control to do so. Relevant here are issues of access, skills, knowledge, beliefs, and ability.
While widely utilized, these theories of health behavior are criticized for their overemphasis on rational thinking, overlooking social and cultural factors, their dependence on the biomedical model paradigm, and the lack of empirical investigation of socio-cultural factors. Rajaram and Rashidi (1998) present the usefulness of cultural explanatory models (CEMs) as a way to give warranted attention to the socio-cultural factors influencing health behavior.

*Cultural Explanatory Models and Breast Cancer Screening*

CEMs take into account cultural beliefs and values, personal values and beliefs, and cultural and biomedical explanations of illness (Rajaram & Rashidi, 1998). Social, cultural, and historical factors are key components of CEMs. In their work on breast cancer, Rajaram and Rashidi (1998) present cultural beliefs, socioeconomic factors, and community networks as three factors important in breast cancer screening behavior of racially/ethnically and culturally diverse women.

Cultural beliefs refer to culturally related ideas and thoughts that can impact breast cancer screening behavior. Cultural beliefs should never be blindly attributed to any one person, regardless of their racial/ethnic affiliation or membership. Individual differences and issues of acculturation should always be considered.

Socioeconomic issues refer to aspects related to monetary and other resource access issues that might impact breast cancer screening behavior. Often times there are financial access and system barriers that greatly impact breast cancer screening behaviors of women in lower socioeconomic groups. As women of color are found to be in lower socioeconomic groups more often than white women, these issues might be of more importance to women of color.
The third cultural explanatory key determinant of health is social networks. Social networks refer to the structures and cultures of neighborhoods and communities. Social networks influence the norms, beliefs, and attitudes regarding breast cancer screening behaviors. It is through social networks that information is passed on regarding health care providers and related services. “Community reputations” of health care providers can greatly impact breast cancer screening behavior of racially/ethnically and culturally diverse women. The framework presented in this article seeks to build on the empirical support for the more traditional health behavior models and the socio-cultural emphasis of CEMs.

*Framework Examining Breast Cancer Screening with Diverse Populations*

The proposed framework incorporates the well documented impact of traditional determinants of breast cancer screening behavior, while bringing to the forefront the socio-cultural determinants of breast cancer screening behaviors (See Figure 1). This has particular relevance to women of diverse racial/ethnic groups whose varying social and cultural contexts are often overlooked and inaccurately considered in the development of programs designed to improve breast cancer screening and other health related behaviors. Essential to consider in the socio-determinants of breast cancer screening behavior is the importance of cultural beliefs and norms. The framework presented illustrates cultural beliefs, attitudes, knowledge, and norms affect each of the other key determinants of health behavior, whether on an individual, socioeconomic, social, or societal level. Any efforts to increase breast cancer screening behaviors among culturally diverse women must consider the role of cultural attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge and other socio-cultural factors that serve as barriers. The framework presented allows for a more
holistic approach to developing programs for increasing breast cancer screening behaviors among culturally diverse women.

Health care providers using this framework as a guide to improving breast cancer screening utilization rates would acquire information regarding each of the six key determinants of breast cancer screening behavior. Gathering information on attitudes, knowledge, and beliefs toward breast cancer and breast cancer screening can often lead to an understanding of the extent that breast cancer screening procedures are looked upon favorably or unfavorably (attitude), the degree of support provided by significant others in one’s social networks to perform breast cancer screening (perceived norms), beliefs about one’s ability and control to engage in breast cancer screening procedures (personal agency), actual cultural beliefs about breast cancer and breast cancer screening procedures (cultural beliefs), actual resource and access issues (socio economics), and beliefs regarding how social networks encourage or discourage breast cancer screening (social networks).

In addition to looking at how cultural beliefs, attitudes, and knowledge influence the six key determinants, each of the determinants needs to be looked at within the contexts of cultural socio-environmental factors. For example, although some might argue that cultural attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge influence socio economics, more important is the likelihood that socio-economics can also influence cultural attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge. Shared life experiences, circumstances, and environments experienced by persons of similar socio economic status could very likely result in a cultural group with shared attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge regarding breast cancer screening that does not necessarily involve race. Thus, this framework allows for
defining cultural groups beyond currently used racial/ethnic groups. The framework can be used across the spectrum of systems, from individual to community.

For health care providers involved in direct service provision in cancer control, the framework provides an opportunity to holistically understand issues that may serve as both strengths and barriers to the use of early breast cancer detection procedures among culturally diverse women. As a research tool, the framework provides a set of factors to be examined in helping to predict and explain breast cancer screening behavior among culturally diverse women.

Of course, the framework is limited in that all of the factors that influence the key determinants of health need to be identified. Additionally, more research needs to be done that gathers information leading to better defining of cultural groups. The framework could be useful in this effort. An argument can be made that the same criticisms of the traditional health behavior models might be reflected in the current framework. The strong influence afforded by the cultural explanatory focus of the framework provides a strong countering force and is a strength of the framework. Logical, and built on strong empirical support of traditional and cultural explanatory models of health behavior, the framework warrants more attention and contributes to the discussion on breast cancer screening among culturally diverse, and often medically underserved, women.

Conclusion

The current paper presents a framework in progress focused on better explaining breast cancer screening behavior of the medically underserved who are predominately ethnically and culturally diverse women who are of low socio-economic status.
Admittedly, in its present form the framework needs to be further developed and validated through empirical research. As presented, the framework represents an initial step in developing a new framework that questions and challenges the inadequacies of existing health behavior models used to explain breast cancer screening behavior. It has its major potential usefulness in developing interventions that are designed to increase the breast cancer screening behavior of culturally and ethnically diverse women. Its emphasis on culture at individual, community, and systems levels contributes to its utility and use with women of various cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Despite its limitations, the framework does provide health care providers with a new tool to be used by direct care providers, program planners, and policy makers in their efforts to improve breast health and breast cancer screening behavior among women from a variety of backgrounds.
References


### Table 1

Overall Cancer and Breast Cancer Incidence and Mortality Rates by Race per 100,000 of the Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race/Ethnicity</th>
<th>Breast Cancer Incidence</th>
<th>Breast Cancer Mortality</th>
<th>Overall Incidence</th>
<th>Overall Mortality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>African American</strong></td>
<td>120.7</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>526.6</td>
<td>267.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>White</strong></td>
<td>137</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>480.4</td>
<td>205.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hispanic/Latina</strong></td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>329.6</td>
<td>129.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Asian/Pacific Islander</strong></td>
<td>93.4</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>348.6</td>
<td>128.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>American/Indian/Native Alaskan</strong></td>
<td>59.4</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>244.6</td>
<td>128.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statistics are for 1992-1999 and are adjusted to the 2000 U. S. standard population. Rates are based on statistics from the National Cancer Institute and National Health Statistics.
A Framework of Key Determinants of Breast Cancer Screening Behavior Factors of Traditional Behavior Theories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Health Belief Model</th>
<th>Theory of Reasoned Action</th>
<th>Social Cognitive Theory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perceived susceptibility</td>
<td>Attitude toward behavior</td>
<td>Self efficacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived seriousness</td>
<td>Subjective norms</td>
<td>Goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived benefits of action</td>
<td>+ Perceived behavioral outcomes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barriers to taking action</td>
<td>control =</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cues to action</td>
<td>Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key Health Determinants of Traditional Health Behavior Models

- Attitudes
- Perceived norms
- Personal agency

Key Health Determinants of Cultural Explanatory Models

- Impact of cultural beliefs
- Socioeconomic factors
- Social networks

Key Determinants
Title: Role of Mass Communication in prevention and control of AIDS: 
   Mass media strategies in India
   A study of AIDS awareness and mass media reach amongst school going adolescents in Delhi and Ghaziabad (India)

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Abstract

Role of Mass Communication in prevention and control of AIDS: Mass media strategies in India

A study of AIDS awareness and mass media reach amongst school going adolescents in Delhi and Ghaziabad

Dr Archana R Singh

Introduction and Rationale

Communication and development are the major domains of human endeavour which are intimately linked with each other. The process of development calls for a strategy of communication which is aimed at altering the targeted persons from mere recipients of information to seekers of information. The main function or purpose of communication is to change or guide other people's behaviour. Communicators have to develop an understanding of the mass audiences. In such instances, audiences are usually grouped according to various characteristics— for example, language, art, culture, economic class, educational level and so on. Understanding of these audiences is usually built up over time through research and experience. There is always a need to study the role that was being played by the mass media in the process of development in general and in the various aspects of development such as agriculture, housing, education, trade, commerce, science and technology, defence, health etc. in particular. Media persons and media organisations are in the center of development and health communication. It is suggested that the overall health communication should be such that it not only empowers people but also enables them to make informed decisions on personal and delicate questions. Communication in that sense is the product of the society and also the moulder of society.

For the purpose of this study, only the mass approach of communication has been studied. This media reaches a large audience in a short time. Uniformity in message is maintained. Although selective perception and retention are hurdles in the effectiveness of this method but mass media certainly has proven value in spreading information. Mass media can create an environment, make issues out of topics, help to create a favourable social climate, counter hostile propaganda, dispel rumours and clarify doubts and misunderstandings.
Why AIDS?

Developing countries the world over are facing several deadly diseases, chief among them is Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome or AIDS, one of the biggest public health and developmental problems of this century, which started from mere smoke signals and swept across the globe like wildfire. AIDS is now the fourth leading cause of death globally. It is important to recognize that AIDS is not just a health problem. It has major social and economic consequences. It also has political and ethical implications. Prevention and control of this deadly pandemic which has very serious medical, social, behavioural, economic and developmental implications has now become imperative.

The increasing prevalence of HIV/AIDS in India necessitated the launch of a second phase of NACO’s National AIDS Control Program in 1999 (NACP-II). A national baseline Behavioral Surveillance Survey among the general population, was conducted in all 32 States and Union Territories of the country in March-August 2001. The findings of this baseline survey show that there are significant differences in awareness levels regarding HIV/AIDS/STDs. Significant differences were generally observed in relation to gender and to place of residence. In most instances females and rural residents were more disadvantaged compared to their counterparts in the cities. However, lack of awareness about AIDS only goes to prove that Indians are still in the denial stage of the syndrome, while the truth is that India has more than 20 million HIV infected people, the largest number in any country. It appears that India is sitting on a time bomb which has already begun exploding.

Use of Mass media in AIDS awareness:

The mass media represents the most readily available and potentially most economical means of imparting information about HIV/AIDS. Along with other forms of communication the mass media can effectively raise public awareness and concern about HIV/AIDS. Communication experts have called for the mass education of the general public, and argued that this large scale education has the potential for not only correcting misinformation, but also for creating and maintaining a more favourable environment for AIDS prevention. (Hornik R., Romer D. 1991).

Strategies have to be devised by which public is made aware and not alarmed. What is needed, therefore, is not just planned campaigns, as opposed to regular media programming, but well planned campaigns which utilize the full potential of mass media and entertainment. Research has established that mass media are most likely to change behaviour when the information is targeted at specific audiences, comes from a credible source, provides a personally relevant and engaging message. Effective use of mass media requires careful planning, audience research, message development, pre testing, dissemination strategy, evaluation, coordination with existing services, and linking mass media with interpersonal communication. (Brown WJ, Singhal A, Rogers EM, 1989). So far, the media in India have treated AIDS more as news than as a growing menace and
The scourge threatening both human lives and dignity. (Norms for journalistic conduct: Press Council of India, 1998)

The purpose of this study

This study aims at finding out the role played by mass communication in AIDS prevention and control. Different research methods have been used to fulfill this aim.

1. Content analysis of print media to find out the AIDS-related news content in Indian newspapers.
2. Study of AIDS-related messages on audiovisual media.
3. AIDS awareness and mass media reach survey of a selected target group
4. Focus Group Discussion with the sample used for the survey.

Adolescence: period of high information needs

As early as in 1992, it was estimated that about 20-25% of all the HIV infections occur among young persons. Recent studies have shown that maximum people with AIDS are young adults who are in the most productive age group. This would imply that they have acquired the disease in their teenage years considering the time span of about 10 years required for the AIDS-related complexes to turn into full blown disease. The infection rates in young people appear to be increasing everywhere. (Faustin K. Yao, 1992)

Further, in many countries it is likely that the rates will increase faster amongst girls than the boys because of cultural and social norms which subject girls to sexual experience at an earlier age. Adolescence is a crucial time of life, not only for health education and health promotion in general but also for HIV prevention and AIDS education specifically. In order to explore the readiness of the students to learn about sex, sexuality, AIDS, it is important to conduct both qualitative as well as quantitative research. It is important to find out the appropriate message format and the medium to be used. AIDS affects in terms of social and psychological development, the most vital segment of the population, the young adults. This study therefore concentrates on the target group of adolescents between the ages 13 years and 17 years.

Research Design

This study has been designed, keeping in mind the methodology being followed the world over in researches involving sensitive subjects. This procedure is known as Triangulation Method. Triangulation has been defined as the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour. (Cohen and Manion, 1989). In the recent years it has been felt that any one method of data collection is insufficient. As Carley (1981) has pointed out, neither type of research, when used alone, can give us an accurate window to the world. They are best developed when used in conjunction. While quantitative research leads us to generalise on particular phenomenon, qualitative research helps us to understand the specifics. Feilding and Feilding (1986)
suggested 'there are possible points of convergence' in different approaches. It has now become more acceptable in recent years to combine quantitative and qualitative research, and the process is triangulation of data to substantiate the hypothesis. Since the topic of the study was sensitive and dealt with a target group that was impressionable and very young, the triangulation method was used.

This study concentrates on all the elements of the communication process such as the sender, the message, the channel and the receiver. In order to study the various elements, qualitative as well as quantitative tools of data collection have been used.

* Content Analysis

* Survey

* Focus Group Discussions

**In the first method**: A time series content analysis was conducted on the AIDS related messages that appear in the print and electronic media in India. Taking a sample of 5 newspapers, the AIDS messages appearing in them were studied during the years 1993, 1994, 1995 and 2000. This process has been described in detail in the following paragraphs. Similarly a study of audio visual media was conducted through Observation method. The AIDS messages broadcast or telecast by the electronic media during the same time period have been observed. This aspect of the study gave the researcher an insight into the involvement of the media with the AIDS issue.

**In the second method**: A survey was conducted amongst the school going adolescents in Delhi and Ghaziabad. This method was utilised to assess the extent of AIDS awareness in the target population and what role the mass media had played in enhancing this awareness A multi stage sampling procedure was used to select the sample for this study. A sample of 443 questionnaires was finally drawn through this sampling procedure

**Survey**

This study is based on a correlational descriptive survey. This type of survey is best suited for collecting information on audiences and readership also for the purpose of gauging the knowledge levels of a particular target groups. Since the hypotheses did not venture into finding out causal relationships, this type of survey was best suited for this research work. Being correlational in nature its purpose extends beyond merely describing the data. It tries to establish whether or not statistically significant relationship or correlation exists between variables.

**In the third method**: Focus Group Discussions were conducted with the same population to understand the needs of the group and their expectations from the mass media.
The purpose of using focus groups in this research was to interpret the previously obtained quantitative results. Since the groups used by the researcher had already passed out of their respective classes, VIII, IX, X and XI, the students who were presently studying in these classes were interviewed. A structured format was used for the purpose of this research. A pre-planned set of agenda topics were covered as the issue is relatively well understood and the previous study had already been conducted by the researcher. This study has been conducted in three stages. Each stage is complete in itself while also contributing to the overall analysis of the research questions. The tools of content analysis, survey and focus group discussions were used one by one and not simultaneously, so that the findings of each could be used in the inquiry. The method proved fruitful as the findings of the content analysis helped in designing the questionnaire and the findings of the survey helped in designing the schedule for the focus group discussions.

**Findings:**

Study of the AIDS news published during the month of November - December, reveals initially a spurt of concern for the subject which gradually changed into a more meaningful understanding. As is evident from the figures, AIDS news enjoyed maximum coverage in the year 1994 as compared to the years 1993 and 1995 and after a gap of five years, there was not much difference in the amount of reporting although the situation of HIV in the country was turning grim by the day. The year, 1993 saw a total of 36 news items measuring 5658.75 cms, sq., in the year 1994 the number more than doubled itself (85 news items) and the total space occupied by AIDS related material was 18461.6 cms.sq. However, in the year 1995, the number fell to 41 and the space covered by the AIDS related material was 14282.55 cms. sq. In the year 2000, the number of AIDS related articles was 50 with 16871.96 sq. cms coverage. The news regarding AIDS does not increase year after year although there is an overall increase in the news coverage. This increase in AIDS reporting can be attributed to growing awareness and serious concern about the subject. The media has acquired a more open stance in discussing sensitive issues such as sex, sexuality, sexually transmitted diseases and AIDS. However, the press is not consistent in its coverage. With passing time AIDS as an issue had to compete with so many other important events for coverage in our dailies. This is evident in our finding about the extent of coverage given to the issue in 2000. Despite the mounting concern for the issue displayed by the articles, the coverage in terms of space occupied still could not beat the then newfound issue in the year 1994. The Indian media, with its market orientation covers the HIV related news in a very casual manner.

**Newspaper wise coverage**

The maximum number of articles appeared in the Times of India followed by the Hindu and the Hindustan Times. The articles were mostly news reports and news analysis in the form of editorials. The Hindu published more analysis and discussions. The Times of India published the only article related to the economic aspect of AIDS. Maximum number of public health messages appeared in the Indian Express, some of them covered
the entire page of the newspaper. Maximum number of human interest stories appeared in the Statesman. During the period Nov. - Dec, 2000 the maximum number of articles appeared in The Hindu. This newspaper has given serious thought to the issue and a number of thought provoking articles on various aspects of the disease have appeared. News value of this issue was recognised by The Statesman as it had maximum number of photographs along with its stories. In the final analysis, the Times of India, was found to be the only newspaper which covered a range of subjects on AIDS. It has shown a consistent concern for the issue as it has maintained an interest in the subject during all the three years.

Analysis of audio video media

The earliest television messages appeared in the early 90s, when a socially conscious actress Shabana Azmi was chosen to deliver the message. These public service messages were designed by the National AIDS Control Organisation. Lately, film star Madhuri Dixit has appeared on endorsements messages about the inherent strength of women in not only protecting themselves from unsafe sexual practices but also taking on the responsibility of educating their teenage children about safe sex. On the similar lines of celebrity recommendations there are spots with Shah Rukh Khan, Aparna Sen, Kabir Bedi, Sarika, Jaspal Bhatti and many more. The latest spots sponsored by Cipla for social causes, shows endorsements by people with AIDS. On radio too jingles have used celebrity recommendations as the favourite method of message dissemination. However, despite the shortcomings, these jingles are the earliest attempt being made to reach the large population of people that relies on radio as a medium of information either because of illiteracy or because of its easy availability. As is evident from the above review that more research is needed before Television starts to telecast AIDS related messages in a big way and radio produces more professional jingles and hotlines that actually work.

Discussion

This study provides an analysis of AIDS related news material which appear in the 5 prominent newspapers of the country. Further it provides an analysis of audio visual messages that have been presented to the audiences since the last decade. The analysis is both qualitative as well as quantitative. It was found that the society as well as the media has yet to accept that AIDS is an issue of each person's concern. Moralistic stands, denial, prejudice, lack of research and follow up has been seen in the news reports. Some of the reports do reel out baffling statistics of people who have been infected by HIV, but on the whole AIDS is still a disease which happens to other people.

The year 2000, had always been cited as a landmark year by the experts on AIDS. All predictions were targetted at year 2000. Whenever the seriousness of the AIDS scenario had to be depicted, the year 2000 situation would form the basis of the message. By the time one arrived at the year 2000, AIDS was not an issue on the top priority list. The figures which are repeated year after year on World AIDS Day were repeated once again and they certainly painted a grim picture. All the predictions for the year 2000 have come true. India now has 3.7 million HIV positive people, the highest in the world. 80% of
these cases are from 18-40 years age group. While countries like Holland, Thailand, Uganda and Australia have managed to control the epidemic, India with its special brand of moral hypocrisy did not invest sufficiently into the prevention programmes. However, despite the growing seriousness of the situation, it does not get reflected in the columns of our newspapers, who awaken to the issue of AIDS only when the AIDS Day approaches.

**Survey: Findings**

The impact of media coverage of any subject depends on the interaction of several factors, including the previous knowledge of the readers or the audiences, the content of the message, the credibility or otherwise of the journalist, the reaction of the people with whom the reader or viewer goes on to discuss what they believe they have read, seen or heard. The aims of the mass media should be to set the agenda for the development of public policy and influence the actions of those who have the power in our society. In approaching the role of mass media in relation to AIDS, the media need an idea, of where the public interest lies, of how the public policy should evolve. Such an idea must clearly be founded on the best available medical knowledge and on social research. The main aim behind this survey was to find out the mass media access and reach status and the AIDS awareness level of adolescents from two different settings. The analysis of data has been structured according to these variables. The findings are divided into 5 different sections for clear and thorough discussion.

The sections are:

* Demographic Profile
* Mass Media Profile
* AIDS Awareness profile
* Knowledge about AIDS
* Sex Education

**Demographic Profile:**

The respondents came from four different schools from two different cities. Both girls and boys were administered the questionnaires. The total population of students was 443.04 questionnaires were disqualified at the time of analysis. A total of 439 questionnaires were analysed. Boys were more in number as compared to the girls but since all the schools visited offered co-education, the difference is not intentional (Boys 243, girls 196).

Most of the students were Hindi speaking, which was rather obvious. Most of them had educated parents. The most common qualification for fathers was found to be a professional degree (33.3%) and the mothers in most cases were graduates (33.4%). The majority of students were from nuclear families (79.2%) with average income of the majority being Rs. 5001 to Rs.10,000 (37.4%). More number of fathers were in government service as compared to any other category (65.4%). The reason could be that
two schools out of four were government schools. Most of the mothers were housewives (81.3%) and some of them were school teachers

Media Profile:

The media access study was interesting as the data showed that more students own Television sets (97.2%) than those that subscribe to any newspaper (82.9%). Radio ownership varied as 98.2% of the metropolitan public school students owned a radio, only 79% of the satellite town public school owned radios. Even amongst the government schools, 90.2% students in the metropolis owned radios whereas 88.8% of the students from satellite town owned radio sets. The media exposure findings reveal that maximum number of students are exposed to the television and only half the number read their newspaper daily. (98.8% watch television and only 40% read the paper everyday) Even when studied independently it was found that amongst the government schools, 99% students in the metropolis and 98.3% students in the satellite town watched television regularly whereas 43% in the metropolis and 38% of the government school in the satellite town read daily newspapers. From amongst the public school students 48% in the metropolis and 46% in the satellite town read the newspaper everyday.

Demographic data and AIDS awareness

It was found that the AIDS awareness profile of the metropolitan students (69.5%) was better than the satellite town students (53.25%). The girls in the metropolis scored the best with 75.9%. The metropolis boys stood next with 63.6%. The satellite town girls had a higher figure (59.8%) as compared to the satellite town boys (46.7%). This clearly shows that metropolitan students are better aware than the satellite town students although both of them exhibit similar media profile. The girls in the metropolis have scored the best and even the girls in the satellite town have scored better than their male counterparts proving better health consciousness amongst the girls. The public school boys had the best awareness score with 66.9% and the public school girls stood next with 63.44%. The government school boys scored 57.8% and girls 54.98%. This goes to prove that boys and girls in public schools are certainly better informed than the boys and girls in the government schools. In the age wise analysis of AIDS awareness scores one finds that maximum awareness is with the maximum age. Students who were 13 years had an awareness score of 57.27% amongst boys and 48.1% amongst girls. Among 14 year olds, the boys have 58.68% and girls 57.2%. Among the 15 year olds boys scored 67.26% and girls scored 66.1%. If one observes closely one finds that the girls although, initially, rather unaware, slowly catch up with the boys as they grow older. Amongst the 16 year olds boys scored 72.47% and girls 69.7%. The 17 year boys are left behind with 77.31% score by the 17 year old girls who scored 78.2%.

Correlational Analysis

Correlational analysis between variables was conducted to find out the relationships between, AIDS awareness scores, socio economic status and mass media reach and access among the target population. It has already been observed that the media profile
of this group is very high. However, neither age of the respondent nor the sex of the respondent has any direct correlation with media profile. This would mean that the mass media reach and exposure is not affected by the age and sex of the respondent. Media profile does affect the AIDS awareness scores. Since the group has a very high media profile it can be safely assumed that much of their awareness is through the mass media. We have already seen that they rate TV as the provider of maximum information about AIDS. There is no relationship between first source of information and subsequent AIDS awareness. Since in this case the first source of information happens to be television in maximum number of cases, this finding only points out towards the short term effect of the medium. This would also mean that television cannot lead to sustained behavior change or even to behavior modification. However, a definite relationship has been found between recall of message on radio and television and the AIDS awareness profile. This clearly shows that consistent messages by the mass media do have some retention in the minds of the audiences. Since our target group is of a very impressionable age messages have a high retention value and they do add to the overall increase in knowledge. It was also found that mass media has contributed largely to the AIDS awareness levels of the respondents.

Some salient findings from the above survey are:

1. Television has emerged as the most powerful medium
   a) Maximum number of students own it.
   b) Most have got their AIDS related information from TV
   c) Most of the respondents could recall the AIDS related message appearing on TV.

2. Newspaper reading was found to lag behind TV and cinema.
3. Students from the satellite town were found to have yet to develop the habit of newspaper reading
4. Music programmes on radio and TV wins hands down as most popular programme.
5. Cinema is the most popular medium and most films are watched on TV.
6. AIDS awareness profile of metropolitan students was better than satellite town.
7. Girls in metropolis as well as in the satellite town have better AIDS awareness profile.
   In the overall analysis, boys from the Public Schools had the best awareness profile and the girls from the public schools followed a close second.
8. Music programmes on television were the most watched, followed by serials and feature films
9. The AIDS awareness profile of metropolitan students was better than the satellite town students.
10. Although the media access profile was similar the metropolitan students certainly had more information.
11. Girls exhibited better awareness profile as compared to boys in both the categories.
12. While comparing public schools and government schools, public school boys and girls scored better than government schools.
13. Media availability or access could not be the sole cause of high or low AIDS awareness.
14. 97.7% students had heard about AIDS, but they did not count it as a health problem.
15. Polio and leprosy were most frequently counted as health issues.
16. Television was cited as the most efficient source of AIDS related information. Most students could recall messages from TV. 67.7% were aware of the cause of AIDS, however they were ignorant about the tests needed for HIV detection.
17. Condom was cited as a method of preventing AIDS but only 26.6% were aware of its use as a contraceptive.
18. More girls had discussed AIDS in school yet boys have better awareness.
19. Most students had never attended any seminar, workshop or lecture regarding AIDS awareness but more than half the number of students were keen to attend a programme related to AIDS.
20. Most preferred source of information regarding AIDS was medical professionals. Although the students receive all their information from TV, they would like to receive it from qualified medical professional.

Focus Group discussions were conducted in order to substantiate the findings of the survey.

**Findings of the FGD**

**Radio**

1. Boys and girls belonging to Public school in Delhi listen to the radio more than any other counterparts only for music.
2. They like to play the radio while doing something else. Active listenership was minimal.
3. Some of them could recall AIDS related messages on radio.
4. They knew that there was a help line for AIDS where their questions could be answered.
5. They had no difficulty in comprehending the message but since they were not radio enthusiasts, they were indifferent to the idea of more messages being presented on the radio.
6. Not a single candidate could recall any advertisement or message broadcast on the radio.

**Television**

1. They can vividly recall AIDS related messages appearing on television.
2. The celebrity endorsement messages (Madhuri Dixit, Shahrukh Khan) had a high recall rate.
3. They could understand the message but some of them were embarrassed while watching them.

4. Boys and girls in Delhi felt that the condoms advertisements appearing on television were so blatant that AIDS awareness messages were not at all embarrassing. They suggested that condom manufacturers should include AIDS protection as one of the advantages of condom use!

5. Most of them would not mind more advertisements about AIDS on television but boys in Public school at Delhi wanted to watch English feature films with AIDS as a theme.

**Newspapers**

1. Not many of the members could recall reading about AIDS. Actually, cognitive dissonance plays a major role in interaction with media. AIDS as an issue is not a part of the audience agenda and so when they come face to face with AIDS related messages they just look through them. Messages will have to be designed not only to set the AIDS awareness agenda but also to find a place in the audience agenda.

2. The full page AIDS messages inserted by NACO every year seemed to have missed this target group altogether.

3. Human interest stories had high recall with girl students especially when a child was somehow involved. However, no one could particularly recall any specific message.

4. Some were aware of a body called NACO, but were not sure where and how they had heard about it.

5. The target group would prefer to read more about AIDS in the newspapers. Some girls said that since newspaper reading is a solitary activity and not public activity, they could read articles about AIDS without feeling embarrassed.

**Internet**

1. Boys and girls in Delhi surfed the net more than the students in Ghaziabad.

2. The number of net savvy boys was more than the girls.

3. Those students who owned computers at home and had Internet connections were obviously more net savvy.

4. Some even mentioned going to one of the cybercafes for using the net.

5. Some boys mentioned having visited the pornographic sites on the Internet.

6. Some even mentioned the word 'cyber sex' but were shy to elaborate on it.

7. No one had hit any AIDS related web site on the Internet.
Discussion

The media profile also revealed certain interesting factors - newspaper readership is very low while television viewership is reasonably high. This is a startling finding as all the students come from educated families. The respect that the daily newspaper commands in urban homes across the country seems threatened with this behaviour of future citizens. With the inclusion of children section in the newspapers, perhaps there must have been some improvement in the readership percentage, but the point to worry about is that the sample population is not children population. These are young people who should be reading the regular newspaper. If the status quo is maintained, newspapers will have to work harder to cultivate a generation of readers who are as loyal to the medium as their grandfathers had been.

Another medium that seems to be losing ground is the radio. Two decades ago radio listeners could be found across the country with transistors glued to their ears for cricket commentaries or a family collected around the radio set for Binaca Geetmala or Inspector Eagle. Only 79% of the population in the satellite town owns radio sets, while Delhi with the onset of FM radio has a better percentage. The popularity of the radio although on a downhill can be improved with better programming. Nothing can beat this medium with its special quality of mobility. As for the AIDS awareness messages, youngsters of today rate television as the medium that has given them some information. Television with its visuals can provide a clear picture and hence an effective message. Moreover with its extensive reach in this particular group it can spread the message really far. Cinema although popular as a medium has not contributed to AIDS awareness at all.

Media profile of a group as such was quite high and this implies that there is a lot of scope for mass media to use its potential with the target group. Definite relationships have been found between the media profile and socio economic status and AIDS awareness profile and the city of residence. Keeping in mind these findings messages can be designed for different locations and for various classes of audience. Television messages hold special significance as they have shown highest recall in this study, with the best received messages being the celebrity endorsements.

Whatever they have imbibed from various media does not seem enough to give them a clear picture of the situation. While 97.7% students in the metropolis and 84.5% students in the satellite town have heard about AIDS, only 80.8% in the metropolis and 76.9% in the satellite town seemed to have heard any health related message. It is rather puzzling to see that our youngsters do not consider AIDS a health problem. For them the implications of sex and sexual matters related to AIDS stand out. Other implications of AIDS have not yet registered in their minds. The denial stage is very evident in this group. They seem almost certain that they are not at all susceptible to this disease. The obvious finding here is that metropolitan students have better AIDS awareness profile. Since most interpersonal programmes are carried out in these cities, students hear a lot about AIDS from sundry other sources and not just from television. More discussions in schools, well publicized health melas, international conferences, more hoardings on the main roads, transit messages, messages on bus stops, all this has had an impact on the
group, where as the students in the satellite town are deprived of this type of message onslaught. They seldom discuss AIDS in schools, are wary of talking about AIDS to their parents, are embarrassed when AIDS messages appear on television. This difference in the reach of the messages can prove to be disastrous for the country. India does not reside in the metropolitan cities alone. For all those who live in the far flung areas, away from any capital cities the situation can be worse. One can safely assume this, just looking at the AIDS awareness profile of the satellite town students (53.25%), who are only a stone’s throw away from the capital of India. Students belonging to public schools and higher socio economic strata with educated parents have a better AIDS awareness profile. AIDS, however does not discriminate. HIV can infect anybody and the uninformed are more susceptible. These findings reiterate the need for the messages to be taken to smaller towns, among the lower economic groups and among the uneducated.

The myth of a moralistic Indian society already lies shattered and cases of sexual abuse of young girls are on the rise. In such a scenario, this group of young people should be armed with enough knowledge to be able to tackle any unforeseen circumstances. An additional benefit of sex education classes that have been started lately, is that the mysterious changes in the body at puberty can be explained to these confused teenagers by an expert whom they can trust. They have revealed in the survey that they want to get more AIDS related information from medical professionals. The girls as they grow show better awareness levels, so much so that they surpass the boys in awareness. This fact has been proved in Delhi as well as Ghaziabad. The young boys, who are going to grow up to be husbands and fathers, need to be shown a direction which they can follow. Young people are gregarious by nature, the need of the hour is to channelise their energies towards the direction of safe sex and no use of drugs. This is not an easy task. Besides, any one agency cannot take up a responsibility as serious as this one. The ambiance of information created by the mass media can be supplemented with more focussed interpersonal communication.

The students have exhibited a desire to attend seminars, workshops or lectures regarding AIDS. This is a group that is keen to get information. They have been oscillating between peer and porn to get their sex education. The time is ripe to target this group.

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Fielding N.G. and Fielding J. C. (1986); Linking Data; London; Sage
Title: A picture is worth a thousand words: Images and meaning in tourism promotion

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Abstract
Mass tourism is an indicator of affluence brought about by modernity and its associated lifestyles. Even though tourism can be seen as a form of social activity, this activity is grounded within the “modern consumer culture that is shaped by the essential logic of capitalism, namely commodification” (Watson and Kopachevsky 1996). As in other forms of consumption, which are “sign-driven” and media-driven, tourism as a form of social activity, appears to be dictated by the changing patterns of consumption. Tourism, like other commodities, is packaged through advertising, which appeals to peoples’ desires and fantasies, and aims to, (1) serve as a discourse about objects, symbols and ideas; and (2) persuade people that only in consumption can they find satisfaction, happiness and health (Goldman & Wilson 1983; Leiss & Jhally 1986).

An important part of tourism promotion is the creation of visual images—images of rural scenes, historic sites, iconic and other images designed to attract people. “Visual tourist images are a form of text used to represent the world” (Jenkins 2003). The meaning of these images is not fixed and is dependent on the viewer’s perspective. Thus, generation of meaning/knowledge is the product of existing cultural practices and meanings. Images also reinforce ways of seeing the world, and often represent a distribution of power in society. In fact some have even argued that power is central to the analyses of tourism imagery (Morgan and Prichard 1998). In examining power relations especially between the east and west, Said (1978) had argued that the “Orient” had been managed and produced by the European culture. Morgan and Prichard add to this view by arguing that
“ideas, cultures and histories cannot be seriously understood or studied without..their configuration of power, also being studied ” (Said 1991).

Methodology: This paper draws on literature from sociology, advertising, and cultural studies, to examine the role of images in international tourism and explore specifically power relations which informs the tourism “text” in India. Images from travel brochures, in-flight magazines, travel magazines (“Travel and Leisure” and “Conde Nast Traveler”) and internet resources will be used to determine key themes. Analysis of images includes decoding of visual components, and will be done at two levels: (1) Semiotic approach— to discover meanings, and (2) Discursive approach— which examines not only “how meaning is produced but also how such meanings are linked with knowledge and power in society”.

Findings: An initial exploration of images relating to tourist destinations in India has revealed that most of the images are geared toward the creation of a new version of an old nation— a new package - where its colonial past forms the backdrop of most discourse. Images of the “Raj” are juxtaposed against the bustling streets, its colors and its teeming crowds. The elegance of the colonial past lies hidden beneath the bustling crowds. These images seem to ask the traveler to come and discover the jewel that lies hidden in the heat, dust and chaos. A further in-depth analysis is most likely to reveal the power structure inherent within the international tourism industry— which creates tourist destinations by appealing to peoples’ fantasies and desires.
Title of Submission: Driving Simulation for Teens: Assessing Adaptation and Fidelity

Topic Area of Submission: Psychology

Presentation Format: Poster Session

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Driving Simulation for Teens: Assessing Adaptation and Fidelity

Learning to drive is one of the most exciting times in a teen’s life. It is also the most deadly. In fact, automobile crashes are the leading cause of death for teens (Decina, Gish, Staplin, & Kirchner, 1996). Driving simulators hold promise as a training mechanism for exposing novice teen drivers to the scenarios that typify teen crash involvement (e.g., rear-end collisions) but that would be difficult, if not impossible, to rehearse in the real world precisely because of their inherent danger. The goal of simulated driver training is to transfer knowledge and experience gained in the simulated driving environment to the real-world driving environment. Research indicates that transfer of training from simulated environments to the real world is maximized when such training is characterized by both a high degree of physical and psychological fidelity.

There were three goals for the current study. The first goal was to assess the feasibility of quickly adapting teens to a virtual environment without inducing simulation adaptation syndrome (SAS). The second and third goals were to measure participants’ perceptions of the psychological fidelity of the simulated driving scenarios and the physical fidelity of the simulation platform respectively.

There were four measures used in the study. The motion history questionnaire (MHQ) was used to pre-screen teens for proneness to motion sickness such that those predisposed were precluded from further participation. The simulator sickness questionnaire (SSQ) was used to assess participants’ level of discomfort before and during exposure to the virtual environment. It is presumed that for simulated driver training to be effective, exposure to the virtual environment must not induce SAS. Two new self-report measures were created for use in this study. The drive face validity measure (DFVM) was created to measure participants’ self-reported ratings of the psychological fidelity of the driving scenarios. The simulator face validity measure (SFVM) was created to measure participants’ self-reported ratings of the physical fidelity of the simulation platform.

Sixty-eight teens participated in the study. Participants were subdivided into four groups based on gender and drivers’ license status resulting in four groups: male drivers; female drivers; male non-drivers; and female non-drivers. Participants were exposed to approximately 50 minutes of simulator driving once per week for three consecutive weeks.

Week one focused on adapting participants to the virtual environment. Prior to driving in the virtual environment, participants completed the MHQ and SSQ. Following each drive, participants completed a DFVM and at the end of each week’s session, participants completed a SFVM. In order to assess adaptation to increasingly complex driving scenarios over time, as well as scenario and platform fidelity, weeks two and three consisted of exposing participants to scenarios of increasing complexity in terms of both ambient traffic and required driving maneuvers. Measures collected during weeks two and three included the SSQ both prior to driving and after each drive as well as a DFVM after each drive and a SFVM at the end of each week’s session.

Results suggested that teens effectively adapted to the virtual world when exposed to a one-hour adaptation sequence (40 minutes of driving interspersed with brief rest periods). When analyzed in aggregate across groups, the SSQ data suggested that teens did not experience significant changes in their baseline comfort levels. When analyzed by gender and driving experience significant differences emerged for several physical symptoms. This same pattern held true for weeks two and three suggesting that overall teens adapted well to increasingly complex scenarios.
with no major changes in physical comfort, but that some differences may be expected based on
gender and license status.

With regard to the psychological fidelity of the scenarios and the physical fidelity of the
simulation platform, overall results indicated that participants viewed both the scenarios and the
platform as realistic. Again, several key differences emerged based on participant gender and
license status, but it is important to note that some of these differences faded with repeated
exposure.

In sum, the study supports the notion that teens were able to adapt rather quickly to the virtual
driving environment and generally found the simulation platform and the driving scenarios to be
realistic. Measures designed to assess various aspects of both scenario (psychological) and
platform (physical) fidelity revealed several key distinctions with regard to fidelity based on
gender and/or license status. One potential implication of this study is that adaptation to virtual
environments as well as scenario and platform fidelity may vary based on certain participant
demographics. As such, the present findings suggest that in order to maximize transfer of
training for teens, issues of adaptation as well as psychological and physical fidelity must be
understood in terms of their relationship to gender and driving experience.
Title of Submission: Psychophysiological Responses of College Students during Simulated Driving: A Preliminary Study on Measurement Feasibility

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Psychophysiological Responses of College Students during Simulated Driving:
A Preliminary Study on Measurement Feasibility
ABSTRACT

Car crashes are the leading cause of death for teens. Driving simulators can be used to train teens without exposing them to risk of injury or death. The psychological fidelity of simulators is, however, at issue. This study explored utilizing psychophysiological measures as a proxy for psychological fidelity.

INTRODUCTION

Learning to drive is one of the most exciting times in a teen’s life. It is also the most deadly. In fact, automobile crashes are the leading cause of death for teens (Decina, Gish, Staplin, & Kirchner, 1996). Driving simulators hold promise as a training mechanism for exposing novice teen drivers to the scenarios that typify teen crash involvement (e.g., rear-end collisions) but that would be difficult, if not impossible, to rehearse in the real world precisely because of their inherent danger.

The goal of simulated driver training is to transfer knowledge and experience gained in the simulated-driving environment to the real-world driving environment. Research indicates that transfer of training from simulated environments to the real world is maximized when such training is characterized by a high degree of both physical and psychological fidelity. This exploratory study investigated psychophysiological measures as a proxy for various aspects of psychological fidelity (e.g., driver’s mental workload) during simulated driving.

Psychophysiology is defined as “the study of cognitive, emotional, and behavioral phenomena as related to and revealed through physiological principles and events” (Cacioppo & Tassinary, 1990). Psychophysiological measurements can assess subtle psychological states that might not be detected from verbal reports. Furthermore, advances in bio-monitoring instruments and computer telemetry now allow continuous and simultaneous measurements of psychophysiological responses.

METHODS

Participants
Ten university students (5 female and 5 male students) were recruited from general psychology classes at Kansas State University. Students attended one experimental session individually on their assigned day. Prior to the beginning of the study, each participant signed an informed consent statement, approved by the Kansas State University Human Subject Institutional Review Board.

**Driving Simulator & Scenarios**

Experimental sessions were conducted at the Simulated Training and Assessment Research (STAR) Laboratory at Kansas State University (Fig. 1). The STAR lab’s DriveSafety Vection™ Research Simulator is built using a partial Ford Focus cab with full-width front interior and all standard driver controls and active instrumentation.

The STAR lab simulator employs an automatic transmission version of the Focus interior. The simulator presents participants with immersive driving experiences as they travel through realistic virtual roadway environments. Interactive traffic is simulated using autonomous “smart” models as well as scripted behavior models and triggered events. Advanced Windows-based authoring tools allow designers to assemble custom roadway environments from an extensive library of environment Tiles. Flexible control is provided to designers for traffic mix and density, traffic control devices, pedestrians, bicycles, animals, and a wide array of weather and environmental conditions.

Extensive data collection functions allow driver responses and control inputs and many other variables and performance measures to be collected at up to 60 Hz during simulation (over 50 standard measures plus user defined variables). An advanced multi-body vehicle dynamics model running at 2400 Hz calculates the vehicle’s performance and responses to the roadway and driver control inputs.

The system’s hybrid longitudinal/pitch motion platform provides inertial onset cues for braking and acceleration. Tactile and proprioceptive feedback cues are provided to the driver via torque feedback in the steering wheel and vibration transducers mounted under the driver’s seat and in the steering system. The simulator’s digital sound system includes four wide range speakers surrounding the driver and a powered subwoofer behind the cab’s firewall. Visual imagery is rendered at 60 frames per second and presented on a sophisticated out-the-window visual display system with a 180-degree forward field of view plus three independently configurable rear view mirrors. The STAR Lab operator’s station provides a full suite of simulation system control and monitoring functions, including repeater monitors of the out-the-window driver views and a multi-camera video system for observing participant drivers; even in full darkness of nighttime drives.
Three types of driving scenarios were used in the pilot study. Scenarios increased in complexity of driving tasks performed: a 100-s of Drive 1 (straight, no traffic), a 200-s of Drive 2 (introducing curves and mild traffic), 340-s of Drive 3 (introducing turns with moderate traffic).

**Measurements**

Skin conductance, muscle activities and heart rates were taken by using a ProComp Infiniti bio-monitoring instrument and the Biograph Infiniti data acquisition systems (Thought Technology Ltd., Montreal, Canada). Surface skin conductance (micro-siemens), sampled at 256 Hz, was recorded from the arch of each participant’s left foot. Intensities (micro-volts) of muscle activities (electromyography: EMG), sampled at 256 Hz, were recorded from the each participant’s trapezius muscles (left and right shoulders). Heart rates were measured using a Blood Volume Pulse (BVP) sensor placed on the participants’ torso. From the BVP signal, sampled at 2048 Hz, the software calculated heart rates.

Increased skin conductance and increased EMG levels are normally associated with increased physiological activation (arousal) levels (Cacioppo, Tassinary, & Fridlund, 1990; Dawson, Schell, & Filion, 2000). The heart rate response is more complex in that it can increase or decrease depending on particular situations and task demands (Papillo and Shapiro, 1990). Unlike skin conductance responses which are directly associated with sympathetic nervous system activity, heart rate responses can reflect activities of both sympathetic and parasympathetic branches of the autonomic nervous system. It is generally accepted that heart rate increases with sympathetic activations, whereas heart rate decreases with parasympathetic activations.

**Procedures For An Experimental Session**

Upon arrival at the STAR laboratory, the participant was instructed to relax while sitting in a chair and completing a series of self-report questionnaires. Then, the participant was seated in the simulator and given instructions describing the general experimental procedures and bio-monitoring instruments.

The bio-monitoring sensors were placed on the participant’s skin surface and connected to the computerized bio-monitoring system. Recording of psychophysiological measures began with the 300-s resting baseline period. The participant was asked to keep his or her eyes open, minimize overall body movements, and try to relax during the baseline period. The baseline measurements were used for standardizing measurements during simulated driving across participants to compare changes in responses. After the baseline, the student drove the 3-driving scenarios with a 120-s break between each of the drives. Thus, the sequence for each session was: Drive1–Break–Drive2–Break–Drive3. Psychophysiological measures were continuously and simultaneously recorded during the entire session.
Data Analyses

The mean responses during baseline, Drive 1, Drive 2 and Drive 3 for each participant were taken for data analyses. To compare baseline responses with responses during each of the 3-driving scenarios, Dunnett’s Test by SAS PROC MIXED (SAS Institute Inc., 1995) was used. To test for differences among the 3-driving scenarios, mean changes from baseline responses were computed. One-way ANOVA with repeated measures and LSD multiple comparisons by SAS PROC MIXED were used. Alpha level was set at 0.05.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Psychophysiological Changes from Baseline

Compared with the resting baseline responses, skin conductance and EMG levels increased during the entire simulated driving session for all the participants. This indicated that the simulated driving session elicited physiological activations associated with increased driver’s mental workload. The results from Dunnett’s tests indicated that mean EMG responses during Drive 1, Drive 2, and Drive 3 were significantly different from mean baseline EMG (p=0.01, p=0.048, p=0.03, respectively). Although the trends for increased skin conductance levels during the simulated driving were consistent across the participants, mean differences between baseline and each of the 3-driving responses were not statistically significant.

The trends of heart rate changes from baseline were not consistent across the participants. Compared with baseline levels, heart rates of the 4 participants decreased during at least one of the 3-driving scenarios, whereas heart rates of the 2 participants increased during the entire driving session. The results from Dunnett’s tests indicated that mean heart rate responses during any of the three driving scenarios were not significantly different from mean baseline heart rates.

Comparisons among the 3-driving Scenarios

Means of skin conductance and EMG levels indicated that the greatest physiological activations occurred during Drive 1, which was the easiest of the three simulated driving scenarios (Fig. 2a and Fig 2b). However, it was anticipated that though Drive 1 was the easiest of the three scenarios, it would require the greatest mental workload given that it was the first time participants were ever exposed to the task of simulated driving. In contrast to skin conductance and EMG responses, mean heart rate during Drive 1 was the lowest among the 3 driving scenarios (Fig 2c).

Comparisons between Drives 2 and 3 indicated that skin conductance, EMG and heart rate levels tended to be greater during Drive 3. These results were as anticipated given that Drive 3 involved more complex driving tasks inducing greater mental workload. However, mean response differences among the 3-driving scenarios were not statistically significant.

Overall results from this pilot study showed consistent response patterns in skin conductance and EMG measures across the participants. Skin conductance and EMG levels
reflected increased physiological activations as driver’s mental workload increased. This suggests that skin conductance and EMG measures may be useful for assessing driver’s mental workload. In regard of the bio-monitoring apparatus, skin conductance recorded from the arch of the driver’s left foot seemed to be one of the most robust measurement in the driving situation, while EMG measures of the driver’s trapezius muscles may require further investigations to clearly differentiate possible confounding effects between mental states and physical activities.

The mixed response patterns in heart rate responses across the participants raised questions and suggestions for future studies involving driver’s mental workload. First, the inconsistent trends of heart rate changes from the baseline suggested that the simulated driving tasks given in this study might have induced *co-activations* of sympathetic and parasympathetic activities that could result in increase, decrease, or no changes in heart rate responses across the participants (Berntson, Cacioppo, & Quigley, 1991). However, the heart rate monitoring methods used in this study were unable to detect the role of sympathetic and parasympathetic influences. Distinguishing more clearly between parasympathetic and sympathetic influences will require more complex physiological monitoring methods (Papillo & Shapiro, 1990). Future research in driver’s psychophysiological responses to specific tasks should attempt to disentangle the influences of theses different systems.

Second, the tendency for lower heart rate during Drive 1 (even lower than baseline heart rate) raised the possibility that attention directional components (external/internal attention) might have dominantly influenced heart rate responses to the first time drive in the simulator. Tasks requiring internal attention, such as mental problem solving, produce heart acceleration. In contrast, tasks requiring attention to external stimuli usually reduce heart rate (Lacey & Lacey, 1970). In our study, therefore, it was postulated that reduced heart rates during the first time drive in the simulator might have been the result of increased external attentional demands for observing the simulated driving environments. Future research involving central nervous system measures such as EEG alpha (Ray & Cole, 1985) coupled with heart rate responses, would provide better understanding of attentional demands in simulated driving tasks.

This pilot study was not designed to compare responses to specific driving tasks (e.g., turns, curves), but focused on the feasibility of psychophysiological measures of driver’s mental workload during the adaptation module training of the simulator. Further studies on psychophysiological responses to specific task demands would advance interpretational methodology in psychophysiological research on driver’s mental workload. In view of the concerns in this pilot study with a small number of participants and a great variation in individual response patterns, it should be noted that this study did not attempt to make conclusive inferences from the results. Rather, suggestions and limitations raised from the pilot study would provide a base for further studies in psychophysiological measures of driver’s mental workload.
LITERATURE CITED


Figure 1. Photo of the Simulation Training and Assessment Research Simulator
Figure 2. Trends in mean changes of (a) skin conductance, (b) EMG, and (c) heart rate from baseline, in response to the 3-simulated driving scenarios. Error bars label S.E. of least squares means.
Strong Stereotype Threat Arousal and Reminder Cues Have Little Impact in Own-Group Settings; Surprisingly Even Minimal Out-Group Presence Damages Stereotyped Performance.

Lloyd Sloan¹, Grady Wilburn¹, Debbie Camp¹, Kellina Craig-Henderson¹ and Daniel Martin²

Qualifying the original Steele and Aronson (1995) proposal, diagnostic testing with challenging stereotype-related materials in exclusively in-group settings doesn’t produce performance decrements (Sloan, 2000), but Stereotype Threat performance decrements do occur in out-group context testing, suggesting that stereotype threat decrements additionally may require out-group presence, perhaps acting as reminders of the stereotype or cues for expected inequitable evaluation. Described “fair” tests eliminate performance decrements, therefore could anticipation of immediate, explicitly biased comparison-evaluation by out-group members produce stereotype threat decrements in in-group contexts where it is usually absent? African-American university students (n=235) received challenging verbal (SAT) tests described as individually Diagnostic or Nondiagnostic by White or Black experimenters or by Black experimenters with a White Participant present. In two other conditions, the Black experimenter told the African American students that; (1) the ethnically biased test was being collected for White professors or (2) a White professor would arrive before the session ended and score their tests before they left. White experimenter’s produced stereotype threat performance decrements while African American experimenters’ didn’t, except when White participants were present, suggesting that some out-group presence is required. None of the Black experimenter’s descriptions of; “collecting the data for a White professor” or that the professor would score their data in their presence had any decremental effect on performance (F<1 in both conditions). These findings suggest that expected evaluation bias may not be critical in Stereotype Threat Effects or more likely, may require the multiplying impact of potentially stereotyping out-group member presence for their occurrence.

There have been widespread reports of minority-majority disparities in academic performance, especially in difficult standardized testing such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) and general aptitude measurements. The emphasis in this article is on situational influences, cognitive and motivational, that may make the test taker more aware of or concerned about a negative stereotype of their group’s ability on such tasks. Such situations often invoke a broadly applicable phenomenon, Stereotype Threat (Steele and Aronson, 1995), which is hypothesized to offer a psychological explanation for at least a part of the often observed discrepancy between majority and stereotyped minority performance on standardized, difficult, intellectual tests. Stereotype threat is an explanation hypothesized to be based in the impact of situational variables on performance related to an existing negative stereotype.

Steele and Aronson (1995) hypothesized that Stereotype Threat is aroused by taking a difficult, frustrating test in an area (e.g., intellectual) that is a component of a relevant, negative stereotype. It has been described as placing one in the possible position of confirming by one’s own behavior and performance, a negative stereotype about one’s
The fact that the test is very difficult may create additional concerns regarding fulfillment of the stereotype or perhaps of its credibility. Stereotype Threat arousal is thought to create multiple other threats for the individual’s self-evaluation and may reduce performance through several hypothesized mechanisms including increased self-consciousness, evaluation apprehension, performance anxiety or overcautiousness, distraction, or lowered performance expectations resulting in reduced task effort. Each or a combination of these hypothesized mechanisms might reduce performance under stereotype threat conditions.

Steele and Aronson (1995) observed the hypothesized performance reductions on difficult verbal ability tests administered to African American students when the test was described as being “diagnostic” of their personal ability. This performance decrement didn't occur, relative to a test taking control group, when the task was described as a "nondiagnostic" task as part of a verbal problem solving study. White students did not show this relative drop in the diagnostic condition which is consistent with the hypothesis because the stereotype related to this task did not apply to them.

In their initial series of studies, Steele and Aronson (1995) demonstrated activation of, and avoidance of, negative ethnic minority stereotypes when African American students anticipated immediately taking such a difficult verbal ability test. This happened only when the test also was described as being diagnostic of their ability. White students did not show this effect, nor did they respond in a manner suggesting avoidance of stereotype typical preferences and traits belonging to the minority group. Those findings provided strong support for the hypothesized Stereotype Threat Theory.

The broad generality of the Stereotype Threat phenomenon has been observed in many other stereotyped group situations. These include in part, Hispanic students in similar verbal testing events (Salinas, 1998), women in difficult mathematics tasks (Spencer, S.J., Steele, C.M., & Quinn, D.M.,1999; Inzlicht, M. & Ben-Zeev, T., 2000; Oswald, D. L. & Harvey, R. D., 2000), low versus high SES French students in SAT-type testing (Croizet, J.C. & Claire, T.,1998), White men in math-computer testing in the context of more successful Asia competitors (Aronson, J., Lustina, M.J., Good, C., Keough, K., Steele, C.M., & Brown, J., 1999), and White men in stereotypically less successful (than African Americans) athletic tests (Stone, J., Lynch, C.I., Sjomeling, M. & Darley, J.M., 1999).

The Stereotype Threat phenomenon is impressive in its generality of impact. What specific events or characteristics or mechanisms acting in the performance situations cause or modify the source or degree of activation of the stereotype awareness and performance reductions? Identifying the mechanisms that contribute to the Stereotype Threat phenomena continues as
a focal issue. One emphasis for researchers deals with the factors and mechanisms influencing the activation or increased awareness of the stereotype. In addition to the hypothesized notion that stereotype awareness may be increased by facing a stereotype relevant, frustratingly difficult test, other suggested factors that might increase stereotype awareness include simple reminders of race or race differences, bias and perhaps the implied comparisons that thoughts of stereotypes may suggest.

Effects of Majority Member Presence on Stereotype Awareness and Performance Decrements: Steele and Aronson (1995) conducted their research in a majority institution (Stanford University). Thus the challenging, stereotype relevant test may not be the only cue present that may contribute to the activation of the stereotype in the test-taker’s mind. It may be the case that the arousal of stereotype threat is intensified by the proximity of out-group potential stereotype holders (majority members), in addition to the taking of a self-diagnostic, difficult, test relevant to a negative stereotype. That situation is nearly always the case with research conducted within a majority institution. Minority institutions however are frequently homogeneous or nearly so. Would stereotype threat be substantial in a minority institution environment? Is it possible that some immediate racial context (e.g., the presence of majority group members) is particularly important to stereotype threat arousal?

Sloan, Gurira, Starr, Sloan and Jackson (1999) sought to address these hypotheses by examining stereotype avoidance, stereotype activation and other proposed indicators of stereotype threat in an overwhelmingly African American University. In their research Sloan, et. al. (1999) replicated the methods of Steele and Aronson’s original 1995 work but did so with the key addition to Steele and Aronson’s (1995) of the variation of the race of the experimenter. Half of the African American subjects in each condition in this homogeneously African American (in-group) environment were tested by a male African American experimenter and half were tested by a male White experimenter. The results of Sloan, et. al.’s (1999) research suggested a beneficial refinement to Stereotype Threat theorizing in that the racial environment of the research proved important in influencing the outcome.

Despite the successful manipulation of diagnosticity, the overall results were in contrast to the Steele and Aronson (1995) findings and to theoretical predictions from the stereotype threat hypothesis; interaction of experimenter race and the diagnosticity manipulation clearly emerged. Increased stereotype avoidance did occur in the Diagnostic Condition with the White Experimenter, but did not occur for the African American experimenter. This appears to indicate as suggested above, that arousing Stereotype Threat may require some additional salient stereotype related cue to accompany or intensify the expectation of a stereotype-relevant challenging test.

Subsequent studies found performance reduction results consistent with the preceding finding on Stereotype Threat arousal and awareness (Sloan, Jones, Philip, Maitland, and Starr (2000a). Black Participants show the Diagnostic condition performance decrement, relative to the Non-Diagnostic, when tested by the White Experimenter, but not when tested by the Black Experimenter in this nearly homogeneous Black environment. Inzlicht and Ben-Zeev (2000) found similar results for women taking math tests with versus without men test-takers.
present. Thus the outgroup member may be simply an additional reminder of the stereotype or may cue possible stereotype-related ethnic bias/fairness concern with performance consequences. The latter question is a part of the focus of this research.

Does Stereotype Threat require out-group member presence? These results imply that a largely African American environment may not have all the cues to stereotype salience that may be found in a majority institution and that such cues may be needed to induce stereotype threat consequences. The social context appears to contribute perhaps as an intensifier of the performance disruption or perhaps as an element in the stereotype threat activation process. Only the white experimenter conditions produced the predicted effects of diagnostisity on stereotype threat arousal. Thus stereotype treat arousal may require independent, pronounced stereotyping potential (racial) cues in addition to the diagnostisity of stereotype relevant task performance.

Research in Cultural Mistrust (Terrell & Terrell, 1981) has produced suggestively similar results. African Americans who were high in Cultural Mistrust did substantially worse on intellectual IQ measures including the Sanford-Binet and the WAIS when the assessment was administered by a White tester, as opposed to an African American (Terrell, Terrell & Taylor, 1981; Terrell & Terrell, 1983; Nickerson, Helms, & Terrell, 1994).

Reduced perceptions of trustworthiness and credibility seem likely to result from expectations of possible prejudices and negative stereotyping of the minority member by the White test-giver. This possibility finds support in Whaley’s (2001a; 2002) meta-analyses across cultural mistrust studies which show similar effects of an individual’s high level of cultural mistrust in mental health and in other areas of psychosocial research. High negative expectations are associated with the African Americans who have high levels of cultural mistrust; that is, individuals who simply are more likely to expect prejudice or adverse stereotyping from their out-group (White) test-giver.

This study focuses on intellectual performance decrements that well may be related to cultural mistrust. To the degree that African Americans feel cultural mistrust, they likely also feel concerns with being stereotyped and perhaps especially so out of the discomforting possibility that they may confirm that negative stereotype if they perform poorly. This additional intellectual test performance anxiety, as an extra burden during testing, could itself diminish performance and is the process thought to underlie Stereotype Threat. This clearly related and very powerful phenomenon suggests explanations for many of the negative perception and performance outcome findings noted in the literature on ethnic matching and cultural mistrust in the client-therapist relationship.

Exploring the Mediators of Stereotype Threat:

One approach pursued has attempted to remove one or another potential negative element from the stereotype threat producing situation. Sloan, Philip, Jones, Starr, Ridberg and Oleson (2000b; and Sloan, Maitland, Starr, Philip & Jones (2001) focused on the minority students’ perception of the fairness/ unfairness of the intellectual test being used in a
stereotype threat setting (i.e., Black test-takers with a White experimenter). The presence of the White Experimenter may simply heighten the participants’ awareness of the related stereotype, or it may more specifically suggest the possibility of biased testing or evaluation. Sloan, et. al. (2000b), informed participants that the items on their tests had been selected because they had been pre-tested and found to be “culture-fair, that is, that Blacks, Whites and Hispanic students did equally well on the items”. Under these circumstances, the White Experimenter condition no longer produced performance decrements, suggesting that the concerns underlying stereotype threat had diminished, perhaps by reducing the concern that one could confirm a negative in-group stereotype through one’s own performance. Others also have found that fairness assurances somehow disrupt the normally damaging stereotype threat situation and reduce or eliminate performance decrements usually observed in diagnostic testing of women in challenging mathematics examinations (Oswald and Harvey, 2000).

Another approach to examining Stereotype Threat has been suggested by the finding that a Black Experimenter produced no performance decrement in diagnostic conditions while a White Experimenter did cause such a decrement. This approach calls for the addition of theoretically related negative elements into the situation that does not typically produce the stereotype threat performance decrement (that is, African American test-takers with an African American experimenter within an African American environment).

Another example of this approach pursued the role of anticipated comparison to others. Comparison to other’s performance then may be a central concern within Stereotype Threat mechanisms. If one is concerned about fulfilling a negative stereotype, that appears to presuppose that there will be performance comparison to others, especially to the stereotype outgroup. Sloan, Glenn, & Craig (2002) addressed the issue of comparison by having a Black experimenter inform African American students (in both Diagnostic and Non-Diagnostic Conditions) that their scores were to be compared with those of white students at another university. While other prior findings were replicated, the Comparison manipulation had no impact on performance as hypothesized based on Stereotype Threat conceptualizations. It appears then that other mediators of Stereotype Threat phenomena, perceived fairness or bias in testing for example, may be more likely to be important.

This research employed the latter approach in attempting to identify key facets of the Stereotype Threat phenomenon by employing the Black Experimenter administering standard diagnostic-versus-non-diagnostic conditions to Black participants but including an element conceptualized to be involved in producing the stereotype threat phenomena. This research examined the impact of the Black experimenter informing the African American participants that their upcoming test was known to be ethnically biased and was being collected for a White researcher (mentioned but not present).

Research Questions Proposed:

Would expecting White, stereotype relevant, out-group members to receive and interpret the results of one’s known ethnically unfair test serve to increase Stereotype Threat performance
concern and decrements (perhaps through ethnic bias concern) even in exclusively in-group contexts where it is usually absent? An ethnically biased test may be of little concern when the results are to be employed by other in-group member-researchers.

Would this concern be increased by the expectation that the White researcher would score one’s test in one’s presence, providing immediate evaluation of performance?

In contrast, to examine mere presence of an out-group member without evaluative capacity, the Black experimenter condition included a white student in the group of test takers (as perhaps an additional reminder of the stereotype?).

**METHODOLOGY**

268 African-American women and men students at a historically African-American university participated as part of an introductory psychology course and received course credit. Students from this nearly homogeneously African-American institution participated in the research in moderate sized experimental groups, ranging from 5 to 22 persons, composed of other Black students from the same university.

Randomly assigned participants took a timed, 15-minute test described as a difficult-to-complete, 28-item, SAT-type verbal abilities test composed of one “analytic” read-and-interpret passage with seven questions, followed by 21 verbal analogies problems (this was similar to Steele and Aronson’s, 1995 test). Scores on this difficult test could range from 0 to 28. A White male experimenter or a Black male experimenter described this SAT-type verbal test as “diagnostic” of their personal abilities, that is, “to provide a genuine test of your verbal abilities and limitations”, or as a “non-diagnostic”, non-evaluative study of the verbal problem solving process. In both conditions, participants were strongly encouraged to try as hard as they could to perform well on the problems.

To examine the impact of perceived test unfairness in two other conditions, the Black experimenter also told the African American students that; (1) the test was ethnically biased and that the data was being collected for use by a White professor or (2) that the White professor would arrive before the end of the session and score their tests before they left, to investigate whether expected out-group involvement would enhance any impacts of perceived test bias on performance. In the final condition, the Black Experimenter presented only the standard instructions to groups that also included a White woman participant in order to examine the impact of the mere presence of an out-group member for the possible stereotype reminder or anticipated unfair comparison that the situation might imply. Following the performance test, participants completed a series of items including measures of distraction, performance concern, academic engagement, stereotype avoidance, self-handicapping, manipulation checks and ethnic group identity. The entire procedure required about 40 minutes, after which participants received explanations, credit and thanks.
RESULTS

Diagnostisity was successfully manipulated in subjects’ perceptions ($X^2=8.8$ (1), $p<.001$). As expected, African American participants tested in exclusively minority contexts (Black experimenter) showed no performance decrement in the standard “diagnostic” compared to “non-diagnostic” testing ($F<1$), but participants did show significant performance decrements when tested by a White experimenter ($F(1,75)=6.28, p<.02$; see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Percent Correct on SAT Verbal Task (African American Subjects)

The Black experimenter’s description of the test as ethnically biased and that White researchers would be the recipients of the biased test data caused no performance decrement effect ($F<1$; see Figure 2). Similarly, indicating that the White professor would score their data in their presence had no decremental effect on performance ($F<1$; see Figure 3).
In contrast, when a White woman participant was included as another test-taker with minority students and the Black Experimenter (employing only standard instructions), minority students’ performance was lower in the Diagnostic Condition (F(1, 45)=4.19, p<.05).
CONCLUSIONS

Perceiving tests to be ethnically fair eliminates performance decrements in out-group contexts, but immediate or future potentially unfair comparisons by out-group researchers did not lead conversely to performance decrements within in-group settings. In strong contrast, the mere presence of a non-evaluative White participant in the test taking group does lead to stereotyped minority members’ performance decrements. These findings suggest that while perceived or expected bias in evaluation may be a significant part of the concerns that drive the Stereotype Threat Effect but that these factors may require the multiplying impact of the presence of potentially stereotyping out-group members to create Stereotype Threat’s negative consequences on the performance of those stereotyped.

One testing condition attempted to add the evaluative involvement of a stereotype relevant out-group member (the White professor who is to receive the test results) to the participant’s knowledge that the test is biased and ethnically unfair. This was done to approximate (without a White person actually being present) one set of notions of the critically different features of the experimental conditions represented by the White, as opposed to, the Black experimenters. These multiple factors still produced no indication of the diagnosticity effect so prevalent in majority contexts for African Americans. It may be that substantial levels of cultural mistrust (Terrell & Terrell, 1981; 1983; Whaley, 2001a), perhaps necessarily emphasized by out-group presence or majority social setting context, may be needed for test bias or stereotype awareness concerns in general, to become a substantial concern for those stereotyped.
These results, like earlier findings, may suggest that a uniformly minority environment may not have all the cues to stereotype salience that may be found in a majority institution or environment, and that such cues may be needed to induce stereotype threat consequences. Only with the White test-giver or the White experimental participant did the diagnostic-nondiagnostic manipulation have the predicted performance decrement effects for African Americans. Stereotype Threat concerns and performance consequences appear to be increased by the presence of out-group members (here, White experimenters), acting as cues perhaps of stereotyping, or of unfair evaluation.

These findings imply that it may be some other factor than simple comparison concerns accompanying the presence of an out-group member in the testing setting that leads to the Stereotype Threat phenomenon and its consequences. In particular, the live presence of an out-group member may provide the performer with a stronger reminder of the stereotype and thereby increase the Stereotype Threat impact. Alternately, Stereotype Threat consequences might be invoked by other aspects of test-takers’ testing bias or comparison concerns than those created in the settings or manipulations employed in this and prior research.

It seems likely that some aspect of inter-culturally based mistrust is centrally involved. Recall that the simple presence of the White test-giver produced performance decrements but that when the White test-giver proclaimed the assessment itself to be unbiased and culture-fair, that the performance decrements disappeared (Sloan, et. al., 2000b). Thus, even if the test-giver may be suspected of prejudice or stereotyping, the assessment’s own culture-fairness would serve to negate the adverse impact of the tester’s personal motives.

References


**Out-group Men or Women Induce Equivalent Stereotype Threat Performance Decrements In Spite of the Genders’ Qualitatively Contradictory Stereotype-Relevant Characteristics.**

Lloyd Sloan¹, Grady Wilburn¹, Debbie Camp¹, Stefanie Gilbert¹ and Daniel Martin²

African American students are often reported to perform lower than white students on standardized intellectual tests. Stereotype Threat Theory suggests that part of this phenomenon could be a result of arousal, by specific situational factors, of one’s awareness of a known, negative stereotype of one’s group’s performance. This Stereotype Threat performance decrement generally does not happen within exclusively in-group settings, but does occur if there is a White experimenter present, suggesting that increased expectations of biased evaluation or judgment may play a part in the performance decrements. Other recent work has found that African Americans have substantially different and less favorable evaluations of, and expectations of, White American men than they do of White American women. This research seeks to determine therefore whether men and women experimenters, especially White men and women, produce different levels of Stereotype Threat influenced performance decrements. Two hundred and fourteen students from an historically African American University took brief SAT achievement-type tests after hearing the tests described as either measures of their personal ability (diagnostic) or simply as part of a study on verbal problem solving (non-diagnostic). Experimenters were men or women and Black or White. Replicating prior research, Stereotype Threat performance decrements in the Diagnostic Condition occurred for Black students in this almost homogeneous Black environment when they were tested by a White experimenter but not when they were tested by a Black experimenter. White males’ versus females’ impacts did not differ despite having notably different evaluations and personal traits seemingly related to their probability of stereotyping African Americans, suggesting that simple out-group presence has central impact on Stereotype Threat and seems little influenced by gender of the potential stereotyper present.

This study investigated stereotype threat and its effect on the academic performance of African American college students. Stereotype threat focuses on a social-psychological predicament (performance drops) that can arise from being diagnostically tested in a performance area containing negative stereotypes about one’s group’s performance (Steele & Aronson, 1995). Steele and Aronson (1995), demonstrated their hypothesized performance degradation on a difficult verbal ability test administered to negatively stereotyped minority students (African Americans) when the test was described as being “diagnostic” of their personal ability. This performance drop didn't occur, relative to a control group taking the same test, when that task was described as a "nondiagnostic" task in the service of a verbal problem solving study.

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In addition, those researchers (Steele and Aronson, 1995) also presented powerful evidence of the hypothesized mediators of stereotype threat phenomena. They demonstrated activation of, and attempted avoidance of, a negative ethnic minority stereotype when African American students anticipated immediately taking such a difficult verbal ability test, but only when the test also was described as “diagnostic” of their ability. Majority group (White) students did not show evidence of heightened awareness or activation of the related stereotype, nor did they respond in a manner suggesting avoidance of stereotype typical preferences and traits belonging to the minority group. Taken together these findings provide a great deal of support for the hypothesized Stereotype Threat Theory.

The specific performance mediating mechanisms of Stereotype Threat are not the focus of this study but are of concern. It is generally hypothesized that when stereotype threat is aroused it can create additional self-evaluation threats for the individual, possibly because of the need to maintain or enhance one’s status (Josephs, Newman, Brown & Beer, 2003) and may degrade performance through several hypothesized mechanisms. Among others, these mechanisms may include increased self-consciousness, evaluation apprehension, performance anxiety or overcautiousness, lowered performance expectations resulting in reduced task effort, or distraction that draws away attention that is needed for task success. Recent findings indicate that stereotype threat reduces the affected individual’s working memory capacity which in turn interferes with test performance (Schmader & Johns, 2003). Any of these hypothesized mechanisms alone or in multiples, may predict similar performance deficits under stereotype threat invoking conditions.

Stereotype Threat is hypothesized to be activated by taking a frustrating, challenging, self-diagnostic test that is related to negative stereotypes of one’s in-group (Steele and Aronson, 1995). It has been described as placing one in the possible position of confirming by one’s own behavior and performance, a negative stereotype about one’s group. The fact that the test is very difficult may create additional concerns regarding fulfillment of the stereotype or perhaps of the stereotypes’ credibility. Consequently as expected, majority group (White) students did not show this relative performance decrement in the diagnostic condition and of course, the negative stereotype related to this task did not apply to them.

As a possibly very widespread phenomenon, Stereotype Threat now has been demonstrated in many other stereotyped group situations since Steele and Aronson’s (1995) original studies. These include for example; Hispanic students in similar verbal testing events (Salinas, 1998), women in difficult mathematics tasks (Spencer, S.J., Steele, C.M., & Quinn, D.M., 1999; Inzlicht, M. & Ben-Zeev, T., 2000 and 2003; Smith...
Out-group Men or Women Induce Equivalent Stereotype Threat

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Recent Stereotype Threat findings in atypical cultural settings has indicated that while diagnostic testing increases minorities’ stereotype awareness and performance decrements in out-group (majority) contexts, it doesn’t do so in exclusively minority settings (cf., Sloan, 2000, Sloan, et. al., 2002). These findings suggest that out-group member or context presence may be needed to produce Stereotype Threat performance decrements and may qualify or limit the original Steele and Aronson (1995) proposal as a necessary addition to, or major impact as, required antecedent conditions for the occurrence of Stereotype Threat.

What may cause the out-group presence effect? An overwhelmingly African American environment may not have all the cues to stereotype salience that may be found in a majority institution and those missing cues may be needed to induce stereotype threat motives and their consequences. It appears that it is not just diagnosticity (expectations of being evaluated) in a stereotype-relevant, difficult task that produces stereotype threat performance decrements. The presence of the white experimenter was the only condition to produce the predicted diagnosticity effects on stereotype threat arousal. Thus stereotype threat arousal appears to require independent, salient out-group (here, racial) cues in addition to the simple threat of failure in a stereotype relevant task performance. These findings suggest the possibility of relatively simple situational or descriptive changes in the testing setting that may help to reduce or eliminate the stereotype threat induced decrease in performance in perceived stereotype relevant challenging intellectual tests. It may be possible that this can be accomplished by removing reminders or by altering perceptions of stereotypes in the testing context. Perhaps relatedly, research in Cultural Mistrust (Terrell & Terrell, 1981) has produced very similar results. African Americans who were high in Cultural Mistrust did substantially worse on intellectual IQ measures including the Sanford-Binet and the WAIS when the assessment was administered by a White tester, as opposed to an African American (Terrell, Terrell & Taylor, 1981; Terrell & Terrell, 1983).

African American’s cultural mistrust levels are directly related to lower perceptions and expectations of outgroup (e.g., White) trustworthiness and interpersonal credibility. (Nickerson, Helms, & Terrell, 1994; Terrell & Terrell, 1984; Watkins & Terrell, 1988; Watkins, Terrell, Miller & Terrell, 1989; Poston, Craine & Atkinson, 1991). These lower perceptions of trustworthiness and credibility seem likely to result from expectations of possible prejudices and negative stereotyping of the minority member by the White test-giver. If perceived (un)fairness is an important feature of the Stereotype Threat phenomenon, then its removal could be beneficial. Sloan, Philip, Jones, Starr, Ridberg and Oleson (2000b) focused on the minority students’ perception of the fairness of the intellectual test being taken in a stereotype threat potential setting (i.e., Black test-takers...
Considerable prior research has shown that men and women do not always display stereotype threat type performance decrements in the same settings, possibly depending upon the nature of the applicability of the setting-related stereotype to each gender (cf., Sloan, L. R., Glenn, M., Lockett, C., Danridge, Y. and Starr, B. J., 2001; Brown and Josephs, 1999). Further, Sloan et. al. (2001) found results suggesting that African-American men and women responded differently to Black versus White experimenters.

The present study builds on that work by asking whether male and female experimenters, of in-group versus out-group ethnicity, will have different impacts upon African-American test takers’ experience of Stereotype Threat. If White test-givers produce Stereotype Threat performance decrements, possibly due to expected bias or unfairness in evaluation, do White men and women share the same degree of perceived bias in African American test-takers’ views? For example, prior research has shown that increasing participants’ perceptions of a diagnostic test’s fairness eliminated the stereotype threat performance drops normally seen in out-group contexts (Sloan, L. R., Wilburn, G., Martin, D. E., Fenton, T., Starr, B. J., Craig, K. M., Gilbert, S. and Glenn, M., 2003; Sloan, Maitland, Starr, Philip & Jones, 2001).

In addition, recent work has shown that the stereotypes held by African-Americans about White men and women are substantially different (Glover, Blair and Sloan, 2002; Sloan and Glover, 2005); see Table 1 below. Further, Sloan and Glover (2005) and Glover and Sloan (2005; this volume) found that on simple evaluative ratings, African Americans perceive White American Women relatively neutrally but that African Americans judge White American Men significantly more negatively than they do White American Women.

### Table 1: High Frequency, Non-shared, Traits Endorsed by African Americans in Rating White Americans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White American Men’s Traits</th>
<th>White American Women’s Traits</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argumentative</td>
<td>Sensitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostile</td>
<td>Easy-going</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrogant</td>
<td>Friendly</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Research Question and Hypothesis: Increased perceived fairness by White experimenters has reduced or eliminated Stereotype Threat performance decrements (Sloan, et. al. (2000b). If White women are seen as more fair or less biased than White men, then Stereotype Threat performance decrements could be diminished for White women test-givers compared to White men.

METHODOLOGY

214 African-American women and men students at a historically African-American university participated in this research as part of an introductory psychology course and received course credit. Randomly assigned participants took a timed, 15-minute test described as a difficult-to-complete, 28-item, SAT-type verbal abilities test composed of one “analytic” read-and-interpret passage with seven questions, followed by 21 verbal analogies problems (this was similar to Steele and Aronson's (1995) tests). Scores on this difficult test could range from 0 to 28. This SAT-type verbal test was described as “diagnostic” of their personal abilities, that is, “to provide a genuine test of your verbal abilities and limitations”, or as a “non-diagnostic”, non-evaluative study of the verbal problem solving process. In both conditions, participants were encouraged to try as hard as they could to perform well on the problems. Students from this nearly homogeneously African-American institution participated in the research in moderate sized experimental groups, ranging from 5 to 22 persons, composed of other Black students from the same university.

The participants were randomly assigned to one of the following conditions in a 2 (experimenter race) by 2 (experimenter sex) by 2 (Diagnostic versus Nondiagnostic Condition) design. Thus there were four experimenters; (1) a White male experimenter, (2) a White female experimenter (3) a Black male experimenter or (4) a Black female experimenter. Participants then completed a series of items measuring distraction, performance concern, academic engagement, stereotype avoidance, self-handicapping, manipulation checks, ethnic group identity and experienced feelings when associating with White people. The entire procedure required about 40 minutes, after which participants received explanations, credit and thanks.

RESULTS

Diacnosticity was successfully manipulated in subjects’ perceptions (X2=7.2 (1), p<.008). As expected, African American participants tested in exclusively minority contexts showed no performance decrement in the standard “diagnostic” compared to
“non-diagnostic” testing (F<1; see Figure 1). Results indicated that typical significant Stereotype Threat performance decrements occurred in the Diagnostic condition versus the Nondiagnostic condition for White Experimenters but not for Black Experimenters (Race by Diagnosticity interaction: F(1/206)=5.43, p<.02; Figure 1), replicating typical findings for male experimenters (Sloan, et.al., 2000).

**Figure 1: Percent Correct on SAT Verbal Task (African American Subjects)**

Importantly and contrary to some notions of stereotype impact, results from female experimenters did not differ from males (the Experimenter Sex by Experimenter Race by Diagnostic Condition interaction was not significant (F<1).
Examining the White experimenter conditions alone revealed that male and female White test-givers did not differ significantly in their impact on African-American test-takers. Participants showed significant performance decrements when tested by a White experimenter in the Diagnostic versus the Nondiagnostic condition ($F(1,130)=5.40, p<.05$; see Figure 2). The Experimenter Sex by Diagnosticity Condition interaction for White experimenters was not significant ($F<1$) nor was that interaction significant for Black experimenters examined alone ($F<1$).

**CONCLUSIONS**

Prior findings replicated here suggest that Stereotype Threat concerns and performance decrements, minimal in exclusively minority environments, are increased by the presence of out-group members. Suggestions that the different stereotypes held about White men versus White women (test-givers in this research) would lead to differential impact of Stereotype Threat type decrements in test-takers’ performances were not supported. These findings suggest that while perceived or expected bias may be a significant part of concerns that drive the Stereotype Threat Effect, that the perceived differences between White men and woman may not be great enough on this dimension to show a differential impact on performance or that both gender’s stereotypes surpass the level of perceived potential bias needed to invoke the concerns underlying the Stereotype Threat phenomenon.

Alternatively, the key factor may be simply the presence of a stereotype relevant out-group member. It may be that substantial levels of cultural mistrust (Terrell & Terrell, 1981; 1983; Whaley, 2001), perhaps emphasized by out-group presence or social setting context, may be needed for test bias or stereotype awareness concerns in general to
become a substantial concern for those stereotyped. Taken together, the findings suggest that Stereotype Threat concerns and consequences may be invoked simply by outgroup presence cues. Such cues may act perhaps as reminders of the relevant stereotype itself or of the possibility of stereotyping by others or even more generally to change the context of the performer’s judgment. Thus understanding and predicting Stereotype Threat phenomena may indeed require knowledge of all the performer’s perceived contextual stereotypes. Understanding the factors contributing to the arousal of Stereotype Threat may then allow educators, employers and researchers the tools to reduce or eliminate its negative and misrepresentative impact on minority (stereotyped) students’ performance on intellectual and standardized tests.

REFERENCES


Jeffrey Staser and Patricia M. DeMarco, Ph.D.  The Buckland/Kotzebue Power Utility Case Study: Comprehensive, community based, regionally supported, sustainable public infrastructure development in remote Alaska.

Abstract

Issues related to democracy and citizenship at the community level in Native communities and villages have been the subject of increasing interest and debate among scholars and development practitioners in recent years. This study investigates how multi-dimensional community development through effective collaboration among tribal, non-profit, municipal, state and federal governments may facilitate enhanced citizen participation in local-level decision making through examination of a specific public infrastructure development project involving the communities of Buckland and Kotzebue in Northwest Alaska. The study presents a relatively optimistic account of the role which innovations transferred as a result of this project have played in enhancing citizen involvement in local government throughout Alaska.
At the same time, it suggests that any such gains may be limited and must be viewed within the larger politico-administrative context of indigenous (tribal) and constitutional (state/federal) government considerations, and other attendant factors restricting or encouraging the establishment of a broad democratic culture at the community level.

We explore and discuss how Buckland's power utility turned itself around from failing to relative success by using traditional, tribal decision making within the context of somewhat conflicting state and federal relationships. Today, Buckland is more sustainable as a result of partnering with Kotzebue Electric - a local solution recognized and supported by both state and federal agencies. The data from this project illustrate valuable lessons about self determination in an Alaskan Native community enabled by collaboration.
Relation Between Order of Finishing and Grade on Statistics Tests

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Abstract

Analysis of test scores from three undergraduate statistics classes revealed a positive relation between speed of completing the test and grade on the test. When grouped into deciles, each successive decile of delay in test completion was associated with a mean loss in percent correct score of .57 for all tests and classes combined. For all tests and classes combined, the decrease in mean percent correct score with decile of delay was quite consistent ($r_S = -.88$). Other findings of interest were that speed of test completion was negatively related to grade variability and that within each class during the quarter, students exhibited a significant degree of consistency in their order of completing tests as indexed by values of Kendall's coefficient of concordance that ranged between .67 and .73. The finding of a monotonic relation between order of test completion and test grade contradicts some previously published findings that these two variables are weakly related (Paul & Rosenkoeller, 1980) or not related (Bridges, 1985).
Relation Between Order of Finishing and Grade on Statistics Tests

Do students who are among the first to hand in an exam do better on the test than others? A number of researchers (e.g., Bridges, 1985; Burack, 1967; Paul & Rosenkoetter, 1980) have proposed that such an outcome is reasonable, possibly because more capable students read, make inferences, and recognize correct answers faster than less capable students (Paul & Rosenkoetter, 1980). Other variables may exert different effects on the relation between speed of completing a test and test score. Burack (1967), for example, suggests that strategies adopted by test takers of disparate abilities may obscure an underlying linear relation between these variables; that is, some high achievers who finish quickly may devote extra time to reviewing their answers and attempting to remember material related to difficult questions, and some low achievers may skip questions and finish early.

As Table 1 shows, published data obtained in classroom settings has provided scant support for a linear relation between measures of test completion speed and test performance. It should be noted that although Table 1 lists one study as providing support for a linear relation, that relation approached, but did not achieve, statistical significance.
Test completion speed has been examined in relation not only to level of test performance, but also to variability of test performance. Johnston (1977) for example, found significantly higher variances among early (first 20%) and late (last 20%) finishers vs. those finishing in the middle. Paul and Rosenkoetter (1980), however, found no variance differences among quartiles of finishers in five large sections of an introductory psychology college-level class.

Attempts to resolve these inconsistent findings have included such approaches as using test completion time rather order (Bridges, 1985), multiple rather than single tests (Johnston, 1977), and recall/essay rather than recognition/multiple-choice tests (Foos, 1989). As evident in Table 1, these manipulations do not appear to have been effective. The approach adopted in the study described here is to use data from multiple tests in multiple sections of a course and to look for a relation in the combined data between
order of finishing (grouped into deciles for each class) and both mean percent correct test score and standard deviation in percent correct test score within each decile.

Three issues are explored: a) whether there’s a monotonic relation between order of test completion and level of performance on the test, b) whether there is an effect of order of test completion on variability of test scores, and c) the degree to which a student’s order of test completion is consistent within each class.

Method

Data Source

Archival data used in this study were generated by undergraduate students enrolled in three recently offered introductory statistics classes (referred to here as classes A-C) taught by the author in the Department of Psychology at Eastern Washington University. Enrolment in classes A, B, and C were 42, 31, and 40, respectively; however, not all students took exams during class time. Furthermore, the number of tests recorded from each class differed because either some data were missing (class A), or some terms (e.g., summer quarter, class B) were briefer than others (8 vs. 10 weeks). The resulting number of tests available for classes A-C was 6, 7, and 9, respectively. The data that were available consisted of a record of each student’s name and their percent correct score on a test. Because tests were corrected and recorded in the order they were handed in, information about order of test completion was available. Tests consisted of questions that required making calculations, often with the aid of a hand calculator, or providing short written answers. Each test presented 6-10 questions that could be completed by capable students within 20-30 minutes during class periods that ranged between 50 mins.
(10-week classes) to 65 mins. (8-week classes). In no test were there more than 2-3 students still working on a test at the end of a scheduled class period.

Data Analysis

To allow comparisons to be made among classes of different sizes, for each test in each class, order of finishing was grouped into deciles. For each decile, the mean percent correct score and standard deviation of the percent correct scores (calculated using the formula for population standard deviation) were obtained.

Results

A mean class percent correct score was calculated for each decile of order of test completion in each of the three classes. Panel a in Figure 1 shows the mean class percent correct data as a function of decile of test completion order. Panel b in Figure 1 shows these same variables for the three classes combined. Each data point in panel b represents the results of approximately 76 individual tests. The $r_s$ value for the data in panel b is -.88, a value indicating that in the combined data, there is a generally consistent decreasing monotonic relation between percent correct test performance and order of test completion.

Figure 2 shows the corresponding data for standard deviation scores. The $r_s$ value for the data in panel b of Figure 2 is .73, indicating that in the combined data, test performance becomes increasing more variable within groups of students who take longer to turn in their tests.
Figure 1. Mean percent correct test score as a function of decile of test completion order plotted separately by class (left panel) and for the three classes combined (right panel).

Figure 2. Mean standard deviation in test score as a function of decile of test completion order plotted separately by class (left panel) and for the three classes combined (right panel).
To examine the degree to which students were consistent in their order of handing in tests over the duration of a quarter, a value of $W$, the Kendall coefficient of concordance (Siegel & Castellan, 1988) was calculated for each of the three statistics classes. Any student whose data indicated they missed more than two exams during the quarter was removed from the analysis (N=5, all from class C) and for the remaining students, those who missed one (N=15) or two (N=10) tests, missing scores were replaced with the mean of the student’s order of finishing non-missing tests. For classes A, B, and C, the values of $W$ were .73 (df = 41), .67 (df = 30), and .68 (df = 34), respectively, all $p$’s < .001.

Because $W$ can take on values from 0 to 1 with 0 indicating no correspondence among rankings and 1 indicating perfect correspondence, the obtained values indicate there was a high degree of correspondence in the order that students hand in tests over multiple testing sessions.

Discussion

There has previously been little empirical support for a relation between speed or order of test completion and test score. Explanations have included proposals that a relation—either linear or curvilinear—does not exist (e.g., Terranova, 1972) or that the relation is obscured by other variables (Burack, 1967). The approach used here has been to reduce the influence of extraneous variables by combining the data from multiple tests in multiple classes.

Although others have gathered data from multiple tests, the tendency has been to assess the relation between indices of test completion speed and test score separately by class (perhaps to assure that the assumption of independence of observations is met). Bridges (1985) for example, analyzed data from three tests administered to each of five
sections of an introductory psychology class. Fifteen $r$ and $r_s$ values were calculated, one for each test; only one $r$ and one $r_s$ was found to be statistically significant. When Bridges combined data by calculating each student’s mean order of finishing three exams and total score on the exams, none of the $r$ or $r_s$ values in each of the five sections was significant. Paul & Rosenkoetter (1980) tested students in five sections of introductory psychology using two test forms in each section. After finishing order was grouped into quartiles, $t$-tests were performed separately on each section’s data to determine if mean score was significantly higher in the first quartile than in other quartiles. Only one difference was found to be statistically significant.

When the data in the present study were analyzed separately by test, values of $r_s$ between decile of test completion order and mean percent correct test score ranged from -.95 to .70 and only six were statistically significant ($p < .05$, 2-tailed). Of these, five were negative, all from class C. Further analysis revealed that there were differences among mean $r_s$ values for classes A, B, and C (-.36, -.07, and -.55, respectively), $F(2,19) = 3.74$, $p < .05$. This outcome, together with visual inspection of panel a of Figure 1 indicates that relation between a measure of test completion speed and test score may conform to somewhat different patterns in different classes. This possibility is made more plausible by the finding in the present study that students exhibit considerable consistency in their order of completing tests. Thus, each class may have a characteristic form for the relation between speed of test completion and test score and the pattern may differ from class to class. A consistent underlying linear form may only become evident when the data from several classes are combined.
References


Burack, B. (1967). Relationship between course examination scores and time taken to finish the examination, revisited. *Psychological Reports, 20*, 164.


1. Title:
Challenges and responses: English language teaching in the changing Japanese educational milieu

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6. Abstract:
Education policy is one of most politicized fields of all, and education in Japan is no exception to this rule; Japanese policy today is in an extreme state of flux as the Ministry of Education tries to respond to conflicting demands and perceived trends.

Many of the forces driving education policy in Japan are socioeconomic, prime among them being the “greying” population phenomenon, in which the confluent demographic trends of later marriages, declining birthrate, and greater longevity portend serious fiscal and social problems in the coming decades. With a ten-year economic slump spurring continually greater efforts to streamline organizations across all sectors of society, including the privatization of government functions -- and with the information technology revolution providing the means to do so -- related social forces are the decade-long paucity of entry-level employment opportunities, even for the graduates of elite universities, and concomitant attitudinal shift in the younger generation’s work ethic and sense of purpose. In the short run, the combined effect of the annually declining teenage population and the official privatization of hitherto public universities has been an irresistible impetus for many tertiary institutions to broaden their admissions procedures while also countenancing lower admissions standards.

Reorganizational strategies are also a high priority, as increasingly educators are being called upon to inspire flexible and imaginative thinkers rather than merely mass-produce
a compliant and well-socialized work-force. At the tertiary level, such a transformation may be less difficult for the students themselves than for their hidebound professors and institutions, but faculties all over the country are struggling over these modernization goals in full knowledge that failure may literally entail the collapse of their institutions. Indeed, some of the more vulnerable schools have already closed their doors, and the Ministry expects others to follow over the next few years. As colleges and universities across the nation position themselves to compete in the new educational marketplace, curriculum reform has been a perpetual process. Lifelong education programs have begun to develop and on-line or distance education has rapidly grown in importance. Corporate ties with research institutions are now becoming as common in Japan as they are in the US, and Japanese schools are now actively encouraging student and faculty entrepreneurship.

After decades under rigorous nationally-established curricula, during which time Japan rose to worldwide eminence, in recent years -- under the rubric of “YUTORI KYOU-IKU” (“unpressured education”) -- elementary and secondary school policies have been amended to eliminate Saturday classes, provide for more unstructured time at local discretion, and reduce the amount of foreign language instruction at the junior and senior high school levels. In recognition of a perceived need for more Japanese who can conduct themselves in English, a complementary initiative is the promotion of foreign language instruction at the elementary school level, with a greater emphasis on modern language teaching methods. However, the Ministry has provided minimal implementation guidelines, leaving the ultimate realization of its directive largely to the discretion of perplexed local boards of education across the nation. The relaxation of policies has been under way for only a few years, but from the outset there have been calls for its reversal and the most recently installed Minister of Education is on record as favoring its reconsideration.

Commercial providers of supplementary education services have not wavered, however, and -- whether foreseen or not -- one major byproduct of these public policy shifts has been to create more opportunities for enterprising businesses taking up the slack, with the net result of leaving the children as pressured as ever and the parents paying more than before for private educational services. Some universities have begun contracting the supplemental providers for language instruction and entrance exam writing, and in restructuring Tokyo’s municipal university system, the Governor -- to the great consternation of the faculties -- contracted out even the redesign of the curriculum itself to one of the largest commercial educational firms.

The presenter is most familiar with English language teaching at the tertiary level in Japan, but this presentation will be an attempt to address the changes in English language education in Japan within the context of these broader (and often contradictory) trends. Audience input on the challenges facing ELT in other countries is welcome; participants interested in collaborating with the presenter on a volume overviewing current ELT conditions worldwide are warmly encouraged to join in the discussion.
REFERENCES:


The purpose of this study is to examine how the situations of gay and transgender people have been changed in Japan, focusing on educational policies and settings. The situations include the position of gays as deviant or sexually delinquent, biased educational policies, and the change of these policies, especially to transgender people. Through examining written materials such as governmental guidelines and regulations, the above situations will be discussed on the bases of the four periods: (1) medical guidance and/or medical treatment (1950~1969), (2) educational guidance (1970~1989), (3) educational invisibility (1990~1999), and (4) educational protection for human rights (2000~present).

In the 1950~1969, homosexuality was recognized as ill and immoral. In the 1970~1989, drop-outs of school increased, and sexual minority was defined as delinquency. In the 1990~1999, the media treated gays more positively and gay people themselves started thinking about and acting out for their human rights. However, the educational field ignored the existence of homosexual people. Since 2000, policies regarding transgender tremendously changed, but for homosexuals it remains same.

My presentation illustrates that the views sexual minorities have changed for the better. Yet this does not that that minorities are accepted because traditional gender norms are still maintained.

Lastly, I will conclude with suggestions for the inclusion of sexual minorities within the educational system.
1. Title of the submission: Foreign Direct Investment and Regional Income Inequality in China

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6. Abstract and full paper (See the following pages)
Foreign Direct Investment and Regional Income Inequality in China

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January 2005

Abstract China is the largest foreign direct investment (FDI) recipient country in the world, which aggravates concerns over the impact of FDI on rising inter-region income inequality in China. This paper examines the relationship between FDI inflows and regional income inequality from 1978 to 2002 by estimating three inequality models of national, rural and urban separately. It is found that FDI inflows as one of the main factors have led to increasing of regional income inequality in national level, rural and urban of China. Apart from FDI, the empirical evidence suggests that the level of economic development, education, trade, the economic reform in the State-Owned-Enterprises (SOE), the agricultural transformation, the level of domestic investment and the direct role of government in China are crucial determinants of regional income inequality.

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* I am grateful to Professor G. H. Wan, World Institute for Development Economic Research, United Nations University for helpful comments.
1. INTRODUCTION

Foreign direct investment (FDI) in China has set a new record high reaching US$52743 million dollars in 2002. This leads to China becoming the largest FDI recipient country in the world replace of the United States of America, which enjoyed such status until China took over. The annual growth rate of utilized FDI in China has also showed a remarkable achievement at 21% over the last quarter of century. Accompanied with this persistent strong growth of FDI inflows, China has achieved a highest average annual economic growth rate approximate to 10% but with an extremely skewed one. This is, the average annual growth rate of GDP in the coastal region of China, where most FDI inflows flowed in, has been traditionally always higher than the inland region. Has FDI influenced China’s regional inequality? If it does, how FDI and regional inequality are related? The relationship between FDI and inequality is under hot debate and has been an important subject of interest in the field of international economics and economic development. On the one hand, some researchers argued that FDI in general should not cause any significant variance in income inequality and even reduces income inequalities in developing countries in particular (Mundell 1957). On the other hand, some other researchers also argued that FDI does attribute to rise in income inequality (Tsai 1995). In this paper under a regression analytical framework, we seek answers to the above two questions by employing time series cross-regional Chinese data for the period 1978 to 2002. While, we identify the principal forces that affect regional income inequality, we also explore alternative policies that may promote more rapid economic growth in China’s poorer regions. Such an analysis on FDI and the regional income inequality in China is important because china is not only the largest FDI recipient country in the world and as a developing country China also needs to feed 13 billion people - one quarter of world’s population. Therefore, an increase in regional income inequality could not only undermine social stability but also disrupt political stability, spur secessionist
activities, which would eventually destroy the very foundations of China’s emergence as a major world economic power and consequently the excellent economic growth that China currently enjoys.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 reviews a number of theoretical and empirical studies on FDI and income inequality. Section 3 presents an overview of the FDI inflows and regional income inequality in China. The following section applies econometric methodology to investigate the causality between FDI and regional income inequality in China and determines the other forces which influence China’s regional income inequality and how these forces effect the regional income inequality. The last section of the paper presents the implication and conclusion.

2. A REVIEW OF STUDIES ON FDI AND INCOME INEQUALITY

Most FDI theories are fairly straightforward, from multinational enterprises (MNEs) aspect, focusing on determinants of FDI. This is to seek analytical framework addressing the questions of why firms engage in international production. The well-known FDI theories include the classical industrial organization theory, the product cycle theory, the internationalization theory, the dynamic comparative advantage theory and the eclectic theory etc. Most of these theories by no means directly and logically discussed the macroeconomic effects of FDI on both investing and host countries, especially on developing host countries. However, by analyzing these theories, the major impacts of FDI on host countries economic development can be concluded: (1) technology transfer and management know-how; (2) foreign capital investment; (3) increase openness and economic activities; (4) increase export (trade-oriented FDI, only), or destroys the balance of economic development in developing countries and international trade balance (anti-trade-oriented FDI); (5) employment creation, upgrade of the labor force and increase productivities; (6) GDP contribution and increase tax revenues; (7) repatriation of profit and pricing transfer.
In contrast to the above well-known FDI theories, dependency and modernization theories addressed macroeconomic effects of FDI on developing host countries. Dependency theorists viewed that the predatory behavior of MNEs creates a neo-colonial economy through FDI, more FDI in a country means more foreign control in that country and as a consequence the greater the degree of income inequality in that country (Bornschier and Chase-Dunn 1985, Gowan 1999). It is also argued that FDI not only creates employment opportunities for “local labor elites” with higher wages, as well as it leads to production that are more capital-intensive. As a consequence unemployment rate increases in the traditional sectors and income inequality becomes greater (Tsai 1995). However, modernization theorists describe FDI as an ideal mechanism for the diffusion of capital, markets and knowledge that would lead to development for the newly independent countries of the world (King and Varadi 2002). Although modernization hypothesis rarely directly and explicitly addresses the relationship between FDI and income inequality, but the implication was extended - as FDI stimulates economic growth and its benefits eventually spread throughout the whole economy, thus, in the long run more even income distribution would be achieved. It is like dependency theorists that modernization theorists also acknowledged that FDI does creates local employment with higher wages, but once the labor share rises the size of income distribution would be improved.

Obviously, the theories regarding the impact of FDI on income inequality are different in principal, as well as the empirical findings of FDI effects on income distributions are divided. Using cross-country data, Tsai (1995) examined the relationship between FDI and income inequality in 33 less-developed countries (LDCs) and found that FDI does give rise to more unequal income distribution in the host LDCs. The findings of Tsai (1995) are generally consistent with the argument of the dependency theorists. Apart from FDI, the study supports Kuznets hypothesis but suggested that trade has no correlation with inequality, an improvement in human capital does not help achieve greater equality while high proportion of agricultural labor force is positively correlated with higher inequality. However, the study may have a several defects, for instance, the large number of countries may be too diverse to be pooled together so that the
comparison of data on inequality in different countries is doubted, as well as the different countries’ culture and legal system may interacts with FDI and openness. In the case of China, Fu (2004) investigated the spillover and migration effects of exports and FDI and their impacts on regional income inequalities in China by applying panel data covering the years of 1990s to a log-liner dynamic panel model. This study also produced a result supporting dependency theorists that FDI does increase the inequality between the inland and the coastal regions in China. In addition, this study also found that while exports and interstate labor migration from the inland to the coastal regions have played an important role in increasing regional disparities, urbanization in the inland regions help to reduce the regional income inequalities and leads to more balanced regional growth. The limitations of this study is that a number of most important variables such as the role of the Chinese government and the economic growth are omitted from the analysis. Such variables may have significant effects on income distribution as China has had remarkable rapid economic growth during 1990s and the Chinese government indeed has heavily intervened the foreign and domestic investment markets in order to reduce regional income inequality.

In contrast to the studies of FU (2004) and Tsai (1995), the study of Wan, Lu and Chen (2003) provided the empirical evidence from China in support of the modernization hypothesis after estimating an income generating function and incorporating trade and FDI variables. The study found that while capital input and infrastructure are the largest contributors to regional inequality, FDI, trade exert a decreasing impact on regional inequality in China and privatization helps equalize incomes across regions. As similar to Fu (2004), this study also has a number of shortages which may cast doubts on the results presented in the study: the failure to convert values of trade and FDI from US dollars into the Chinese currency to maintain consistency with other variables; the measurement of a few variables such as human capital and reform are not appropriately defined and omitting the important GDP determinant of income distribution. Feenstra and Hanson (1997) also reported findings in favor of the modernization theory that FDI does not induce income inequality in developing countries. However, it is worth pointing out that
their findings is merely based on Mexican data and failed to compare the explanatory powers of the competing hypotheses (Mah 2003).

3. OVERVIEW OF THE FDI INFLOWS AND THE REGIONAL INCOME INEQUALITY

In 1978, China finally opened its door to the world economy after almost 30 years self-imposed isolation. Attracting FDI has been a key pillar of China’s “opening up” policies and economic reforms. The policies adopted to attract FDI were basically preferential ones, which provide tax concessions and special privileges to foreign investors. In Table 1, we present the timeline of China’s FDI and regional preferential policies during 1979 to 2002. The experiment of economic and social reforms, as indicated in Table 1, started with the establishment of 3 Special Economic Zones (SEZs) in southeast coast province Guangdong, next to Hongkong and Macao; subsequently 1 additional SEZs in Fujian, next to Taiwan; during 1984 and 1986, there were 27 additional FDI zones established in Shanghai, Tianjin, Liaoning, Hebei, Shandong, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian, Guangdong and Guangxi. However, the amount of FDI in China was small during this period and obviously the most FDI was located in the coastal region. Also, the Chinese government during this period promulgated FDI legislations and policies such as “Equity Joint Venture Law” and moved China’s FDI regulatory regime from “permitting” to “encouraging” FDI. Further, in 1990 the Chinese government provided a more complete legal structure to facilitate the operations of foreign-invested enterprises (FIEs) by issuing “Amendments to the Equity Joint Venture Law and Wholly Foreign-Invested Enterprise Implementing Rules.” Figure 1 shows the FDI inflows in China during the years 1978 to 2002. FDI inflows continuously grew in China, as indicated in Figure 1, as more and more economic zones and opened cities developed. FDI inflows were quite low ranked from 0.03 to 0.64 billion US dollars per year from 1978 to 1983, but from 1984 till early 1990’s, FDI increased at an average rate over 30% per annum. However, the total amount of FDI was still small lower than US$5 billions before 1992.
In 1992, the famous “South Tour” by president Deng Xiaoping pushed ahead further economic reforms in China and led to a new phase of FDI liberalization. In the same year, after 14 years opening up in the coastal region, China finally extended economic zones to some selective inland provinces and open cities to all capital cities of inland region. Meantime FDI and ownership laws, property rights and contract laws were developed during this period to improve investment condition and business environment in order to attract more FDI. As a result, clearly seen in Figure 1, FDI entered into a stage of high-speed growth during the period and placed China to be a largest FDI hosting destination.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number and type of opened zones or specific events and FDI policies</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>3 Special Economic Zones (Equity Joint Venture Law)</td>
<td>Guangdong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1 Special Economic Zone</td>
<td>Fujian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>14 Coastal Open Cities</td>
<td>Liaoning, Hebei, Tianjin, Shandong, Jiangsu, Shanghai, Zhejiang, Fujian, Guangdong and Guang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 Economic and Technological Development Zones</td>
<td>Liaoning, Hebei, Tianjin, Shandong, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Guangdong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>1 Economic and Technological Development Zone</td>
<td>Fujian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Coastal Open Economic Zones</td>
<td>Fujian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>2 Economic and Technological Development Zones</td>
<td>Shanghai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Open Coastal Belt</td>
<td>Liaoning, Shandong, Guangxi and Hebei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Special Economic Zone</td>
<td>Hainan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Economic and Technological Development Zone</td>
<td>Shanghai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Pudong New Area</td>
<td>Shanghai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>13 bonded areas in major coastal port cities (South Tour)</td>
<td>Tianjin, Guangdong, Liaoning, Shandong, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian, Hai, Jiangsu, Anhui, Jiangxi, Hunan, Hubei, and Sichuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 major cities along the Yangtze River</td>
<td>Shanghai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 Border Economic Cooperation Zones</td>
<td>Jilin, Heilongjiang, Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang, Yunnan, and Guangxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All capital cities of inland provinces and autonomous regions</td>
<td>Fujian, Liaoning, Jianxi, Shandong, and Zhejiang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>12 Economic and Technological Development Zones</td>
<td>Anhui, Guangdong, Hubei, Liaoning, Sichuan, Fujian, Jilin, and Zhejiang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>2 Economic and Technological Development Zones (foreign exchange system reform &amp; decentralize FDI policies)</td>
<td>Beijing and Xinjiang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Encourages greater geographical dispersion of FDI inflows and promotes FDI inflows into export-oriented, high technology, agriculture and infrastructure sectors</td>
<td>Northwest and Southwest provinces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Encourages more FDI flowing into western area of the inland regions</td>
<td>Northwest and Southwest provinces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Abolished the FDI projects approval requirement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>A new era of FDI liberalization (China became the 143rd member of WTO)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Almanac of China’s Economy, varies issues and Démurger et al. (2002).
country in the developing world since 1993. While new economic zones were created across the country, the distribution of FDI was continued to be favored into the coastal region. During 1996, the Chinese government encouraged foreign investors to invest in western areas of China in order to facilitate the economic development in the inland region so that the income inequality between the coastal and the inland regions can be reduced. In 1998, during the Asian financial crisis period, the Chinese government further liberalized FDI policy. One of such liberalized policy is to abolish the FDI project approval requirement. However, these new liberalized policies did not make a significant improvement as the impact of the Asian financial crisis was strong and hence the FDI inflows into China during the years of 1999 and 2000 has fallen below the previous year’s level (see Figure 1). In December 2001, China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO), which marked FDI liberalization entering into a new era. In the same year, China’s FDI inflows have increased dramatically, as indicated in Figure 1, from U$40.72 billions in year 2000 to U$46.88 billions in 2001 and by 2002 China became the largest FDI host country in the world attracting US $52.74 billions of FDI. Indeed, China has successfully attracted the enormous amount of FDI inflows but the FDI inflows have been highly geographically distributed unevenly. Table 2 presents the regional distribution of FDI inflows into China in 1984 and 2002. The column 1 shows the regions and sub-regions; the column 2 and 4 show the amount of FDI in 1984 and
2002, respectively; the column 3 and 5 give the FDI in percentages. As indicated in Table 2 that FDI inflows in the coastal region were much higher than the inland region in both years of 1984 and 2002. The amount of FDI inflows were US$2576 millions and

Table 2. Regional distribution of FDI inflows in China (millions of US dollars and %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1984</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>1984</th>
<th>2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coastal region</td>
<td></td>
<td>2575.8</td>
<td>94.9</td>
<td>45362.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metro cities</td>
<td></td>
<td>655.2</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>7578.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beijing</td>
<td></td>
<td>118.7</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>1724.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tianjin</td>
<td></td>
<td>105.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>1582.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai</td>
<td></td>
<td>430.8</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>4272.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coastal provinces</td>
<td></td>
<td>1920.5</td>
<td>70.8</td>
<td>37783.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebei</td>
<td></td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>782.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liaoning</td>
<td></td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>3411.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td></td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>10189.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td></td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>3076.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian</td>
<td></td>
<td>236.2</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>3838.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td></td>
<td>104.9</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4734.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td></td>
<td>1409.3</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>11334.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangxi</td>
<td></td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>417.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inland region</td>
<td></td>
<td>136.6</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>6596.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td></td>
<td>62.1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>4408.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>211.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>383.8</td>
</tr>
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<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1082.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>404.6</td>
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<td>Hubei</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1426.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hunan</td>
<td></td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>900.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>599.8</td>
</tr>
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<td>Jilin</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>244.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Heilongjiang</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>355.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwest</td>
<td></td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>686.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongolia</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>177.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaanxi</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>360.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gansu</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>61.2</td>
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<td>Qinghai</td>
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<td>23.5</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>47.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ningxia</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinjiang</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southwest</td>
<td></td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>901.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sichuan</td>
<td></td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>751.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>111.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guizhou</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>2712.4</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>51959.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

US$45363 millions into the coastal regions comparing with US$137 millions and US$6597 millions of FDI into the inland regions, in 1984 and 2002, respectively. In percentages, the FDI inflows into the coastal regions were 95% and 87% against to 5% and 13% into the inland region in 1984 and 2002, respectively.

FDI, as expected by the Chinese government, has played a great role in China’s economic development. It has transferred technologies and management know-how. It also has expanded China’s export sector, improved total factor productivities and contributed to GDP growth significantly through the establishment of FIEs and the spillover effects on domestic enterprises. Table 3 presents varies form of significant contribution of FDI to China’s exceptional economic performance during 1985, 1990 and 2002. The column 1 shows the year, the number 2 and 3 columns provide the shares of FDI inflows in the total domestic investment and the percentages of FDI stocks in GDP, respectively. The column 4 and 5 show the exports by FIEs and the share of their exports in the total exports, respectively. The last two columns 6 and 7 give the share of the industrial output by FIEs in the total industrial output and the number of employees in FIEs, respectively.

Table 3. Varies forms of contribution of FDI in China, 1985, 1990 – 2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>FDI inflows/ total domestic investment (%)</th>
<th>FDI stocks / GDP (%)</th>
<th>Exports by FIEs(billion dollars)</th>
<th>FIEs export/ total export (%)</th>
<th>FIEs industrial output/ total industrial output (%)</th>
<th>Number of employees in FIEs (million)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>7.81</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>1.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>2.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>2.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>4.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>5.13</td>
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<td>1996</td>
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<td>61.5</td>
<td>40.7</td>
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<td>5.40</td>
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<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>41.0</td>
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<td>5.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
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<td></td>
<td>80.96</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.87</td>
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<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>88.63</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>10.7</td>
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<td>119.44</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>27.39</td>
<td>6.42</td>
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<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>133.22</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>28.52</td>
<td>6.71</td>
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<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>169.99</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: World Investment Report, varies issues; Almanac of China’s Economy, varies issues; China Statistical Yearbook, varies issues
The FDI inflows have provided sufficient foreign capital investment flows and were accounted over 10% of total domestic investment per year since 1993. The ratio of FDI stocks to GDP in 1985 was 1.5% and has increased to 23.5% in 1997. FDI has assisted China to access new export markets. The exports by FIEs was 0.3 billion US dollars accounted for 1.1% of China’s total exports in 1985 while in 1997 it increased to $75 billion US dollars and accounted for 41% of China’s total exports (see column 4 and 5). The share of industrial output by FIEs in total industrial output also demonstrated great strength. This share has increased from 5% in 1991 to 29% in 2002 (see column 6). With 208056 FIEs operating in China’s battlefield of almost every single sector, FDI has created local employment opportunities and the number of employees in FIEs have reached 7.58 million in 2002 (see column 7).

While FDI has had strong impacts on China’s overall economic development, the unbalanced distribution of FDI among different regions has undoubtedly created a skewed regional economic development. This can be clearly evidenced by Table 4 where we saw the impact of FDI on the regional economy of China. Table 4 demonstrates that FDI has had much greater contributions to economic development in the coastal region than the inland provinces in 2001. The Exports by FIEs in the coastal region was about US$130 billion accounted for 53% in the region’s total exports, where the inland provinces only had $3.3US billion dollars accounted for 16% in the region’s total export. The exports of the coastal and the inland regions in 2001 were US$244 billion and US$21 billion, respectively. These exports were accounted for 92% and 8% in the national total exports, respectively. However, the 4th row of Table 4 shows the overall total exports average annual growth rate between 1978 and 2002 is about the same, 13%. These two average annual growth rates in the inland and the coastal regions were about the same, despite the fact that the export induced by FIEs was much higher in the coastal
region than in the inland region. Undoubtedly, opening up to the world economy does not only benefit the coastal region, it also indeed stimulates the demand for increasing export in the inland region through the enhanced competition in whole China. This occurs despite the fact that the FDI policies have been in favor of the coastal region that resulted in much more of FDI flowed into the coastal region. Similarly, the industrial output by FIEs in the coastal and the inland regions, respectively, were RMB 2469 billions and RMB 249 billions and accounted for 36% and 9% in the respective regions’ total industrial output. This led to the share of industrial output of the coastal and the inland regions in national total industrial output to be 71% and 28%, respectively (see row 9). Moreover, FDI also has created much higher local employment in the coastal region than

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of variable</th>
<th>Coastal Region</th>
<th>Inland Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Export by FIEs (US billion dollars)</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Share of export by FIEs In regional total export (%)</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Regional total export (US billion dollars)</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Regional total export average annual growth rate: 1978-2002 (%)</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Share of export by region in national total export (%)</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Industrial output by FIEs (RMB billion Yuan)</td>
<td>2469</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Share of industrial output by FIEs in regional total industrial Output (%)</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Regional industrial total output (RMB billion Yuan)</td>
<td>6815</td>
<td>2706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Share of industrial output by Region in national total industrial Output (%)</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Number of employees in FIEs (10,000 Persons)</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Calculated from China Statistical Yearbook 2002.
in the inland region. The number of employees in the FIEs, as shown in the Table 4 (row 10) in the coastal region reached to 5.83 million comparing with only 0.85 million in the inland region. In terms of earnings, it is widely observed, that the employees in FIEs are much better off than in the comparable domestic sectors, especially, in the state-owned enterprises. Thus, the average wage in all sectors in the coastal region was pulled up. As a consequence of the extremely unbalanced economic development in the two regions, the regional income inequality has been widening with the deepening of economic reform and FDI movements in the regions became more and more pronounced. Figure 2 shows the per capita income in the coastal and the inland regions from 1970 to 2002. As can be seen, the income inequality between the two regions increased gradually since 1978 and then in the mid 1980s, a visible widening surged and the two upward inequality drifts became more and more divergent.

![Regional Income Inequality in China: 1970 - 2002](image)

Figure 2. Regional Income Inequality in China: 1970-2002

Facing the issue of growing regional inequality in the country, the Chinese government has taken steps to bridge the spiraling gap between the inland and the coastal regions throughout the economic reform period. In the middle of 1980s, a new emphasis on
economic development plan in the poor area was introduced, adopted in the 7th Five Year Plan (1986 – 1990) and further strengthened in 8th Five Year Plan (1991 – 1995) (World Bank, 1992). The whole plan includes special programs to improve the education and health status; a Food-for-Work-Program to assist with the building of roads, irrigation works and other capital constructions; price reform to decontrol of distorted raw material and agricultural prices and subsidized bank loans for development (World Bank, 1992). Also, as the Chinese government viewed that the widening gap between the coastal and the inland regions mainly was a result of the decline in the performance of the rural enterprises, thus, a domestic investment plan to support the rural enterprises of inland region (excluding of northeast provinces) was particularly emphasized. This is, a large amount additional bank loans and a special state council loan, RMB 10 billion, were planed for year 1993 – 2000 for the growth and development of the inland region9. In addition, a three-year exemption from income tax for all newly established rural enterprises in central provinces, as well as the new tax policy of exemption of all items of export from value-added tax and consumer tax were introduced.

The Chinese government, in 2000, further addressed the concern about the widening of regional inequalities and planed to narrow regional inequalities as one of its principal objectives. In 2001, RMB 205.4 billion was transferred to poor provinces and cities to finance social security cash-flow10. Meanwhile, the social security system was under reform by transferring the social security responsibility from enterprises to the state at the provincial and municipal prefecture levels. Beside the social security reform, in the 10th Five-Year Plan (2001–2005), the Chinese government aimed at increasing productivity in agriculture and industrial state-owned enterprises, developing collective, private and individual businesses, promoting labor-intensive activities in service sectors, investing in human capital and protecting natural capital. Moreover, the Chinese government also emphasized the need of establishing economic development zones in the inland provinces by attracting foreign investors to invest in strategic physical infrastructure for transport, water resources management, energy and mining.
4. THE MODEL AND EMPIRICAL RESULTS

In this section, we use regression framework to empirically analyze the relationship between FDI and regional income inequality in China. We specifically attempt to find answers to the following questions: (1) Has FDI influenced China’s regional inequality? (2) If yes, how FDI and regional inequality are related? (3) What are the other principal forces affecting regional income inequality in china?

The conceptual framework adopted to analyze the causality between FDI and regional income inequality is based on the argument between the modernization and dependency theories developed in section 2 of this paper. The Kuznets hypothesis will be used to guide the study on the relationship between economic development and regional income inequality. Other variables are used to explain regional income inequality including the ones that the Chinese government used for intervention of regional income inequalities or the variables only commonly deemed in past income inequality studies and could be defined and measured. Thus, the following three basic models are considered for national, urban and rural studies, respectively:

\[
\text{GINI}_{tn} = a_1 + b_1 FDI_{tn} + c_1 \text{PCG}_t + d_1 \text{PCG2}_{tn} + e_1 \text{AGR}_{tn} + f_1 \text{HCAP}_{tn} + g_1 \text{GOV}_{tn} + h_1 \text{TRADE}_{tn} + j_1 \text{DINV}_{tn} + u_{tn}
\]

(1)

\[
\text{GINI}_{tu} = a_2 + b_2 FDI_{tu} + c_2 \text{PCG}_t + d_2 \text{PCG2}_{tu} + e_2 \text{SOE}_{tu} + f_2 \text{HCAP}_{tn} + g_2 \text{GOVU}_{tu} + h_2 \text{TRADE}_{tu} + j_2 \text{DINV}_{tu} + u_{tu}
\]

(2)

\[
\text{GINI}_{tr} = a_3 + b_3 FDI_{tr} + c_3 \text{PCG}_t + d_3 \text{PCG2}_{tr} + e_3 \text{RUE}_{tr} + f_3 \text{HCAP}_{tr} + g_3 \text{GOVR}_{tr} + h_3 \text{TRADE}_{tr} + j_3 \text{DINV}_{tr} + u_{tr}
\]

(3)
Where the variables denote:

- **GINI**: Gini coefficient
- **FDI**: Share of FDI inflows in GDP
- **PCG**: Logarithm of real per capita GDP
- **PCG2**: Squared PCG
- **AGR**: Ratio of the agricultural labor force of the total labor force
- **SOE**: Ratio of the employment of State-Owned Enterprises (SOE) of the total urban employment
- **RUE**: Ratio of the rural enterprises employment of the total rural employment
- **HCAP**: Human capital
- **GOV**: Share of total government expenditure in GDP
- **GOVU**: Share of government expenditure for urban in GDP
- **GOVR**: Share of government expenditure for agriculture in GDP
- **TRADE**: Share of trade in GDP
- **DINV**: Share of domestic investment in GDP
- **u**: Normally distributed disturbance term.

Gini coefficient is used as the dependent variable because it is the most popular measure for income inequality. In this study, a newly developed method by Wan (2001) was used to decompose the aggregate value of the Gini coefficient for rural, urban and national. In brief, the Gini ratio, denoted by $G_k$, can be obtained via simple matrix manipulation:

$$G_k = P_k Q I_k$$

where $P_k$ is a row vector of the shares of income-receiving units, and $I$ is a column vector of income shares based on the k-th income data. Both are ranked by increasing values of per capita income $Y_k$. $Y$ is total income composed of K sources or components, i.e., $Y = Y_1 + Y_2 + \ldots + Y_k$. $Q$ is a square matrix with appropriate dimensions whose elements $q_{ij}$ are equal to 0 if $i=j$, to +1 if $i<j$ and to -1 if $i>j$. 


Table 5 presents such calculated Gini ratio for rural, urban and national from 1978 to 2002. The decomposition for rural, urban and national Gini coefficient is based on the data of rural, urban and national household disposable income in terms of Chinese currency RMB, respectively. Thus, the provincial level time series panel data and the national time series data for 1978 – 2002 are needed and these data are compiled from *Comprehensive Statistical Data and Materials for 50 years of New China* and various issues of China Statistical Yearbook, both published by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS). Also, in this study, the independent variables, a time series data set from 1978 –

Table 5. Calculated rural, urban and national Gini ratio 1978 – 2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>0.1463</td>
<td>0.0888</td>
<td>0.1142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>0.1311</td>
<td>0.0757</td>
<td>0.1040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>0.1292</td>
<td>0.0784</td>
<td>0.1025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>0.1116</td>
<td>0.0766</td>
<td>0.0933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>0.1127</td>
<td>0.0751</td>
<td>0.1008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>0.1130</td>
<td>0.0789</td>
<td>0.1060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>0.1214</td>
<td>0.0846</td>
<td>0.1154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>0.1261</td>
<td>0.0905</td>
<td>0.1101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>0.1372</td>
<td>0.0856</td>
<td>0.1261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>0.1520</td>
<td>0.0894</td>
<td>0.1370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>0.1549</td>
<td>0.0994</td>
<td>0.1506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>0.1615</td>
<td>0.1044</td>
<td>0.1536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>0.1530</td>
<td>0.1046</td>
<td>0.1393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>0.1698</td>
<td>0.1130</td>
<td>0.1616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>0.1767</td>
<td>0.1212</td>
<td>0.1672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>0.1971</td>
<td>0.1362</td>
<td>0.1820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>0.1977</td>
<td>0.1554</td>
<td>0.1846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>0.1930</td>
<td>0.1470</td>
<td>0.1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>0.1853</td>
<td>0.1421</td>
<td>0.1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>0.1832</td>
<td>0.1386</td>
<td>0.1785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>0.1808</td>
<td>0.1404</td>
<td>0.1757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>0.1881</td>
<td>0.1454</td>
<td>0.1778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>0.1945</td>
<td>0.1459</td>
<td>0.1827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>0.1974</td>
<td>0.1436</td>
<td>0.1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>0.1833</td>
<td>0.1290</td>
<td>0.1768</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Calculated from various China Statistical Yearbook.
2002, are all collected from the same resources just mentioned and all variables are measured in Chinese currency RMB.

The view on the expected sign of the coefficient $b_i$ is divided. Dependency theorists believe that greater regional income inequalities associated with increasing FDI inflows, thus, the expected sign of the coefficient $b_i$ should be positive. However, if modernization hypothesis holds, that is, FDI does not cause any significant variance in income inequality, the expected sign of the coefficient $b_i$ would be negative. According to the Kuznets hypothesis, PCG and PCG2 are used to measure economic development and the coefficients $c_i$ and $d_i$ are expected to be positive and negative, respectively.

Agricultural transformation has been widely acknowledged and practically recommended by many researchers and developing countries as a force of convergence toward regional income equality. Thus, AGR has been used to estimate the national regional income inequality. In general, a high ratio of agricultural labor force of total labor force indicates divergence toward regional income equality. In the urban regional income inequality estimation, SOE is used to measure the changes of economic structure as SOE is a well reflection of economic reforms in urban areas and any changes in SOE would significantly affect income distributions in urban areas. According to dependency theory, a low ratio of the employment of SOE of the total urban employment is regarded as divergence of regional income equality. However, the opposite result will occur if modernization hypothesis holds. In the estimation of rural income inequality, RUE is used to measure agricultural transformation in the rural areas. The rural enterprises have played a great role in China’s rural economic development and the Chinese government viewed that the successful development of the rural enterprises could effectively reduce regional income inequality. More people are employed in the sectors other than in the agriculture sector means better income prospects. Thus, a high ratio of the rural enterprises employment of the total rural employment indicates an even income distribution in the rural regions.
Human capital (HCAP) is measured by ratio of secondary school enrolment of the population, which was commonly used in income inequality studies (e.g. Tsai 1995 and Sylwester 2000). It is widely believed that improvement of education could effectively reduce regional income inequality. The Chinese government has attempted to narrow regional income inequality throughout the whole economic reform period. The role of government in income redistribution certainly is crucial. Thus, it is expected a high share of government expenditure in GDP would narrow regional income disparities. Trade is generally used to measure the degree of openness of an economy. According to modernization hypothesis, trade enhances competition, fosters economic growth and leads to better income distribution. Thereby, a negative sign of $h_i$ is expected if modernization hypothesis holds. One of the important strategies used by the Chinese government to narrow regional income inequality is domestic investment through bank and state loans as discussed in section 3, and consequently, the expected sign of $j_i$ is negative.

Table 6 provides a summary on the expected signs of all the coefficients on the variables for national, urban and rural equations, respectively. The actual signs of all the coefficients on the variables for the three equations also are summarized and given in Table 6.

The econometric results corresponding to the equations of national, urban and rural are contained in Table 7, which were estimated by using ordinary least squares (OLS). Overall, the results are encouraging with 97%, 96% and 98% of the variation in the Gini Coefficient is explained by the right-hand side independent variables. The Duban-Wason Statistics for the three equations indicates no serial correlation in the error terms.

With the estimated positive coefficient of FDI which are statistical significant at the 1% level, the results in the equations of national, rural and urban indicate that increasing FDI inflows in China has accelerated regional income inequality. The findings lend some supports to the dependency hypothesis and are consistent with what were obtained by Tsai (1995) and FU (2004), whereas, the study by Tsai is about the impact of FDI on
Table 6 Expected signs of the coefficients on the variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>National Eq. GINI&lt;sub&gt;tn&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
<th>Urban Eq. GINI&lt;sub&gt;tu&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
<th>Rural Eq. GINI&lt;sub&gt;tr&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expected Sign</td>
<td>Actual Sign</td>
<td>Expected Sign</td>
<td>Actual Sign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDI</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>+ or −*</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+ or −</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCG</td>
<td>ci</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCG2</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGR</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOE</td>
<td>e2</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RUE</td>
<td>e3</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCAP</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOV</td>
<td>g1</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOVU</td>
<td>g2</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOVR</td>
<td>g3</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRADE</td>
<td>hi</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DINV</td>
<td>ji</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* If dependency theory holds, the expected sign of bi is “+”, if modernization hypothesis holds, the expected sign is “−.”

Income inequality in 33 less-developed countries and used panel data of China only covering the years of 1990s. Positive sign of PCG and negative sign of PCG2, both revealed to be significant at 1% level in the three models of national, rural and urban, the signs are all consistent with an inverted U-shaped curve. That is, the Kuznets hypothesis is generally supported by the empirical analysis. The result in the national estimation also shows that at 1% significant level, the positive sign of AGR coefficient confirms that agricultural transformation toward industrialization can effectively narrow the regional income inequality. This also confirms the findings in Tsai (1995) and Fu (2004). However, at 1% significant level, a negative sign is associated with the coefficient of SOE which confirms that dependency hypothesis holds for the urban areas and is consistent with those obtained in other research on the Chinese economy (e.g. Xu and Zou, 2000). This finding also supports the argument that the continuing collapse of SOE in the recent decades has forced considerable increasing number of XIA GANG (layoff) workers, which significantly worsens income inequality in the urban areas. Similarly, the RUE coefficient is negative and significant at 1% level confirms
Table 7. Estimates of the regression models for FDI and regional income inequality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>National Equation (1)</th>
<th>Rural Equation (2)</th>
<th>Urban Equation (3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONSTANT</td>
<td>-245.93</td>
<td>-212.95</td>
<td>-78.267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-7.570)</td>
<td>(-4.428)</td>
<td>(-3.318)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDI</td>
<td>0.9068</td>
<td>1.0725</td>
<td>1.3476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5.512)</td>
<td>(3.750)</td>
<td>(7.211)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCG</td>
<td>121.57</td>
<td>130.88</td>
<td>61.581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(7.671)</td>
<td>(4.486)</td>
<td>(4.192)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCG2</td>
<td>-16.956</td>
<td>-18.489</td>
<td>-9.8491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-7.530)</td>
<td>(-4.340)</td>
<td>(-4.319)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGR RUE SOE</td>
<td>0.6109</td>
<td>-0.3346</td>
<td>-0.0818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4.599)</td>
<td>(-2.246)</td>
<td>(-3.793)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCAP</td>
<td>3.2616</td>
<td>2.3124</td>
<td>1.1638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(7.528)</td>
<td>(2.476)</td>
<td>(3.599)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOV GOVR GOVU</td>
<td>-0.1451</td>
<td>-0.2704</td>
<td>-0.1367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-1.373)</td>
<td>(-0.338)</td>
<td>(-1.362)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRADE</td>
<td>-0.0880</td>
<td>-0.1295</td>
<td>-0.0278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-1.991)</td>
<td>(-1.899)</td>
<td>(-0.8215)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DINV</td>
<td>-0.0026</td>
<td>-0.0787</td>
<td>-0.1370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-0.0499)</td>
<td>(-1.196)</td>
<td>(-3.402)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. R²</td>
<td>96.87%</td>
<td>96.35%</td>
<td>97.69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. W.</td>
<td>2.0812</td>
<td>2.2486</td>
<td>2.0303</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numbers in parentheses are t-statistics; all tests are two-tail tests.

that transformation of rural agricultural labor force to manufacturing and service industries is an effective strategy to narrow income inequality.

Surprisingly, the coefficients of HCAP in all three national, rural and urban equations are all associated with a wrong positive sign. This is obviously in contradiction to the wide believes that improvement in education could effectively reduce income inequality (Wan, Lu and Chen, 2003; Tsai, 1995). However, this could be an indication that the educated “labor elites” from the inland region have been attracted to the high income coastal
region which has led to worsening of regional income inequality (FU, 2004). It is well-known that interstate labor migration from the inland region to the coastal region has been an important phenomenon in China over the last two decades. Another striking result from Table 6 is that the great commitments of Chinese government on narrowing regional income inequality at national, urban and rural level have not had any influences on regional income inequalities, as the three coefficients are all negative and statistically insignificant. Perhaps, this would be due to the fact that given the large population and the massive areas of the inland provinces are still underdeveloped and the efforts of the Chinese government to narrow the regional income inequality may not be strong enough.

Interestingly, the coefficient estimations of TRADE variable are negative and statistically significant for national and rural regions, which indicate a negative relationship between openness and regional income inequality as expected. This lends some supports to the modernization theory that openness to the world economy could enhance competition and improve efficiency in resource allocation hence leading to economic development with better income distribution. Indeed, the rich resources of the inland provinces have been well explored for trade, which, no doubt, has helped the poor, especially, those in the rural regions, to gain power fighting for a better income distribution. However, the urban coefficient for TRADE is statistically insignificant. This may reflect the facts that the inland provinces relatively have weak comparative advantages in production of manufactured and finished goods, whereas, the manufacture enterprises mainly are located in urban areas, thus, trade in the urban areas did not play a significant role to narrow income inequality.

Similarly, the sign of the coefficient for DINV variable, at national level and rural region, are negative and statistically insignificant but the coefficient for urban is significant at 1% level indicating that more domestic investment would reduce the differential between the coastal and the inland regions. This result, in fact, is not surprising despite the great effort that the Chinese government attempted to invest in the rural enterprises in the inland provinces. The courses of increasing regional inequality are not only the continuing decline of the rural industries in the inland provinces, some other factors such
as the preferential FDI policies and appropriate long term economic development policies could play a great role in influencing regional income inequality.

5. IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

In this paper we attempted to analyze the impact of FDI on regional income inequality in China by estimating three separate equations for national, urban and rural and using time series & cross-sectional data from 1978 to 2002. The results show that the FDI inflows are one of the major factors that have led to an increase in regional income inequality at national, rural and urban levels in China. Other factors have caused increasing of regional inequality include the level of economic development, human capital and the economic reforms in SOE industries. In the opposite site, the factors have narrowed the regional income inequality are agriculture transformation toward industrialization in the case of rural and urban, trade for achieving a better income distribution in the rural areas and at national level and domestic investment in the urban areas. The Chinese government has failed to influence income distributions in rural, urban and at national level. Trade and domestic investment have had no significant impact on urban and rural income distributions, respectively.

Concerning the impacts of FDI on the host developing countries economy, the result of this study evidently demonstrated that FDI does come with both benefits and costs. It is clear from the analysis, while FDI has fostered Chinese economic rapid growth, it is also true that FDI has also led to increase China’s regional income inequality. Thus, in order to reduce income inequality a sustainable long-term geographical dispersion and selective FDI policy should be implemented to encourage foreign investors investing in the inland region of China, and to promote FDI inflows into export-oriented, high technology, agriculture, and infrastructure sectors.

Our analysis also showed that the unbalanced economic development in the regions has increased income inequality. Consequently, to promote economic development in the
inland regions, as important as FDI, further liberalization and reforms on domestic sectors are urged. The following recommendations may provide helpful hints:

(1). Reforms and development in domestic manufacturing and tertiary industries to produce manufactured and finished goods in the inland regions are urged. It enables trade and improves efficiency in using rich and cheap production resources.

(2). While encourage domestic investors invest in the inland regions, any discrimination and unfair policies against its own domestic enterprises, especially, the Non-State-Owned Enterprises (NSOE) must be abandoned.

(3). Further research and development for appropriate government policies are one of the important keys to narrow regional income inequality. In particular, the policy of exemption of all items of export from value-added tax and consumer tax must be reviewed as this tax policy further increases regional income inequality. Because the export in the coastal region has been much higher than the export in the inland region, the larger export, the greater is the benefits.

As far as human capital and the reforms in the SOE industries concerned, effective support programs and preferential policies in the inland regions are required. For instance, education programs could be designed with incentives to encourage educated “local elites” to contribute to the local economic development. With the increasing number of XIA GANG (layoff) workers, an integrated set of fiscal reforms of the Chinese security system is urged which should be linked with re-education and re-training programs.

Finally, it must be admitted that there are a few restrictions in this study. First, the difference in price levels across regions and inflation effects are problems remaining unresolved, although a very few studies have paid the attention. Second, the relatively poor quality and inconsistency of the Chinese data, despite analytical technique was attempted for improvement, may result in an incorrect conclusion in this study. Third, some important variables, for instance, political democracy and geography variables, are not included. Overall, further researches on income distribution effects from different types of FDI, the impacts of FDI on income inequality – not by regions but based on
average incomes of different percentiles for urban and rural residents in different provinces would be interesting and helpful for China’s economic development.

NOTES
1. Calculated from varies China Statistical yearbook.

2. Estimated from China’s official publication figures and varies China Statistical yearbook.


4. Kuznets (1955) hypothesis describes that the relationship between income inequality and the level of economic development is just like an inverted -U-shaped curve.

5. In this study, the geographical regions of China were divided into two major regions, the coastal and inland regions, for comparison. The coastal region includes the metro cities (Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai) and the eight coastal provinces (Hebei, Liaoning, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian, Guangdong, Guangxi and Shandong). The inland region includes six central provinces (Shanxi, Anhui, Jiangxi, Henan, Hubei and Hunan), two northeast provinces (Jilin and Heilongjiang), six northwest provinces (Inner Mongolia, Shanxi, Gansu, Qinghai, Ningxia and Xinjiang) and three southwest provinces (Sichuan, Guizhou and Yunnan). Hainan and Tibet provinces are excluded from the study due to incomplete data issue while the newly established metro city, Chongqing was combined with Sichuan where it was originally separated from. This design is in accordance with the Chinese experiment economic reform geographical plan.

6. Calculated from varies China Statistical yearbook.


8. The statement is based on the calculation from China Statistical Yearbook 2003. For instance, the average annual wage in the richest metro city Shanghai was 2.52 times higher than in the poorest province Guizhou.

9. The State Statistical Bureau of China (SSBC) online information in Chinese.

11. The trade in the inland regions mainly is primary goods and services as the inland provinces are rich of resources, whereas, those natural resources mainly are located in rural area. This may well explain why the rural area can gain from trade hence achieving a better income distribution (sources: Almanac of China’s Economy and The China Internet Information Centre: www.org.cn).

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Direct Evidence for the Primacy of Skin Tone in Children’s Racial Categorizations

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Abstract

Children (ages 5-8 years) completed a classification activity in which they sorted pictures of faces into groups that they believed were similar. Key features associated with racial categories (i.e., skin tone, lip size, and nose size) were crossed over the set of pictures. Results show unambiguously that children use skin tone as a primary categorization criterion (across other facial features). Moreover, the use of skin tone was not related to age or racial identity of the children. The implications of these findings on racial categorization processes and race bias in children’s social cognition are discussed.
Direct Evidence for the Primacy of Skin Tone in Children’s Racial Categorizations

Social science literature on the idea of “race”\(^1\) as a social category has hitherto employed two competing emphases: (a) that the most important criterion for people’s racial categorizations is skin tone—often called skin color\(^2\)—and (b) that racial categorizations rely on a combination of facial features (e.g., nose size, lip size, and eye shape) including, but not limited to, skin tone. The emphasis on skin tone as paramount can be traced from the earliest social science studies of race (e.g., K. B, Clark & M. P. Clark, 1947) and theories about color bias (e.g., Williams, Best, & Boswell, 1975; Williams & Edwards, 1969; Williams & Morland, 1975). The emphasis on race as a combination of features is seen in most present research in the adult and child social cognition literature. For instance, many current adult social psychological studies on racial categorization confound the features of full lips, broad noses, and dark skin tone to constitute a so-called Black person or use such features to create “prototypical African-American” faces (e.g., Blair, Judd, Sadler, & Jenkins, 2002). Morphing studies in the adult social cognition literature also evince this confounding of features. Eberhardt, Dasgupta, and Banaszynski (2003) used so-called prototypical African American faces (which consisted of dark skin, broad noses, and full lips) and prototypical European American faces (which consisted of light skin, thin noses, and thin lips) and averaged them to create “racially ambiguous” faces, which were presented to research participants. Similarly, in the Corneille, Huart, Becquart and Brédart (2004) study, faces were morphed from European to North African or Asian by simultaneously changing a variety of features, such as lip size, nose size, eye shape, and skin tone.

A portion of developmental research on the racial categorization shows the same emphasis on race as a combination of features found in the adult literature. In Hirschfeld’s (1995a, 1995b, 1996) work with children, participants are routinely presented with pictures of
people of different races, and this manipulation is explicitly accomplished through the confounding of physical features such as lip size, nose size, and skin tone in an arrangement that resembles the prototypical African American or European American faces described above (see Enesco, Navarro, Giménez & Olmo, 1999; Hirschfeld, 1995a, p. 222). Interestingly, most other developmental studies emphasize skin tone by providing stimuli in which only skin tone varies. These studies then ask children to make various judgments about similarity (see Aboud, 1988, for a review) or attitudes (Williams & Edwards, 1969). Consequently, virtually no study in the adult or child literature allows researchers to easily examine whether children focus on other facial features (e.g., nose size, lip size, or eye shape) in addition to or in place of skin tone to make racial categorizations.

Problems with Past Approaches

Why is this confounding of facial features and skin tone or focusing exclusively on skin tone problematic? It might seem reasonable, given the prevalent social ideas concerning race, that what distinguishes human races is a complex set of physical features. Accordingly, if one wants to study racial categorization, then one should use stimuli which reflect these aspects of human phenotypic diversity (cf. Aboud, 1988; Bernstein, Zimmerman, Werner-Wilson, & Voburg, 2000; Lemaine, Santolini, Bonnet, & Ben Brika, 1985). While this argument might seem *prima facie* valid, it is not. Even forty years ago, Barnicot (1964) showed that there is as much phenotype variability in facial features and skin tone *within* so-called racial groups as there is *between* them. Similarly, one only need carefully examine the variability in facial features and skin tone that exists between any two people who describe themselves as part of the same race to understand that the categorization criteria for race are not standardized or well defined at all. In fact, recent genetic (e.g., Marks, 1995) and philosophical (e.g., Zack, 2003) analyses, in addition
to anthropological statements (American Anthropological Association, 1998), explicitly argue that race, as a system of categorization, does not make sense from either the genetic, phenotypic, or logical standpoints (see Tate & Audette, 2001, for a review).

Given that both the claims about phenotypic difference among races and the idea of races themselves do not make biological or logical sense, how should one approach the topic of ‘race’ and racial categorization within social science? Tate and Audette (2001) provide a useful framework by orienting theorists’ attention toward a focus on how individuals cognitively represent the concept of race. Tate and Audette’s (2001) position is explicitly concerned with the kinds of experiential data people use to construct their understandings of race, recognizing that there can be individual differences therein. At the same time, Tate and Audette’s (2001) analysis allows for the existence and exploration of experiential data that are largely similar across people’s representations, which presumably support the continued use of race as a conceptual system (and the belief that race is thought about similarly across people). Historically, such an experiential datum has been skin tone. Since the inception of race as scientific concept, human races have been distinguished in part by their supposed different colors (see Gould, 1981; Jones, 1997; Stephan, 1982; Tate & Audette, 2001). In fact, the existence of de jure color standards as one method by which to enforce racial segregation in America during the post-Civil War era is another illustration of how skin tone was believed to be and used as the differentiating factor for human races.

Yet, it is possible that, in the absence of legally mandated color standards in America since the 1960s, skin tone has become less primary in its role in racial categorizations. As ideas about multiculturalism become more prevalent in American society, as colorblind ideology (e.g., D’Souza, 1995; Sniderman & Carmines, 1997) continues to proliferate, and as social scientists
argue that race is a formative process that is historical and socio-economically contingent (e.g., Omi & Winant, 1994), skin tone itself might become de-emphasized in discourse about race. Moreover, skin tone might be taking a less central role in people’s racial categorizations because within the psychology literature some theorists argue that race is more than skin tone; it is a complex interaction of several physical features (e.g., Hirschfeld, 1995a; Phinney, 1996). Consequently, the question of whether skin tone is truly a primary focus of racial categorization cannot be effectively answered if research does not conceptually and empirically disentangle it from other physical features in order to examine the relative contributions of different physical features to the racial categorization process. If features are continually confounded, uncovering their relative importance in the categorization process becomes virtually impossible. In short, research until now appears to have assumed either a primary or secondary role of skin tone in racial categorization based on historical and social convention, rather than rigorous empirical examination of the issue.

The Significance of Children’s Cognition

Building on Hirschfeld’s arguments that children acquire a theory of race, we wanted to examine whether there are aspects of children’s theories of race that are more salient than others for this age group. Research to date has not examined this question. Instead, some theorists (Aboud, 1988; Lemaine et al., 1985) suggest that children’s racial discriminations are based on a broader set of features which include, but are not limited to, skin tone. Hirschfeld’s (1995b) research explores the heritability of color (viz. skin tone) in humans (i.e., a child resembling one parent more than other [Study 1] and the inheritability of color in humans and non-human animals [Study 3], not whether skin tone is used as a criterion for differentiating individuals.
Although a portion of developmentalists (e.g., Berstein et al., 2000; Bigler & Liben, 1993; Sorce, 1979) “follow what has become common practice by depicting racial differences with variations in skin tone, facial features (lips, nose, and overall shape), and hair color and texture” (Hirschfeld, 1995a, p. 222), this common practice does not allow one to examine whether the features assumed to be used in adults’ racial classifications —namely, some combination of facial features and skin tone—develop all at once for children, or whether children acquire certain parts of the racial theory before others. Answering this question will provide insights into the acquisition of race as a social concept and clarify whether a focus on skin tone by some theories (e.g., color bias; Williams & Morland, 1975) is appropriate at ages 5-8.

Overview of this Study

The present research sought to empirically uncover the relationship between skin tone and other facial features often related to racial categorization using a study design that was able to reveal the relative contributions of each to children’s categorizations. Briefly, children were presented with 16 faces that fully crossed the variables of interest—skin tone, lip size, and nose size—and then asked to sort these pictures into groups.

From this full crossing, we were able to examine a broad range of possibilities within the categorizations. Specifically, the design of this research allowed for the uncovering of not only whether skin tone is primary in children’s categorization systems, but also whether this variable interacts with other facial features. In essence, we were able to examine the particular constellations of features provided by children when they made their categorizations, rather than having to observe what judgments children made when presented with particular constellations.
Method

Participants

Participants were 32 children in kindergarten to third grade (aged 5 years to 8 years) at different elementary schools in Eugene and Portland, Oregon. Participants were identified as both “White” \( n = 14 \) and “non-White” \( n = 16 \) by their parents.\(^4\)

Materials and Procedure

Stimuli. Stimulus materials were a set of sixteen 3.25 in. by 2.5 in. pictures. We created 16 pictures of children from an initial set of 4 children. The stimuli crossed the three main variables of interest—skin tone, lip size, and nose size—with gender. There were two levels of each variable: skin tone (light, dark), lip size (thin, full), nose size (narrow, broad), and gender (male, female). Each level appeared at least once with each other level for a total of 16 photos (see Appendix).

Procedure. Half the children completed this task individually while the other half completed the task in a room with other children, but each child tested in a group was seated with dividers so that any child could not see what another was doing. All children were given an envelope with the stimuli inside. The experimenter told the children that she would like them to sort the pictures into as many groups as they wanted of pictures that they think “go together.” We did not mention the term race because many children do not understand what the concept means (see, e.g., Hirschfeld, 1995b, 1996). The experimenter then informed the children of two restrictions on their groupings: (a) the groupings must include both boys and girls (i.e., one cannot sort by gender), and (b) that each group has to have at least two pictures in it. Children were then allowed to create their groupings while the experimenter did not watch. Once the child
was finished making groupings, the experimenter clipped groups together after checking with the child to assure the accuracy of the groupings.

**Exclusions.** Groupings from 6 participants could not be used. Three of the participants received faulty stimuli and another 3 of the participants created groupings based without discernable patterns. Accordingly, the data were analyzed for 26 participants.

**Results and Discussion**

*Skin Tone as a Categorization Dimension*

We examined whether skin tone was used as a categorization dimension (i.e., whether children made light skinned and dark skinned groups) by itself or in combination with other features (e.g., lips size, and/or nose size). Skin tone was used as a categorization dimension in 85% of the sample. The other 15% of the sample made categorizations across the dimension of skin tone (e.g., by nose size and/or lip size). This difference is significant, $\chi^2 (1, n = 26) = 12.46$, $p < .001$, see Table 1. Moreover, the use of skin tone as a categorization dimension was not related to whether the children were identified as White or non-White, nor was it related to age group (5-6 years vs. 7-8 years), both Fisher’s exact $p$’s = 1.00, two-tailed (see Table 1).

*Skin Tone as the Sole Categorization Dimension*

The above analysis shows that sorting by skin tone (either by itself or in combination with another facial feature) occurred significantly more often than would be expected by chance. Nonetheless, the question remains: Is skin tone used as the sole dimension for categorizing the pictures? Or does sorting by skin tone regularly co-occur with other features? To answer this question, we examined the 22 participants who used skin tone as a part of their categorization schemes to assess whether the use of skin tone by itself occurred equally with the use of skin tone in combination with some other facial feature. This analysis is a direct test of whether
children are cued to skin tone alone or a combination of physical features when making groupings.

Of the 22 participants who used skin tone as categorization criterion, 72% used skin tone as the only dimension of sorting, while 27% used skin tone and another facial feature as the dimensions of sorting. This difference was significant, $\chi^2 (1, n = 22) = 4.54, p = .03$, suggesting that skin tone by itself is the primary focus of children’s racial categorizations, see Table 2. There were no relationships of age group or racial identity to these results, both Fisher’s exact $ps = 1.00$, two-tailed (see Table 2).

**General Discussion**

As stated at the outset of this paper, previous research in the child literature has either: (a) assumed that skin tone is the primary focus of children’s racial classifications or (b) consistently confounded several racialized factors in the creation and use of stimuli, assuming that ‘race’ is a combination of facial features and skin tone. Our research has been able to identify that when the racialized features of skin tone, nose size, and lip size are crossed within the experimental design, most children used only skin tone information to create their groupings of faces. These findings therefore provide clarity to the developmental literature on racial categorizations by arguing that in studies like Hirschfeld’s, where features like nose size and lip size are confounded with skin tone, most children are probably focusing on skin tone, not the other features. Our results provide such an interpretation because the design allows us to see that if a child used skin tone as the only dimension for categorization, then s/he necessarily had to collapse other features. That is, faces in a dark skin tone grouping will necessarily have different nose sizes and different lip sizes, showing that the latter two features cannot be the basis for the grouping.
Our findings are also interesting to consider in a larger developmental context. Sorce (1979; as cited in Hirschfeld, 1995a) argues that for preschoolers (approximate age 4-5 years) skin tone is not the most salient cue when considering race. Nevertheless, we have shown that it is the most salient cue for kindergarten through third graders. The juxtaposition of these two findings suggests that there may be a developmental shift toward a focus on skin tone around ages 5-6, further showcasing the development of a racial theory in children.

*Implications for the Child’s Theory of Race*

Despite the fact that our findings are contrary to one of Hirschfeld’s assumptions, our findings do not challenge the idea that children acquire a theory-like understanding of race. In fact, we believe that our findings clarify one specific element of the theory-like understanding. The idea that skin tone is used as the primary categorization criterion suggests that children are learning to focus on an aspect of their immediate world that has been racialized by adults in various contexts (e.g., home, school, and peer groups). It is interesting to note that in our task, in order for children to sort by skin tone, they necessarily had to overlook other facial features that were similar among the pictures. This finding provides strong evidence against the idea that children simply calculate average similarities across sets of features and individuals in order to develop racial groupings. If such a calculus were operating, then the pattern of sorting in our task would be by some combination of skin tone, lip size, and nose size. In terms of our results, the pattern in Table 2 would be reversed. The fact that such a pattern did not emerge across children cannot be explained by a simple calculation account. Instead, it seems plausible that children used a theory of race which emphasizes certain differences among people over other differences. In short, skin tone might be the foundation of the child’s theory of race upon which other information can be built.
Future Directions

Above we have argued that these results inform current categorization studies, but they also suggest areas of future focus. For instance, when researching children, investigators will have a better understanding of the features that are important for children when grouping aspects of human variation. Consistent with previous arguments, and now empirically verified, children do focus on skin tone as the major categorization criterion for other humans. Accordingly, research on color bias (e.g., Williams & Moreland, 1976) has an empirical justification in that we have shown unambiguously that children do categorize people by this dimension when asked to spontaneously create groupings of “pictures that go together.” Other theories which argue that race is a perceived relying on a combination of facial features and skin tone (e.g., Aboud, 1988; Katz, 1982) can be revised to emphasize skin tone relative to the other features at ages 5-8. Moreover, the results suggest that focusing on skin tone as a method of teaching children about human variation is prudent because it is a salient aspect of how humans differ for children in this age group.

Implications for adult research are less clear. It could be adults show the same pattern as children, or it could be that the adult’s theory of race is more consistent with Hirschfeld’s assumption and relies on a combination of facial features and skin tone. In any case, research on adults using this procedure will offer useful insights into other developmental processes related to racial categorizations.

Caveat

It is important to note that idea of race exists differently within different cultural contexts. In Brazil, for instance, race is seen more as a socio-economic category than a biological or physical one (Davis, 1991). Thus, our results might speak well to the primacy of skin tone as
categorization criterion for race for children in America (and culturally similar societies), but these results should be empirically examined in the context of how other cultures might represent race in different ways. In sum, additional research in other cultures is needed to appropriately extend or qualify the present findings.
References


Footnotes

1 The term “race” is referred to with scare quotes here in order to underscore the idea that the categorization system is not meaningful for biological science (e.g., Marks, 1995) but is used by lay people with the belief that it has valid biological underpinnings (Goldberg, 1993).

2 The term “skin tone” is used throughout the paper in order to underscore the reality that differences in surface complexion between humans exist on a continuum rather than as discrete categories, as the term “skin color” implies.

3 We chose not to include eye shape because we were interested in providing a manageable set of stimuli for children to sort. Including eye shape (and fully crossing two levels of it with our existing variables) would have expanded our stimuli set to 24 pictures.

4 Specifically, these children were identified as: African American (n= 3), Asian (n=2), Latino/a (n=1), multiracial (n=9), and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (n=1)

5 This position is generally true, but see Twine’s (1998) work for a dissenting commentary which argues that there is some color-based social hierarchy in Brazilian society.
Authors’ Note

Chuck Tate is a graduate student in the Department of Psychology at the University of Oregon and a Research Scientist at the Oregon Center for Applied Science. Khaya Clark is a graduate student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Oregon. She is also a Research Scientist at the Oregon Center for Applied Science.

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Table 1. Proportion of Children who Sorted Using Skin Tone or Other Features by Age Group and Racial Identity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sorted by skin tone</th>
<th>Sorted by other features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-6 years (n = 14)</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-8 years (n = 12)</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Racial identity</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White (n = 14)</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White (n = 12)</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overall (N = 26)</strong></td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2. Proportion of Children who Sorted Using Skin Tone only or Skin Tone in Combination with Some Other Facial Feature by Age Group and Racial Identity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sorted by skin tone only</th>
<th>Sorted by combination of features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-6 years (n = 12)</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-8 years (n = 10)</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Racial identity</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White (n = 12)</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White (n = 10)</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overall (N = 22)</strong></td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Submission for 2005 Conference Proceedings

1. Title: Recent Community Planning Efforts in Rural Japan: A Case Study from Shima-town, Fukuoka Prefecture

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3. Research Abstract
   Visible signs of social, economic, and environmental change can be seen around almost every turn in rural Japan. New residential subdivisions cover hillsides and spread across former fields and rice paddies. Commercial developments leapfrog along increasingly busy roadways and create visual blight in the form of garish illuminated signs that compete for motorists’ attention. Road construction continues apace, bringing commuters, day trippers, and parking lots into even the most quiet and secluded rural mountain hamlets and seaside villages. Such changes to the rural landscape are putting enormous economic pressure on farmers and other large landowners to subdivide their property and sell off a portion or all of it to the highest bidder. Many elderly farmers, lacking a willing heir to take over their estates, are eager to convert their land into cash for retirement, and most young Japanese people are happy to leave their rural hometowns in search of greater opportunities for education and jobs elsewhere.

Meanwhile, new development inevitably brings new residents and new interest groups to rural communities, and conflicts may occur between natives and move-ins. For example, local decision-making in rural Japan has traditionally been accomplished through informal channels, with important discussion and negotiations occurring ‘behind-the-scenes’ and the opinions of prominent local residents often carrying the most weight. But when this way of reaching consensus does not address the needs and views of new people in the community, who may even make up a majority of residents, they will demand a departure from such traditions. As these kinds of changes occur, the simple ways of rural Japanese residents and the structure of their social relations, which have been developed over generations, are altered forever. In their stead, laws, regulations, and customs that originated in urban environments are imported and established where the unwritten rules of custom and tradition once mattered most. As a result, changes to the rural landscape will increasingly reflect urban sensibilities rather than the carefully crafted balance between man and nature that was an integral part of traditional society.
This research examines the social, economic, and environmental changes occurring in Shima-town, a rural Japanese community located on the border of metropolitan Fukuoka, and explores how those changes are transforming the rural landscape and endangering an important regional asset. Current initiatives by local leaders and concerned citizens to formulate an effective plan for protecting important historic, scenic, cultural, and natural resources in their community are discussed as well as similar efforts in Kobe, Japan, another major city. The argument is made for a stronger, comprehensive regional approach to growth management and natural resource conservation to protect rural landscapes and sustain traditional communities on the urban fringe. The benefits of such an approach, both locally and to the entire region, will be a healthier, more diverse environment and an improved quality of life for all.
1. Title of Submission: Achieving in post-colonial Hong Kong: impact of migration that contribute to differences in adolescents’ academic motivation among local and Mainland migrant families.

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ABSTRACT

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Many studies have sought to uncover the reasons behind the high academic achievements of Chinese migrants compared with migrants of other ethnic backgrounds. Most have highlighted cultural and socioeconomic factors, citing these as the principal reasons.

The picture is complicated by other factors, however, including, importantly, the impact of the migration process itself. Isolating this migration factor may help to resolve many of the unanswered questions about motivation among migrants. Post-colonial Hong Kong provides the ideal setting for such an attempt, because there are minimal differences of ethnicity, culture, dialect, or socioeconomic background between newly arrived migrants from the Chinese Mainland and the majority of working-class Hong Kong locals. Both groups have similar beliefs about schooling, and both are residentially and educationally integrated. Additionally, these new arrivals mostly come to Hong Kong to be reunited with their families, reducing the self-selection factor that exists among migrants with stronger economic motivation.

This study investigates the impact of migration on the academic motivation of the adolescents from these newly arrived migrant families in Hong Kong, and uncovers the contextual and familial factors that might have contributed to any difference in the motivation among adolescents in the migrant and local families. A multidisciplinary approach is used, involving ethnographic study, in-depth interview and survey. The results from all three parts of the study consistently show that migrant children are more motivated. Their higher motivation is associated with their sense of crisis, their ability to compare and contrast their current resources and experiences with those in their community of origin, and their interaction patterns with their parents’ strategies in engaging them in their study.
Residents’ Energy Saving Behaviors in Amphoe Muang: A Case Study of Nakhon Rachasima, Khon Kaen, Ubon Rajathanee, and Udon Thani Provinces, Thailand

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Abstract

The purpose of this research were to study the residents’ energy saving behaviors and factors influencing residents’ energy saving behaviors of those living in Amphoe Muang, Nakhon Ratchasima, Khon Kaen, Ubon Rajathanee, and Udon Thani Provinces, Thailand. The 1,558 people were sampled by systematic random sampling method. The tool to do this research was questionnaire made by the researcher that was composed of fundamental data such as age, occupation, education level, household income, household electricity expense, number of household members, number of electrical appliances, receiving information, knowledge and behavior tests of electricity saving. The statistics applied in data analysis were percentage,
arithmetic mean and chi-square test. The research findings were as follow:

1. The majority of residents’ energy saving behaviors were at moderate level. Among these residents, most of them were female at higher than 46 years of age, had bachelor degree or higher. Most of them were government officials. Their monthly average household income was more than 30,000 Bahts. Their monthly average electricity bills were higher than 400 Bahts. The average number of household members were 1-4 persons. On the average, they have less than 7 items of basic electrical appliances.

2. Most residents gained information on how to use energy effectively and economically through television, newspaper, and radio programmes respectively. The sample residents had moderate level of knowledge and behaviors on electrical energy saving.

3. The results of chi-square test on the association between some factor and energy saving behaviors showed that energy saving behavior depended on age, occupation, education level, household income, and information on energy saving at 0.05 level of significance.
1. Introduction

Electrical energy is an important element in people’s living. Daily activities in personal life and at work require electrical energy at all time. Developing countries consume high level of electrical power. Thailand’s electrical energy consumption in 2003 was 106,138 GWh, an increase of 7.1% comparing to 2002, while business and industrial sectors growing at 7.0% and 7.9% respectively. During the same period, residential sector saw an increase of 5.8% and agricultural sector 18.7%. Thailand’s upcountry regions consumed 8.6% more electrical energy comparing to 2002. Business and industrial sectors consumed 12,605 and 33,872 GWh respectively, while residential sector used up 15,331 GWh, an increased of 5.6% comparing to 2002 [1]. Obviously, Thailand’s electrical power consumption in various sectors is increasing each year especially in the residential sector which is going on an upward trend year by year. With such an upward direction of electrical energy consumption in the residential sector, if the consumers especially those in urban areas of high level of power consumption, know how to use it economically, they could help reducing the country’s power consumption considerably. In addition to the reduction of electrical power consumption, conservation of electrical power would help resolving of environmental pollution problems. People should have proper economical behavior in power consumption.
This research was carried out to study power conserving behaviors in residential areas of Nakhon Ratchasima, Khon Kaen, Ubon Rajathane, and Udon Thani provinces. These provinces are located in the Northeastern region of the country and are having rapid growth especially in the Amphoe Muang (provincial principal district) of each province which is business area highly populated with very high level of power consumption. The research results can be used as guidelines for knowledge dissemination, and enhancement and planning for optimum electrical energy consumption in residential sector. This would help save the country’s expenditure on energy.

1.1 Research objectives

The objectives of this research were to study the residential electrical energy saving behaviors and to study factors influencing the same in Amphoe Muang areas of Nakhon Ratchasima, Khon Kaen, Ubon Rajathane, and Udon Thani provinces.

1.2 Scope of the research

The study of residential electrical energy saving behaviors was carried out on people residing in Amphoe Muang areas of Nakhon Ratchasima, Khon Kaen, Ubon Ratchathani, and Udon Thani provinces. Two types of variable were studied. Independent variables were age, level of education, occupation,
household average monthly income, average monthly electricity expense, members of household, number of household appliances, information awareness, and electrical energy saving knowledge, which were related to a dependent variable: electrical energy saving behavior.

1.3 Expected benefits of the research

To have knowledge in various behaviors and factors influencing residential electrical energy saving behavior in Amphoe Muang areas of Nakhon Ratchasima, Khon Kaen, Ubon Rajathanee, and Udon Thani provinces, and to use the information in the planning and enhancement of residential electrical energy saving campaigns.

1.4 Research hypothesis

Factors such as age, level of education, occupation, household average monthly income, average monthly electricity expense, members of household, number of household appliances, information awareness, and electrical energy saving knowledge were related to residential electrical energy saving behavior in Amphoe Muang areas of Nakhon Ratchasima, Khon Kaen, Ubon Rajathanee, and Udon Thani provinces.

2. Methodology

2.1 Population and samples
The population of this research was the people whose names appeared as customers applying for electricity with the Provincial Electricity Authority who resided in Amphoe Muang areas of the following provinces: 90,904 people in Nakhon Ratchasima, 90,114 in Khon Kaen, 85,655 in Ubon Rajathanee, and 84,059 in Udon Thani. Sample selection was made from targeted group population using lists of customers applying for electricity with the Provincial Electricity Authority. Calculation for the size of samples was based on Taro Yamane’s method with 0.05 level of error, resulting in a group of 398 samples for each province. Systematic random sampling was used by randomly sampling names from the lists of customers applying for electricity with the Provincial Electricity Authority in Amphoe Muang areas of Nakhon Ratchasima, Khon Kaen, Ubon Rajathanee, and Udon Thani provinces. 398 names from each province were obtained by picking 1 household from every 228, 226, 211, and 215 households respectively.

2.2 Research tools

The questionnaire used as tool in this research was divided into 4 parts. Part One contained questions on general information of the samples: age, occupation, level of education,
average monthly household income, average monthly electricity expense, and number of household members. Part Two dealt with information awareness: awareness of information concerning general situation of electrical energy, awareness of information about government’s policy concerning electricity consumption in Thailand, including how to buy, use, and maintain electrical appliances properly and with economization on power consumption. Part Three was an electrical energy saving knowledge test such as knowledge concerning electrical energy situation, state policy on management of electrical energy consumption, and knowledge about the use and maintenance of electrical appliances. Part Four, the final part, comprised questions regarding behaviors in electrical energy consumption in connection with making purchasing choices, use, and maintenance of electrical appliances.

2.3 Collection of data

Data were collected from samples through questionnaires mailed to them by post requesting the same to be returned by mail. Unreturned questionnaires were followed up by telephone calls. The number of returned questionnaires from Nakhon Ratchasima, Khon Kaen, Ubon Rajathane, and Udon Thani provinces were 385 (96.73%), 390 (97.99%), 388 (97.49%), and 395 (99.25%) respectively.
2.4 Analysis and interpretation of data

1. Answers to questions on general information of the samples contained choices as well as open-ended type in the event the answer was not given in the choices provided. Data collected were analyzed by percentage value then presented with conclusion.

2. Answers to questions on awareness of information contained choices and open-ended type in the event the answer was not given in the choices provided. Data collected were analyzed by percentage.

3. Electrical energy saving knowledge test contained 19 questions. Correct answers were given 1 point each and wrong answers 0 point. Points were arranged into groups according to the following criteria. High level of knowledge: higher than 75% (15-19 points); Medium level of knowledge: between 50% - 75% (10-14 points); and Low level of knowledge: less than 50% (less than 10 points).

4. Electrical energy saving knowledge test contained 15 questions with choice and open-ended types of answer provided. Data were analyzed collectively and points given according to choices selected for answer. For instance, 1 point would be given for electrical energy saving behavior, and 0 point for non-saving behavior. Analysis was carried out by percentage value. Points were arranged into groups according to the following criteria. High electrical energy saving behavior: higher than 75%
correct answer (12-15 points); Medium electrical energy saving behavior: between 50% - 75% (8-11 points); Low electrical energy saving behavior: less than 50% (0-7 points).

5. Analysis of independence between energy saving variables and variables of age, level of education, occupation, household average monthly income, average monthly electricity expense, members of household, number of household appliances, information awareness, and electrical energy saving knowledge, was carried out using statistical value of chi-square test.

3. Results and discussion

1. General information on samples -- the study revealed that the majority of the samples from Nakhon Ratchasima, Khon Kaen, Ubon Rajathanee, and Udon Thani provinces, were female, with age of older than 46 years, at the percentage of 47.01, 60.51, 63.40, and 53.42 respectively. Next in importance were the age groups of 36-45, and 26-35 while the age group of less than 26 had the least number of samples. Most of the samples had bachelor degree or higher at the percentage of 43.12, 50.00, 51.81, and 67.08 respectively, followed by vocational/diploma, secondary, and primary levels of education. Besides, the occupation of the majority of the samples was government official, at the percentage of 38.96, 46.14, 40.46, and 54.43 respectively. Next in importance were private business,
state enterprise employee, private sector employee, housewife, and agriculturalist, in that order.

2. Economic and social information -- the study revealed that the majority of the samples from Nakhon Ratchasima, Khon Kaen, Ubon Rajathanee, and Udon Thani provinces, had high level of household average income. Those having household average income higher than 30,000 baht were 37.14%, 48.46%, 46.13% and 48.09% respectively. Next in importance were the groups having household average income between 10,000 – 20,000 baht and 20,001 – 30,000 baht. The group having income of less than 10,000 was the least. In addition, it was found that the majority of the households having 1 – 4 members, at the percentage of 70.65, 75.90, 63.40, and 63.30 respectively. The number of households paying more than 400 baht for average monthly electricity expense was the highest in importance, at the percentage of, 72.47, 86.15, 88.40, and 79.49 respectively.

3. Awareness of information -- the study revealed that most of the samples from Nakhon Ratchasima, Khon Kaen, Ubon Rajathanee, and Udon Thani provinces were at high level of awareness of information on general situation of electrical energy, state policy on management of electrical power consumption, and electrical energy saving, i.e., higher than 90%.

4. Sources of information -- the study revealed that samples from Nakhon Ratchasima, Khon Kaen, Ubon Rajathanee, and
Udon Thani provinces mostly acquired information on electrical energy from television medium at the percentage of 99.74, 96.67, 98.20, and 98.73 respectively. With regard to frequency of information awareness from television medium, the highest importance was daily, at the percentage of 56.88, 58.72, 59.79, and 58.73 respectively. Next in importance were once to twice a week, once to twice a month, and once in longer than a month, in that order. With regard to type of medium, next in importance were newspaper, radio, and magazine, in that order. The medium with least importance was exhibition. The level of information awareness of the samples from the 4 provinces through personnel medium was at high level. The highest importance was information obtained from colleagues, at the percentage of 35.32, 32.82, 26.80, and 30.13 respectively. Next in importance were family relatives, neighbors, and electricity authority personnel, in that order.

5. Dissemination of knowledge concerning electrical energy saving -- the study revealed that the samples from Nakhon Ratchasima, Khon Kaen, Ubon Rajathanee, and Udon Thani provinces, needed more dissemination in order to have more knowledge on electrical power saving, to reduce household expense, to reduce the country’s purchase of fuel from foreign countries. The medium the samples needed most in knowledge dissemination was television, at the percentage of 62.34, 60.26,
60.05, and 69.62 respectively. Next in importance were training, magazine, journal, radio, newspaper, and leaflets, in that order.

6. Knowledge in electrical energy saving -- the study revealed that the samples from Nakhon Ratchasima, Khon Kaen, Ubon Rajathanee, and Udon Thani provinces, had medium level of general knowledge in electrical energy and economy power consumption, at the percentage of 60.78, 70.77, 57.73, and 57.72, respectively. Next in importance were the groups of samples with high level and medium level of such knowledge, in that order.

7. Electrical energy saving behaviors -- the study revealed that the majority of the samples from Nakhon Ratchasima, Khon Kaen, Ubon Rajathanee, and Udon Thani provinces, had medium level of electrical energy saving, at the percentage of 74.29, 79.23, 52.06, and 57.72, respectively. Next in importance were the groups with high level and low level of electrical energy saving behavior, in that order.

8. The test for relationship between variables of age, level of education, occupation, household average monthly income, average monthly electricity expense, members of household, number of household appliances, information awareness, and electrical energy saving knowledge, and the variable of electrical energy saving behavior by statistical value of chi-square revealed that age, education level, occupation, household average monthly income, and knowledge in electrical energy saving
related to the people’s behavior of electrical energy saving at the 0.05 level of significance. This went along the same line as the study of A. Raksitanont [2] which indicated that age and household average monthly income related to electrical energy saving behaviors at the 0.05 level of significance. In addition, it was in concordance with the study of C. Saengthong [3] which indicated that employees in private organizations with different educational level would differ in opinion regarding electrical energy saving in daily life, as well as with the work of W. Therawongsakul [4] which pointed out that people with different level of education and different occupation would differ in their electrical energy saving behaviors at the 0.05 level of significance, and that knowledge concerning electrical energy saving positively related to electrical energy conserving behavior at the 0.01 level of significance.

4. Conclusion

This research concluded that the majority of the people in the Amphoe Muang areas of Nakhon Ratchasima, Khon Kaen, Ubon Rajathane, Udon Thani, had medium level of knowledge in making purchasing choices, use, and maintenance of electrical appliances. Next in importance were electrical energy saving behavior at high level and low level, in that order. In addition, they had medium level of knowledge in electrical energy saving in all four areas, i.e., knowledge in electricity situation and the
government’s policy in management of electrical consumption, knowledge in making purchasing choices of electrical appliances, knowledge in using electrical appliances, and knowledge in maintenance of electrical appliances. With regard to dissemination of knowledge concerning electrical energy saving, the majority of people required it to be more extensive for them to be better informed. Their most preferred medium was television and next in importance were training, magazine, radio, newspaper, and leaflets, in that order. Chi-square test revealed that age, education level, occupation, household average monthly income, and knowledge in electrical energy saving related at the 0.05 level of significance to electrical energy saving behaviors.

Most of the people had medium level of electrical energy saving behavior. It is therefore necessary to encourage more electrical energy saving behavior by public relations and dissemination of electrical energy saving knowledge which can be summarized as follows:

1. Knowledge concerning making purchasing choices of electrical appliances and in maintaining them should be disseminated especially that of refrigerator which is an appliance people lack knowledge of and understanding in its use and maintenance.
2. Knowledge dissemination should be enhanced via all kinds of mass media especially television, radio, and newspaper which are most accessible for awareness by the public.

3. Knowledge dissemination should be made to primary school age group through adult age group as electrical energy consumption is an important activity in daily life. It is necessary for everyone to have knowledge and understanding concerning economical and safe use of electrical energy.

4. Knowledge in electrical energy saving should be disseminated in simple form for easy understanding by seriously taking into account level of education, age, gender, and economic status of the recipient of the information.

5. Enhancement and campaigns for energy saving by the public should be carried out continually and regularly including organization of various activities to make them realize the importance of energy saving.

5. Acknowledgements

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6. References


ABSTRACT

In the Middle Ages, with the advent of the Inquisition, there was a need for subterfuge. Some elements were quietly incorporated into Greek and Latin texts, but there were some items that needed to be visible to the readers. The question was: How does one put secret information in plain sight without giving that same information to the "enemy"?

Abraham Zacuto, the royal astronomer of Spain, used longitude and latitude tables for his message to the Mani in Greece. Ridicule was his vehicle. Cartographers had a more difficult problem. They needed to put accurate longitudes and latitudes, so that people who fled the Inquisition would land safely. They could not afford to use Zacuto's methods.

They, instead, used the cordiform map projection, then carefully placed that projection on the opposite side of 0 degrees at precisely the correct latitude and longitude. In order to preserve the information, they used Claudius Ptolemy of 150 AD as their vehicle, precisely as we, today, use Webster's dictionary. By pre-dating the information, the censor would not question the information. They would instead ridicule the visible distortions as created by those "ignorant" cartographers. The 50 degrees difference extended China into the Pacific Ocean is still considered an grave error by C. Ptolemy. This paper will correct that error.
Subterfuge during the Middle Ages took on many forms. The Waldseemüller map of Ptolemy, done in 1460, was just one form that was able to pass the censors of the Inquisition. I discovered this map towards the end of the 90’s. A magnifying glass helped with other less prominent details. From there I searched out what little was known of its history.

This particular map was in the possession of a special family. Their surname was di Ricci and they lived in Florence, Italy. Their most famous relative was Saint Catherine de Ricci, also known as Alexandrina de Ricci. She became a nun and was 67 (or 68) when she died. She could have been a mother, a grandmother, or an elderly aunt in the di Ricci family. Two encyclopedias give conflicting information about her.

The typical *Catholic Encyclopedia* version of her life is a text geared for children, for the faithful or for new converts. It does not have much in the way of facts, but when one reads the version found in the more practical-minded *Italian Encyclopedia* one can understand why the Church was reluctant to publish that version of the saint.
St. Catherine’s family came from a long line of Ghibellinos, who favored the German Emperor's rule, instead of the mandates of the Italian Pope. This may be one small clue as to why the family might have been called in by the Inquisition. The Atlas that contained this map may have been another reason.

During the time of the Inquisition, as in any state of oppression, there was a need for subterfuge. There were number ciphers, symbols described, not as a written description, but in the translation of the word for the symbol. The cartographers had a more difficult time. They had to make an extremely accurate map, so that those fleeing could escape safely, but they could not give the same information to those persecuting them.

On this particular map of Claudius Ptolemy, the land called Arabia Felix was very visible with a small cordiform projection inserted near the Oman Peninsula. But as usual, the Red Sea area, so faithfully colored in so many earlier maps, (here in the area where the red and white islands are located) was now in a new location, south of the Arabian Sea or Sinus Arabicus.

There was no red color that accompanied the change-over; it is just a text written in the middle of the sea made darker by the addition of a violet/blue color that seems to have been added, but only seen as a possible addition when the colors were lightened with Photoshop. To those pouring over this map, it is not even noticeable. Even though I had discovered the 1460 map twenty years ago. I had never before now noticed these new words.
Since the First Crusade, an effort had been made to find the “Center of Power” in the Middle East at Damietta, on the Nile River (The “Blue” River). They did not find it on the First Crusade and did not try again until before the Eighth Crusade. Between the two crusades and afterwards, there were many people who were tortured for information about the Hidden World of Ptolemy, called Arabia Felix. At first the accused were called heretics, then later, others were said to have dealt in necromancy, or “speaking with those who had died.”

It was in this era of oppression that the Ptolemy maps found in Europe were collected and revised by the King of Castile, Alfonso X, El Sabio. As his main workshop, he used the University of Toledo. Books of Wisdom of Astronomy were edited by Alfonso X, El Sabio, when he revised the Ptolemy astronomical system. Alfonso was never able to spend long periods of time in Toledo, but he must have often consulted his scholars and translators [there] when they were working on Libro del Saber de Astronomia. Alfonso “. . . caused diagrams and charts to be placed in some of his books and described in great detail how these were to appear as to form and color . . . the King’s instructions were carried out to the letter.” The university was later accused of teaching the “Black Arts” of necromancy and witchcraft.

Probably those who fled by ship were able to triangulate their new location and send the coordinates to Alfonso for his work. Because they had already been certified by the Inquisition as “having died on a pilgrimage,” when their correspondence was found in the universities with their names and dated AFTER their deaths, the schools got into very serious trouble, being accused of necromancy.

When the monastic prisons were filled to overflowing with heretics, they were renamed “witches.” In this way, they were incarcerated (and interrogated) in the civil prisons instead of the over-stuffed monasteries. Apparently, St. Catherine de Ricci was caught up in the search for Arabia Felix, a place proven (through the Crusades) to be somewhere else.

However, the 1460 version of the Ptolemy Atlas was in her home, possibly as a relic of bygone days. She was said to be a seven year old child when, from October, 1529 to August, 1530, Florence was besieged by Imperial army under direction of the Pope. Alexandrina appears to be the mother. It is said that the young daughter entered
the convent in 1535 when St. Catherine was thirteen. Then, even though she was horribly burned according to one account, she died as an old lady in 1589 or 1590 when she was 67 or 68 years old.\textsuperscript{10}

In the Middle Ages, when a blameless person died because of an Inquisition proceedings, the Church had to guard against any public outcry. They accomplished this by claiming that person was a saint. However, as a saint, she was also supposed to have had an incorruptible body. According to the records, this person was burned on a grid. The result was her burns were so severe that the fever they produced could be felt by the any one who passed by her cell.\textsuperscript{11} It is unlikely that the person burned was the same as the saint with the incorruptible body. In addition, the slight change in the spelling of her name would never connect her to the above map.

An incorruptible body after death is usually attributed to a “foreign elixir of longevity,” a euphemism for the poison arsenic. Those who ingest arsenic in very small doses over a long period of time such a Napoleon,\textsuperscript{12} Charlemagne\textsuperscript{13} and the emperors of the T’ang dynasty\textsuperscript{14} in China retained their youthful smooth skin and normal hair color for years longer than usual. Napoleon and the boy-emperors of China did not live very long because they, being young and impetuous, refused to do what the benefactors who brought them the “elixir” told them to do. Only Charlemagne listened to the advice of the travelers and lived to be an old man. The exhumed bodies remain intact, except for the soft tissue of the nose and they give off a sweet odor of almonds. In this manner, it proves to be is an excellent case for a miraculous event.

The information given between the two encyclopedias, actually infers that two different women were involved. The first, the mother, probably a postwar victim who was a foreigner and ingested arsenic as a beauty aid for many years. She would have later become the recluse in the Dominican convent, and the person who actually died of old age. The other, the young daughter, probably tortured according to the Inquisition procedures,\textsuperscript{15} in order to obtain information from her mother, the remaining parent.

At the moment, however, it is all supposition based on the fact that the 1460 map of Ptolemy was probably in the possession of the di Ricci family before the siege of Florence. The Pope probably attacked Florence looking for something that was known in the Florentine merchant communities. Since it was around 1530, and Columbus had already discovered the Americas without finding the fabled land of gold, the search by torture continued.
A cordiform projection of the Of theeast coast USA

Let us suppose a bit longer. Anyone under torture could use the available maps (similar to the 1414 map or that of 1460) and point directly to the area in question— the cordiform insertion (shown here) on the Arabian and Persian coastlines. If they had been asked about the Rivers of Cities of Gold they would not have lied. They died telling the truth as they knew it.

The di Ricci family may not have known about the secret configuration of the map. When asked about Arabia Felix, the family members (father, mother, or daughter) could only point to the location on the map. Possibly, the father and mother may have been questioned. But since they knew no more; torture of the child would have been the next step.\(^{16}\) Apparently, the daughter was burned over a grid. The father could have died either from his own tortures or from stress. That would have left the mother and daughter. The mother, being unable to say anything more about the map than was already known, was imprisoned in a convent with the burned child. It was probably hoped that the mother would break down under the stress of watching her child suffer from the burns.

The burns that festered, producing a burning fever that could be felt outside of the cell, had to be fatal, even though the child was strong and survived longer than was thought possible. After she died, the mother, in her sorrow, had little recourse except to spend the rest of her life in the Dominican convent. It is claimed by the Church version that St. Catherine received the stigmata—the wounds of Christ on her hands and her feet.\(^{179}\) Did she receive the stigmata—the same wounds that Christ suffered on the cross? Or were they created? Such visible signs are no longer easy to forge. The last known saint to have such attributes was Padre Pio in Italy,\(^ {18}\) but they were discounted as blood from a chicken.\(^ {19}\) But enough of suppositions.

The 1460 Ptolemy world map by Waldseemüller was a special map with extra information embedded in it. It has the same type information as the other Ptolemy maps—the cordiform projection of the east coast of North America, but it does not show the Red Sea in color as some of them do. One thing positive, is that anyone who had any kind of experience with the maps and manuscripts from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance Period, had to have strained their eyes to the extent that any reading of small letters would have been a problem.
The monks and prelates, who poured over the di Ricci manuscript, probably had such a problem since glasses were not readily available during those years. Nevertheless, there was nothing found, even with good eyesight. Eventually, it was collected for the archives of cartography and was called the *Ptolemy Atlas of the World*, one of many that were “incorrectly” drawn, according to those who probe into such details. The *Atlas* and all its enlarged sections gave no new information. Since the Inquisition was already in the New World, the monks would not have been overly enthusiastic about these maps of the Middle East. What they needed to know was the location of the seven cities of gold, or other fabulous places that by that time was known to be somewhere in the Americas.

The area around Arabia created an extra-long-extension of the country of China. Both were the two main problems noted by cartographic researchers. Ridiculed for its mistakes, the *Atlas* was kept as a complete set of exceptional map-making art when such skills were considered to be very crude and inaccurate.

The actual configuration of the Persian Gulf

Then, recently, an author who wrote about Africa included the 1460 map of the Arabia Felix peninsula from the *Ptolemy Atlas* in his own book. It was to show the faults of ancient cartography and praise the imagination of those who drew them so badly. Years passed. Then, someone asked a question, “What did Columbus know about Ptolemy?” I did not know the answer.

I came across the book with its enlarged two-page spread of Ptolemy’s *Arabia Felix*. Pretty dull stuff, and, having read the book, I knew it had no real information about Ptolemy himself. What was shocking to me, was that
the eastern coast of North America was recognizable. But only because I had just visited my daughter in Maine that year. That was the first part of the map I had recognized.

I immediately sent off to the New York Library where the manuscript was stored and asked for a transparency of the Arabia Felix segment. I did not need the whole map of the world to know what I had found. Even so, the magnifying glass told me even more about the map. There are two words in black ink with a longer text painted in white or cream color on top of the very dark blue of the sea, at first glance, could have related to little waves in the sea. However, it was not to be. The magnifying glass told a very different story.

The map of Arabia Felix, at the beginning of this chapter, is supposed to be a map of the land west of India that is located west of the Pacific Ocean. The segment shown here contains a corner of the larger map with a four-line notation about the area near seven small islands, three of which are painted red. Her, it harks back to Zacuto's backward three in his inaccurate list of longitudes and latitudes.

As stated above, the notation was written on a deep blue sea in a cream colored paint and contains two words written in black. Was it supposed to represent waves lapping at the shore? Unlikely.

Yet why the difference in colored inks? The Sea here is called “Sinus Farhalites” which apparently refers to the Persian “Far” “Phar” or “Glory.” The two words were a bit difficult to read because of the dark blue water. The censors were probably not looking for anything referring to Persia they already
knew about that area so there was no reason to translate the rest of the text. Even if one does not know any other language than English the text is easy enough to translate assuming there are some misspellings there. The text reads:

**Sinus Farhalites in quo Colymbusis primer super utribus navigatat.**

Now, it is well known that Columbus never sailed to India. He never crossed the continent of North America into the Pacific Ocean. But here is a statement that tells anyone reading it, that Columbus made his first voyage into this area, near the Persian Sea where the Phar (Glory) fell near the Red Sea. It appears to legitimize the Persian coastline.

Because Colymbusis was spelled differently, it could have been a reference to another person or place in Persia or Arabia, now unknown. Yet, the configuration of that section of the Arabian peninsula of Oman and Persia was also in agreement with Martin Behaim’s globe of 1492; a projection that apparently was known to Columbus before he sailed that year.

The map projection on Martin Behaim’s globe can only be legitimate if the area in question is the Yucatan and Columbus had sailed into the Caribbean Sea on his first voyage. It is known that Portugal was to be offered the Indian Ocean trade after lengthy negotiations in 1494, before Columbus was reported to have set foot on the continent of the Americas. The Red Sea or *Mar Vermejo* upon which Ulloa and Hernan de Cortés sailed in 1539 is just around the corner on the west coast of Mexico. This is all well and good. But it does not really tell us anything, except that Columbus made his very first voyage into the Caribbean, nowhere near Santo Domingo.
A text that stated the Friars, in a different ship during that same voyage, made landfall first: “And because the caravel Pinta, was the best sailor and was going ahead of the Admiral, land was discovered by her people and the signs which the Admiral had ordered were made.” Nevertheless, if it was the Friars that made the first landfall, and since Columbus carried the Green Cross of the Inquisition on all his ships, the Church would have declared they were the very first to touch land, even though Columbus was allowed the privilege of having discovered it. Even so, the monks, were probably also sailor/prisoners of the Inquisition who volunteered to go on the other ships.

Investigating the Catholic Encyclopedia, again online, I read the story of Christopher Columbus. It said all the right things, except for one small detail: It is written: “Hence the admiral brought the news of the existence of the American continent to Europe as early as 1493.” This may confirm the Pope knew that Church envoys, not Columbus first set foot in the Americas! What an interesting notion. It may be the reason that the Pirrus de Noha map of 1414 was also online from the Vatican Library.
Yet, the Church seems to have even more information than that which I found in a 1515 French book called *S'ensuyt le Nouveau Monde* It is a book full of *le dit's* (translated “it was said” or “he said”). It contains all voyages from Vespucci and Cadamosto to Columbus and Prejoseph. There are little tidbits of information in the text that could only have come from a joint effort, that all sailed together in this the first voyage to the Americas. More than one letter was written after the voyage to impress the King and Queen that they had indeed, gone straight to the strange land that was not to be spoken about nor identified. The information found there are part of the New World findings and the myriad misconceptions of the known world.

First: it predisposes an obvious change in the calendar, especially since Vespucci returned home in 1455 and Columbus, in 1493. I did not have to look far for that confirmation. Both Richard Major in his book about *Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal* and John Esten Keller in his book, *Alfonso X, El Sabo*, both described the Spanish Era as 1314 which was according to the Christian computation, was the year 1276. The year difference (38 years) added to 1455 equals 1493, the same year that Columbus's first voyage was thought to be ended. So, with that for a beginning, the next segment has other details from *S'ensuyt*.

Endnotes:


2 (1930) *Encyclopedia Italiana*, Volume IX, p. 449: Catherine de Ricci, Dominican (nun (?) had Stigmata and an incorruptible body. She was born in Florence 25 April 1522. She died 2 February 1589, St. Catherine di Ricci died 67 years old. (See note 1: d. 1589 - b. 1522 = 67) (She was grilled alive and survived a few hours or days? Heat in her cell was such that anyone coming near her cell could feel her fever) *The Dominican convents were in fact dungeons.*
Dungeons of convent (Dominican) were so full, prisoners then taken to Castle of Triana. There were 20,000 *conversos* because of this crack-down.

Oldenbourg (1962) *Massacre at Montségur: A History of the Albigensian Crusade,* New York: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson, Ltd./Pantheon Books, A Division of Random House, Inc. p. 380: Appendix D: Council of Narbonne - 1243: Prisons are to be erected for the housing of poor persons converted from heretical beliefs. Their upkeep is to be the concern of the Inquisitors to ensure that the Diocesan bishops are not excessively burdened with expenses.


(1930) *Encyclopedia Italiana,* Seizone, Volume XXVIII, p. 243: Ricci, Gia signori di Canapia (XIV century) degli Albizzi. in 1362 Ricci was Guelfo Albizzi was Ghibellino

p. 233: for siege of Florence in 1529 was made the breech of a double culverin [cannon] in which was a large head of an elephant.

Some Maps with the Red Sea colored red and the words Sinus Arabicus written there.
1414 by Pirrus Noha
1448 by Andreas Walsperger
1452-1453 by Leardo Giovanni, called the Leardo Map
1457 - Genoese World map
1492 - Globe of Martin Behaim
1502 - Cantino has "Red Sea": painted RED
1527 (with Cardinal's hats and seal) Has Red Sea painted in RED


Ibid., p. 140.

p. 41-42: Giles or Gil, a nobleman of Portugal, part of a secret society of Toledo, made a Pact with the Devil. Entered the monastery of the Dominicans at Palencia in North Spain and died in 1265

See Note 3.

See Note 1

See Note 1


Charlemagne an elephant, monkeys, balsam, nard, unguents of various kinds, spices, scents and many kinds of drugs in profusion


Kunze (1987) *Highroad to the Stake: A Tale of Witchcraft*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press. p. 25: Inquisition / Witchcraft: Hänsel Pämb, 10/11 years old child first to be tortured, Legal scholars taught “the most feeble and timid in group of law breakers were to be questioned first.”


See Note 1 and 2.

Padre Pio had stigmata for 50 years, losing a cup of blood every time

(1999) *Flashline*: Pope Running "Saint Factory”? John Paul Beatifies Monk Accused of Mental Illness, Fraud, Philandering. . Web Posted May 2. Fraudulent saints: “... Padre Pio, who for fifty years reportedly exhibited a “stigmata,” wounds replicating the bleeding said to have been suffered on the cross by Jesus Christ. During his lifetime, Padre Pio was the subject of two official investigations conducted by the Vatican. There were claims that he liked the intimate company of young women who wore perfume, and had even inflicted such wounds on himself using acid.” Another web site stated chicken blood was used.


Ibid., pp. 328-329.

Coyajee (1939) *Studies in Sháhnámah*, Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Company. p. 44, In Pesian lore, Grail is cup, lance, cure for all diseases. Glory is Hvarenô, (Khureh or Farr [Phar] or Glory) is food providing object also.

Judd, G. P. (1966) *A History of Civilization*, New York: Macmillan Company. p. 312: In 1493, two months after Columbus returned to Europe, Pope Alexander VI gave to Spain all lands 100 leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. The legality of the papal demarcation line may be and was disputed. But in this instance, Alexander VI was following a precedent of Pope Nicholas V who forty years before had given to Portugal the exclusive right to search for a sea route to India by way of Africa. In any case Portugal protested. By the treaty of Tordesillas (1494), Spain and Portugal agreed to extend the line 370 leagues (1110 miles) west of Cape Verde Islands.
In 1539, Francisco Ulloa sailed from Alcapulco (with Cortés) up into the Mar Vermajo or the Red Sea, caused by the outflow of the Colorado River.

Fuson, Robert (1987) *The Log of Columbus: His Own Account of the Voyage that Changed the World, in the Acclaimed New Translation.*, p. 75. Two hours after midnight, the *Pinta* fired a cannon, my prearranged signal for the sighting of land. . . . when we caught up with the *Pinta*, which was always running ahead because she was a swift sailer, I learned that the first man to sight land was Rodrigo de Triana, a seaman from Lepe.

(Close examination of the text of the *Log of Columbus* shows that it may be a forgery based upon later successful voyages.)

Catholic Encyclopedia Online, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/140ahtm Columbus


de Rodeur, (Montabaddo) (1917) Cadamosto, Anthony, p. 57: Because we knew well that these islands in Spain there would be made no mention (of this adventure).

(1943) *New Encyclopedia Britannica* Volume XXII, p. 146: Portugal Inquisition mutilated all histories. All original scientific and philosophic work was banned. National character sank back into Middle Ages.

Major, Richard (1967) *The Life of Prince Henry of Portugal, Surnamed the Navigator*, London: Frank Cass and Company, Ltd. p. 80: King Joao I, required that all public ordinance should be dated from the Christian era instead of from the era of Caesar, as had until that time been the practice. Alternation involved difference of 38 years. 1460 corresponding to 1422 AD. (difference is 38 years)

Keller, John Esten (1967) p. 142: the year was 1314 but the Christian computation said that 1314 was 1276. 

[My Note: This may indicate that Alfonso XI is an imaginary person to make up the difference in years.]
Asperger’s Syndrome: A family affair

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Asperger’s Syndrome: A family affair

Asperger’s Syndrome (AS) is a pervasive developmental disorder on the autism spectrum. Children with AS often do not look any different than neurotypical children although AS is characterized by a host of social, behavioral, and linguistic abnormalities making it difficult for these children to negotiate social interactions. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the impact on the family system of raising a child with AS is profound but there is little research available that examines this impact. The purpose of this qualitative study is to explore the perceptions, coping strategies, and family functioning of parents of children with AS, and how existing support systems impact their family functioning. A purposive sample of thirty parents of children with AS drawn from community-based organizations participated in focus group discussions. Common themes in the focus groups were: (1) A profound sense of isolation, ostracizism, sadness and fatigue; (2) A hyper-vigilance surrounding their children’s behavior and safety; and (3) Deep worries concerning their children’s future. This session will examine how parents coped with these issues, what interventions they found helpful, and what services they wished were available to them.
Privatization process in Mexico: prospects and effects in economic development

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Abstract

This paper is aimed to analyze historical development and background of privatization in Mexico, prospects of the privatization program in Mexico and effects of the Mexican privatization program. It is safe to conclude that changes of ownership through the privatization process in Mexico has led to the foreign investors to own the most profitable former state owned enterprises which under the spirit of globalisation of business has terminated any sentiment of national capitalism. Also, it is concluded that the policy of privatization in Mexico has not achieved the aims related to increase economic growth and development, but has contributed significantly to become a subsidiary economy owned and managed by transnational and multinational corporations. However, this aim is politically neither desirable nor feasible for the economic development of Mexico. If good performance of privatization is required, actually it is successful only if state-owned companies are so well managed that there is no need to privatise.

The political economy of privatization and regulation

The international wave of privatizations in the last twenty two has been reflected in the Mexican economy. In the broadest sense, privatisation refers to the introduction of market oriented institutional reforms, which includes the sale of publicly owned assets as well as the deregulation of product markets. Privatization is when the ownership of production units changes from public to private. The question to any privatization is how it affects competition as the key to efficiency.

Therefore, ownership matter for efficiency. The argument that literature favours private ownership over public ownership (Megginson and Netter, 2001) is not consistent. Willner (2001, 2003a) finds not difference and concludes that public ownership may even be superior in water, electricity and insurances, whereas some labour intensive industries such as refuse collection and bus transport tend to be cheaper under private ownership.

Economic theory sustains that changes in ownership lead to performance improvements where there are appropriate changes in the competitive or regulatory environments (Parker, 2004). A state owned company that have good financial performance become more likely to be privatised An economic appraisal of privatisation demonstrates that the
roles of competition and regulation may be crucial if ownership change is to have reliable
efficiency results (Kay and Thompson, 1986; Vickers and Yarrow, 1988; Martin and
Parker, 1997)

State enterprises ownership is associated with cross-subsidies and ‘no undue
discrimination’ clauses that lead to uniform pricing (Parker, 2004). Where markets
become more competitive after privatisation, it might be expected that prices would move
closer to marginal costs, implying higher allocative efficiency. Privatization, when
coupled with competition, is expected to lead to prices more closely related to the
marginal costs of supplying different user groups. However, this depends upon the
pricing strategy followed under state ownership (Parker, 2004:10).

Principal-agent theory and public choice theory provide a powerful theoretical rationale
for privatisation (Boycko, Shleifer and Vishny, 1996). Privatisation often requires
regulation and hence an additional agency problem (Shapiro and Willig, 1990/2000;
Laffont and Tirole, 1991). Principal-agent theory suggests that in privately-owned
enterprises management faces higher incentives to maximize productivity and to drive
out waste (De Alessi, 1980; Bös, 1991; Boycko et al., 1996). The theory of incentives
critics the state ownership of firms behaving as “a weak and erratic
“shareholder”, hesitating between the maximization of short-term financial or political
benefits and a “laissez-faire” approach supposed to let the state firms develop as they
wished, in spite of the bureaucratic control of their activities” (Berne and Pogorel,
2004:4).

Under the principal agent framework in order that investments materialize it is necessary
the development of safeguarding institutions and regulatory agencies to prevent the
engagement of opportunistic behaviors. Public choice theory maintains that within
government, as elsewhere in the economy, self-interest is the dominant motive, with the
result that state ownership is associated with empire building, gold plating of public
investments, over-manning and, in general, economic waste (Niskanen, 1971; Tullock,

The design of regulation has two choice variables or components for governments
undertaking public sector reforms which are limited by institutional endowments of the
Mexican country. Heller and McCubbins (1997) called these two variables as political
stability and price risk. Levy and Spiller,(1996) denominated as regulatory governance and
regulatory incentives Political stability is defined as a situation with minimum risk that
government would introduce changes to the way it treats investment. Regulatory governance
refers to “all the mechanisms that a society uses to restrain government discretionary
moves and to solve conflicts between firms and regulators” (Abdala, 1999:3). Price risk
is considered in same terms as the structure of regulatory incentives which “involves the
specific norms related to price regime, subsidies, competition policy, barriers of entry,
interconnection rules, etc.” (Abdala, 1999:3).

The reform of regulatory governance include the institutionalized framework of
regulatory agencies, the delimitation of their independent powers and mechanisms of
financial autonomy, arbitration of controversies, access to competition in liberalized markets, etc. As factor closely related to governance culture to explain growth and success of state owned companies, experimental research emphasises fairness, reciprocity and intrinsic motivation in explaining individual behaviour, collective action and cooperation (Fehr and Schmidt, 1999; Fehr and Fishbacher, 2002). Also experimental research emphasizes organizational design supportive of intrinsic motivation (Fehr and Fishbacher, 2002). Kaufmann et al. (2003) compares observable governance indicators to explain growth, such as accountability, political stability, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption, (Jalilian et al., 2003).

Development of safeguarding institutions must accompany the regulatory reform and privatization of utilities because asset’s specificity and the nature of tradability of services supplied.

Transaction costs political economy are the result of institutional design and have some applications in privatization processes. Privatization reduces the structure of costs through more flexible mechanisms of labor management, production and distribution. Economies of scale and fixed costs in the production of public services have become a more important factor in the cost function. Privatisation has relatively minor impacts on R&D costs and taxes and deregulation has a major impact on marketing and commercial costs (Berne and Pogorel, 2004).

The welfare benefits of transferring ownership from state owned enterprises to private investors of some utilities that have natural monopoly components, such as telecommunications, may not be large.

**Historical development and background of privatization in Mexico**

Mexican economic nationalism emerged as a result of promoting public and private Mexican capital to avoid unwelcome foreign investment, mainly by the United States. Nationalisation was ruled out for ideological and practical reasons. State-owned companies in Mexico were offshoots of political nationalism. Nationalised companies were at the core of the Mexican state enterprise model based on economic nationalism. The Mexican State was characterized by an historical distrust of capitalism and a belief in the ability of the government to intervene and regulate economic affairs through its explicit constitutional mandate (Grier and Grier, 2000: p. 245).

Public ownership can be a substitute when capital markets are underdeveloped, or investors too short-termist or risk-averse (Rees, 1984) but public ownership has been criticised for dynamic inefficiency and high costs. In Mexico, public ownership has dominated public utilities sector, infrastructure industries manufacturing and banking as well, although the Mexican state found opportunities of expanding to sectors where public ownership was not the only alternative. Mexican industry became a rent seeking culture protectionist and depending on tariffs, quotas, state purchasing and other forms of
state aid. This dependency on the state and on politicians was institutionalised for economic benefits during the thirties.

However, from the 1930s and until the 1970s a model of import substitution industrialization (ISI) favored private Mexican investments and was also believed to benefit the people. Industrialisation process of Mexico was an economic policy to create and protect new born industries of needed goods and services through the promotion of benefits such as fiscal and tax exemptions, subsidies, providing access to credits and loans with reduced interest rates, etc.

The Mexican state owned enterprises sector was larger because it was established to contribute to the industrialization process due to scarcity of domestic private venture capital and the unwelcome foreign investors always ready to take over the most profitable manufacturing sectors, as it was established the limits in Constitutional provisions. The system of political patronage of appointments to state owned enterprise boards was based more on political loyalty rather than commercial ability, increased the political clientalism and reduced the independence of the state owned commercial enterprises which with politically appointed boards and weak management were heavily unionised by public sector trade unions.

State owned enterprises in Mexico became over time identified with dependency culture, subsidy rent seeking, regulatory capture, high costs, producer dominance and indifference to consumers. The Mexican public sector enlarged the number of publicly owned corporations. In 1982 state owned enterprises produced 14 percent of gross national product (GNP), received net transfers and equal subsidies of 12.7 percent of GNP and represented 38 percent of investment in fixed capital. There was no provision to regulate the market of state owned enterprises which were treated as an end in themselves to provide jobs for an increasing work force but faced conflicting roles of owning the company and regulating the market. Higher social benefits, considerations of social welfare and public service rather than private returns on investments and slow enterprise formation despite good profit opportunities might also explain why state-ownership was included among the growth strategies (Miettinen, 2000; Geroski, 1995).

The new market orientation is a response to the increasing economic pressure on the welfare state in late 1970’s. The 1980s was also a decade of reassessment in Mexican national economic policies. State spending was not anymore considered as an engine of economic growth but to have a negative impact of competitiveness. Therefore, the Mexican economic model of development changed from the closed economy to an open economy with emphasis on competitiveness in the global economy during the 80s.

The Mexican privatization process began in the wake of the Mexican debt crisis in 1982 as a response to pressures from creditors, but since then, there has not been any specific privatisation program in Mexico, in such a way that each case has been treated according to contingencies. Therefore, after the 1982 crisis, Mexico entered into a painful, distressful, and controversial period of state restructuring when the government signed a Letter of Intent with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which conditioned IMF
lending on privatization and other economic measures of austerity in public spending and market liberalization, aimed to offer better terms for foreign investors and to promote exports. Neoliberal economic reforms, also known as the "Washington consensus", entail public policies that are directed toward tight fiscal discipline, privatization of public sector organizations in order to downsize and achieve balanced budgets, deregulation and lowering of trade barriers...

The most important structural changes experienced by the Mexican State were linked to economic policies congruent with the new global environment. Some of these changes include the restructuring of productive plants, privatization of the *ejido* (communal property), improvement of public finances, modernization of education, privatization of state enterprises, negotiation of external debt, deregulation of the economy, commercial and financial liberalization and greater foreign investment. The changes included: economic reorganization; national market openness; elimination of commercial barriers; elimination of price controls and subsidies; privatization of public enterprises and state property; reduction of social policy expenses; free money exchange, and also wide political reforms and administrative modernization. It abandoned the import substitution model and called economic intervention in the state into question.

Since 1982, nearly 1,000 state-owned enterprises out of around 1,2000 have been sold off, since. The reasons for the privatizations seem to have been largely fiscal. International Financial Institutions used the leverage of foreign debt to require among other changes in the Mexican economy designed to encourage foreign investment, the privatization of state-owned enterprises which include, airlines, airports, ports, railroads, banks, telephone services, oil and electric industries and so on. The wave of privatization in Mexico implied transfers of property rights, control, profits and liability of state owned enterprises from the state to private shareholders. Ownership of state owned companies by taxpayers was a theoretical rather than negotiable property right. The Mexican government has gradually reduced state intervention and its role in the management of the economy over the last 22 years with the shift from a policy of import substitution to the implementation of policies of trade liberalization and export promotion.

Since then, the Mexican government has pursued a policy of privatisation, selling off Telmex, the national telephone company, the banks, steel companies, and numerous other industrial and agricultural enterprises. Mexico also has pursued a policy of deregulation, reducing or eliminating bureaucratic red tape for numerous processes. As Berne and Pogorel (2004) contend, the existence of competition makes public management very complicated.

The Mexican privatization and divestiture process of more than 1,000 state owned enterprises in Mexico started in the wake of the debt crisis in 1982. The implementation of the privatization program was part of the arrangements that the government of Mexico had to obtain loans from both the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) with the specific goal to earn foreign exchange through the promotion of exports and foreign investments. In a sense, no specific privatisation program or plan was settled...
down rather than a policy evolved in terms of the government’s ability to sell off the state owned enterprises.

In 1979, the technocrats in cooperation with Dow Chemical envisioned a North American Energy Project that would connect the electrical grids of Mexico, the US and Canada.

The main thrust of the reforms encouraged in Mexico was the development of a competitive, broad-based export sector of nontraditional goods. Mexico joined the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) in 1986 and became an exporter of manufactured goods. The strategies adopted for the design of the Mexican State, as it was for other states, was reduction of state structures and facilities, privatization of state owned enterprises, and economic deregulation.

The decision to privatize Telmex was made in 1988 presidential campaign, a profitable and wealthy state-owned company. "Telmex was chosen partly for its symbolic importance and partly as a potential source of a sizable amount of revenue. The privatization of Telmex would dramatically serve notice that Mexico was serious about privatization and the development of the private sector." (Tandon, Ch. 16, p. 3).

Vast programs for the privatization of public enterprises in Mexico had been successful, to a certain point, in ameliorating the economic intervention of the State. Mexico ranked second in privatization in Latin America during the decade of the nineties when the government transferred to private corporations assets that amounted to 31,458 million dollars, which represented 20.4 percent of the total sales of state owned enterprises in Latin America. Privatization reached 3,160 million dollars in 1990, increased to 11,289 million in 1991, and totaled 6,924 million dollars in 1992.

Before the privatization of Telmex, the government drastically raised the prices of telephone services to consumers.

According to two annual reports of The World Bank (1989:150, 1990:150) the provision of a US$ 500 million loan to Mexico was made in 1989 to reduce the “heavy burden Pes (public enterprises) impose on the economy” through their privatization and deregulation program. In 1990 the government eliminated the indirect tax on telephone services and the remained taxes were absorbed into the prices and transferred to the consumers. (Tandon, p. 23-24)

After the Mexican government official announcement to sell 51 percent of voting stock of Telmex, in December 1990 was sold for a total price of US$ 1.67 billion to the winning bidder Grupo Carso who bought 51 percent of the stock sold. France Telecom purchased 24.5 per cent and Southwestern Bell the remaining 24.5 percent. Additional shares owned by the government were sold in 1991 and 1992. The Mexican government owned 56 percent of total Telmex’s stock which was sold on the total amount of US$ 6.2 billion. The remaining 44 percent was publicly traded. Another loan of US$ 22 million in technical assistance from the World Bank was provided to the privatization of Telmex according to The World Bank (1989:150, 1990:150).
After privatization of the Mexican state-owned telephone company in 1990, the price of Telmex’ stock increased due in part to the increment of consumer prices and to a questionable improved efficiency. A report from The World Bank in 1992 "the privatization of Telmex, along with its attendant price-tax regulatory regime, has the result of ‘taxing’ consumers -- a rather diffuse, unorganized group --and then distributing the gains among more well-defined groups, [foreign] shareholders, employees and the government.” (Tandon, p. 39) The report estimated that the consumers were worse off by 92 US$ 33 billion, although the analysts of the report predicted that consumers would benefit from reduced prices in the long run, projection that has not been accomplished until today.

Foreign investors captured 90 per cent of the net benefits from privatization and gained 67 trillion pesos while domestic shareholders 43 trillion pesos, employees 23.5 and government gained 16 trillion pesos. A 10-15 per cent dropping in prices in international long distance service mainly due to competition of foreign telephone companies abroad México, Telmex increased the prices of national long distance in the same percentage in 1996. This trend has continued and it is likely to continue. Telmex’s monopoly in telephone long distance services ended in January 1997 with the attraction of the interest of USA based telephone companies to form alliances with Mexican investors setting their own prices while entering to the national market. Rural telephone services will continue subsidizing by the government despite the pressure to keep down public expenditures from the international financial institutions.

In 1991 took place the Mexican bank privatization. It has been described as a successful program of privatization because its clear objectives, transparent and credible procedures adopted (Barnes, 1992). However, lack of legal and regulatory framework that shadowed the technical process were, among other, causes of the banking crisis that had to deal the financial system in 1994, and needed to re-privatize at a greater cost to the taxpayers. as Unal and Navarro (1999) contend. In order to increase and broaden the quality of the financial services available to the public, Mexican banks were re-privatised

The privatization model adopted by the Mexican government was to sell the banks one at a time to maximize returns, expecting increasing interests and thus, higher prices. Although the program designed was transparent and effective to privatize the banking system in México, it was not sufficient to ensure a sound and safe financial system. The buyers of the banks and other financial institutions were mainly stock brokerage houses. Privatization and regulation of the Mexican banking system resulted in the creation of financial conglomerates with banking, insurance, leasing, factoring, money exchange, stock brokerage, mutual and pension fund operations. Husted and Serrano contend that the financial and marketing synergies were rather high since the banks acted as holding companies and were a sure source of low-cost capital for the other financial entities.

The newly privatized banking system operated under outdated regulatory system already dysfunctional, as well as the set of supervisory agencies incapable to implement and enforce new regulations and rules. The privatisation of the banking system brought mixed
results for the Mexican economy. According to Husted and Serrano (2001) returning private ownership and management to the banking industry was the good news, but unfortunately, very high prices were paid for the banks, which inherited problems from uncollected loans. The already private banks needed significant infusions of financial resources to cope with their problems of bad debt and with the financial crisis of 1994, when the federal government intervened, but without renationalising the banking and financial system.

In reality, the privatization of the banking system into financial groups emerged from the “steam” and complicity among investors and politicians who took advantage of international organizational finances channeled to rescue Mexico from the debt crisis. However, their differences in crisis management took them into highly indebted economies, which had the opportunity of transferring charges to society. Still now a days, taxpayers are supporting the burden of the financial crisis of 1994 caused for the lack of a well designed legal and regulatory framework to be enforced during the privatization process of the banking system.

In 1992 foreign companies were allowed to build and operate energy plants in México so long as they exported the energy produced or sold it to the Federal Electricity Commission. The same year, the Federal Electricity Commission and the Power and Light Company halted new construction of power plants.

In 1992, Labour organizations opposed and delayed the privatisation program for both pensions and health care, but in 1995 were only able to partially stop or delay such reforms.

The government of President Zedillo privatized airports and railways between other important sectors. In 1996, labor unions, new social movements and civil society joined together to protest the privatization of the Mexican state-owned oil company Petróleos Mexicanos. Oil and electrical industries were not included in negotiations of NAFTA.

In 1995, it was partially privatised the Mexican public pension system provided by the IMSS for private sector workers, but the actual implementation was delayed. On July 1997 the pension and retirement system in Mexico was privatized and workers were allowed to deposit their pensions along with employer contributions in their own accounts. Privatisation of the public pension system included a shift from a defined benefit to a fully funded, defined-contribution market-based pillar and based upon privately administered individual accounts. This new system is based on individual sovereignty as a notion opposed to solidarity, notions that get lost in rhetoric and ordinary Mexicans do not understand how this affect their lives. The shift toward privatisation of pensions may also perpetuate stratification if only certain public pension schemes are included in reforms.

The Mexican pension reform have entailed a shift of pension and retirement responsibilities from the state to the market. Under this new system, individuals’ private accounts are managed by private pension fund companies know as “afores” which invests
the money in capital markets. The privatization of the pension fund system, motivated Mexican financial institutions to develop strategic alliances with their counterparts from all over the world in order to acquire managerial expertise and capital. (Husted and Serrano, 2001).

According to Vásques, Director of the Project on Global Economic Liberty at the conservative Cato Institute, this privatization “differs from previous Mexican privatizations because, at least in theory, it does not intend to generate revenue for the state. Instead, it seeks a laudable goal, admittedly one that politics already appear to be compromising: turning Mexico into a country of property-owning workers.” (Vásquez, 1997). He argues that this is revolutionary concept in Mexico, a concept that again gets lost in rhetoric.

On the other hand, Dion () concluded that the pension reform never addressed the gender impacts and further erodes social citizenship rights, especially those of women. The reform resulted in a net deterioration in the welfare of women in Mexico at retirement and predicted that the reform likely increased the dependence of elderly women upon family networks for their welfare. Since women generally have a disadvantaged position in the labour market in terms of participation and wages, this shift in emphasis to market provision of pensions is unlikely to benefit women.

In the case of the electrical sector, the first time that the privatization scheme not succeeded was when Zedillo proposed in 1999 privatization of electricity, the labor union formed the National Front of Resistance to the Privatization of the Electrical Industry which confronted the neoliberal reforms. The formed movement hosted an international conference and brought delegations, non governmental organizations, union representatives, political parties and academics from other countries, the National Association of democratic Lawyers (ANAD), the Worker’s University of Mexico (UOM), the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PDR) a leftwing party, among others. Finally the movement of resistance defeated the privatization scheme of the electrical industry.

The year in which the state recorded most privatization was 1991 with a total of 11,289 million dollars, while in 1998 Mexico the lowest was 999 million dollars. By June of 1992, the Mexican government had privatized 361 out of approximately 1,200 enterprises owned by the state. Privatization during 1993 represented 2,131 million dollars. In 1996 it increased to 1,526 million dollars, in 1997 to 4, 496 million, and in 1998 decreased to 999 million dollars. A report from the World Bank states that between 1990 and 1998 privatization of public enterprises reached a total amount of 154,225 million dollars, an amount only less than the balance of the total external debt of Mexico which in 1998 was of 159,959 million dollars.

Still more, there is a connection between Mexican government’s scheme of privatization with Enron. 64 subsidiaries of Enron to operate in the Mexican power market, from which some executives are advises on energy policy. On April 4, 2002, Enron Energia Industrial de Mexico in partnership with Vidrieria Monterrey and Vidrieria Guadalajara
(two big glassmakers), Grupo IMSA, (a steel and autoparts giant), Industrias Whirlpool and other big Mexican companies received a license from Mexico's Electricity Regulatory Commission to build a plant. Intergen Aztec Energy is a partnership between Bechtel Enterprises and Shell Generating Ltd, built a plant near Mexicali. Sempra Energy Resources is an energy maquiladora that built another power station near Mexicali. Its 600 megawatts will all be sent to the US, and the gas for its boilers will come from the US in a Sempra-built pipeline. "These are the same companies that robbed and defrauded people in the US," Bob Filner, San Diego Congressman, told the daily La Jornada being critical of the Sempra and InterGen border plants. "The question, therefore, is why should Mexicans trust them not to do the same here?"

Carl Wood, member of the California Public Utilities Commission also warned of another danger -- that the swings of the market could bring about manipulated shortages and periods of extremely high prices, as they did in California. "Mexican industry might not be able to absorb those price increases, nor raise prices on its own products in the world market," he explained. "Price spikes in electricity might therefore cause industrial activity to stall." He called the US companies behind the proposal "the same old gang of thieves." (Bacon, 2003)

In May 2002, the Mexican Congress has passed a resolution opposing any changes in the Constitution to make privatization possible, One of the principal arguments for the privatization plan is that there is necessary to make amendments to articles 27 and 28 of the Mexican Constitution to legalize foreign investments that already exists in the energy sector, although it is clear that industry of the energy sector can be self-financing if it weren’t for the government’s policy of disinvestment. An introduction of a bill ban the increasing 10 per cent of current generation done by private companies.

In a comparative perspective of privatization programs advancement between Mena countries and Latino American countries during have been developed by Godstein (2003) where can be inferred several points. First, latin American countries have advanced more in privatization than the five MENA (Mediterranean partners) countries. Second, during the same period of time, among the Latin American countries compared, Argentina and Brazil had advanced faster than México who is lagging behind. Third, the sectors where Mexican program has not privatize are those politically sensitive, such as the case of oil and electricity.

### SOEs in Comparative Perspective: Qualitative Indicators
circa 1990 vs. 2001

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Prospects of the privatization program in Mexico

By 2004 there are less than 200 public owned enterprises out of more than 1,200 to privatise, and the model of welfare state in Mexico is under attack by privatisation of public services, mainly public education, public health-care services, public transportation, housing, etc. The new government of Mexico under the Fox administration, plans to privatize the energy sector, oil and electrical industries, water, education, health-care services and the list goes on and on.

In education, there are public and private schools at all levels, including graduate and postgraduate studies. In health care services, also exist public funded and private ownership. Both, public education and public health care, are increasingly underfunded and the fees are raising every year, to promote consciously the use of private services. This is more relevant in public universities and hospitals managed by the Secretariat of Salubrity and Welfare, but also it includes the health care systems supported by contributions of workers, employers and government, the Mexican Institute of Social Security (Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social, IMSS) and the Institute of Security and Social Services for State Workers (Instituto de Seguridad y Servicios Sociales para los Trabajadores del Estado, ISSSTE).

The World Bank has worked closely with global water corporations to push privatization of water in México and numerous loans have contained conditions mandating water privatization and full cost recovery through increasing consumer fees for water. Conditions to meet to be eligible for the loans are such as economically efficient pricing, self-sufficiency of the project through cost recovery, appropriate competition and regulatory framework, and enhancing the participation of the private sector.
Privatization and opening the energy sector to competition, especially the electric and petrochemical industries, won’t work according to the same managers. Efforts at privatization of the Mexican petroleum company, Petróleos Mexicanos (Pemex), the World’s third largest producer of crude oil and to the Comisión Federal de Electricidad (CFE) have been opposed by labor unions, political parties from the left, new social movements and the civil society.

The privatization program of these two state owned companies has long been a sensitive matter in politics since the nationalization of all oil properties and assets of all foreign oil and gas companies in 1938. School children all over the country contributed pennies to the national fund established to compensate foreign investors. In 1960, the electrical industry was nationalized as well. Nationalization of oil industry and nationalization of electric industry are the symbol of Mexican national sovereignty. Foreign investments and participation in the energy sector were proscribed by the Mexican Constitution that prevented foreign investments in oil and gas industry in exploration, production and refining and only allows Pemex to engage in these operations. Even legislators have rejected the draft of the amendments to the Constitution that will allow to be more attractive the opening of energy sector to foreign investors.

“The country functions well… entrepreneurs don’t want to buy Pemex or CFE. As a private sector what we want is to be allowed to compete, to participate in certain areas of production, to make them competitive at the international level… it is not necessary to put padlocks on foreign investment so that it intrudes in the electricity and hydrocarbon industries. The only rules for national capital and foreigners should be a free market economy, open commercial prices set by international competition” (Becerril, 2000).

However, there have been sold some petrochemical industries and contracted drilling operations to foreign investors, undertaken joint ventures abroad. Foreign companies as Amoco, Chevron, Mobil, Occidental, Royal Dutch/Shell, and Texaco are optimistic in investing in the oil industry sector in México. Shell oil’s Deer Park, Texas has an equity investment in refinery operations that allowed Pemex to replace the domestic shortfall.

The Electric Workers Union (SME) accuses the government to subsidize large users of electrical power instead to benefit the poor and draining resources from the Power and Light Company, the other state owned electrical enterprise by forcing it to buy power from the Federal Electricity Commission (CFE) undermining modernization of equipment. The government scheme of privatization is to provoke bankruptcy of both state-owned electric companies or to be replaced by foreign-owned companies. For the SME the prospects are doomsday according to the bitter experience of privatizations in México: rates will increase for small users, workers will be fired, and so forth.

Cutting social expenditure in education and public health would reduce the weight of bureaucracy gradually by transferring these functions from the State to the private sector. Fox has said that they will reduce the cost of government in the next six years by subjecting it to a rigorous but gradual diet of federal public administration. Changes were needed to eliminate the lock on 51 percent of national investment to give a bigger
opening to private and foreign investment and to invigorate the financial system. The neoliberal model not only weakens the political autonomy of the State; it also diminishes the capacity of the state to formulate social policies. The adoption of economic neoliberalism has led to an anti-statist ideology. As such, the state’s structure and functions have been transformed, allowing for greater assumption of responsibility by the private sector.

Until now, the neoliberal state model seemed to be the only course, with privatization, deregulation, tight fiscal discipline and slashing of social benefits and taxes, a formula which promised a dollop of austerity and little else for the time being. Some important economic issues on which the three main parties agree, are the acceptance of North American Free Trade Agreement; defense, support and stimulation of domestic private initiative, and acceptance of foreign investments as a complement of domestic savings. Although PRI and PAN have the same thesis and agree on privatizations, the PRD criticizes it arguing that it has favored a small group of investors.

The National Action Party (PAN) stresses that the reform to the State implies increasing its efficiency and not necessarily downsizing, although traditionally, the State had activated the economy with full charges and burden, now it should be looking for to leave these responsibilities to the private sector. Similarly, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), according to its economic platform, has stated there is no optimum government size or ratio of spending to GDP and supports existing privatizations. Democratic Revolution Party (PRD) points out the need of public participation in strategic, priority, and/or natural resources areas. It implicitly acknowledges the reduced role of the government and does not propose either nationalizations or the reversal of previous divestitures. It only wants to avoid them in the future and in fact it explains its platform would only marginally increase the GDP participation of public expenditure.

**Effects of the Mexican privatization program**

Any word on the effects and impact of privatisation process in Mexico may be premature, because the turbulent macroeconomic environment since the 80s. The precise economic effects of Mexican state owned companies privatisation remain uncertain and controversial. In terms of its scope, the privatisation process has been dramatic. Undoubtedly, the large number of firms sold off and their size make privatisation a profitable operation for the Mexican government. Thus, the public unprofitable firms forces the Mexican government to make them profitable through different mechanisms such as restructuring, reduction and fresh capital.

Empirical research about the effects of privatisation on the Mexican economic growth and on former Mexican state-owned companies are very limited. Privatization in Mexico has not been the expected economic miracle needed to increase economic GDP growth and lowering the rate of unemployment, although to a some extent it has contributed to reduce the burden of the state in the economy.
The former state owned companies that have been fairly successful, after privatisation there is not evidence of improved financial performance or cost efficiency despite stronger focus on profits, due to lack of mechanisms of regulation and governance rules and information transparency. However, it is clear that prices of goods and services of these already private companies have increased and overall their privatisation have resulted in concentration of wealth and profound disparities of income distribution.

Under the influence of the PRI, the Mexican State initiated economic modernization and participation in the globalization processes, as a response to the trends of the economic globalization of markets, and the technological revolution that began during the last two decades of the past century. Under the pretext of cleaning up the economy, the Mexican State privatized strategic enterprises of the public sector, most of which were acquired by foreign investors, who had already penetrated all economic sectors.

The program of privatizations in Mexico has been carried out both through strategies of direct sale and public offerings. Privatisation of some owned-state companies were used to give back previously nationalised firms to the private sector, such as the banking and financial institutions. However, the sale of the largest and most profitable state-owned enterprises known as the ‘crown jewels’, TELMEX AND CFE has been opposed by labor unions, civil society, leftwing political parties and even legislators. The process of decision making about privatisation of public utilities was more centralized in Mexico than in Argentina for example (Abdala, 1999). The high concentration of capital in a few corporations through the privatization process of public enterprises unleashed the phenomena of political privatization.

The benefits of privatization have not yet been evident to the Mexican people even though defenders try to demonstrate the opposite. According to data provided by the former President of Mexico, advocator and implementer of the privatization program, Salinas de Gortari (1988-94), privatization reduced budget expenditures to finance social programs thus preventing a fiscal deficit. It is said that Salinas has also privatized politics in Mexico. However, it might appear to be cynical when we state that the privatisation process has been subject to the electoral agenda and to economic opportunism of decision makers and political actors, acting out of conviction and for personal gains in terms of corruption, more than to achieve social welfare and benefits.

Also, the effects have not been satisfactory over all. An analysis of the welfare gains from privatisation addressing the distribution of them economic net benefits, have been regressive in terms of impact on income and wealth Mexican privatisations may have some improvement effects on productivity but negative and regressive effects on the distribution of income and wealth. Some privatizations programs, after transferring the property of state-owned companies to private companies that get caught by the financial crisis of 1994, reflects the socialization of losses and privatization of profits such as the financial and banking system and not to mention the privatization of motor ways and roads.
The impact of privatization and deregulation on workers has been devastating not confirming the principle of Berne and Pogorel (2004) which states that strong union presence hinders privatization, as it has not being the case of Mexico. In 1986, Aeroméxico, one of the two main Mexican airlines was the government’s response to a strike while firing more than 12,000 workers and selling off the company in 1988. On the other hand, during the privatization process of Teléfonos de México, or Telmex, the national telephone company, organized labor had little subsequent opposition and remained quiet after receiving 4.4 percent share of ownership of the company (Tandon, 1992: 6-13) and also because there has been little pressure for job or wage cuts so far. During the process of privatization of the Port of Veracruz, soldiers had to occupy it and the workforce had to be fired. Similar actions were taken in the privatization of the copper company in the late 1990s, when the miners at Cananea fought against job reductions but firing the workers of the state-owned cooper company was also a response of labor opposition to the privatization process. The railroads labor union had wildcat strikes to hit the company services when they were sold to Grupo Mexico and the private owners reduced workers from 90,000 at around 36,000 during the last decade. The labor union of drivers of Ruta-100 in Mexico City fought the sell off of the company although the leaders were imprisoned. These actions are the cause that organized labor have had little subsequent opposition to the privatization process. When the National Autónomous University of México, a public university, had the intention to increase enrolment fees, students did not allow it having a strike that lasted one calendar term. However, some other public universities in the states have been more successful in slowly but steadily increasing the fees every term.

Employment in the Mexican public companies has declined rapidly due to privatization and employment reductions in the remaining enterprises. Programs of privatization in Mexico have reduced employment by half, while production has increased 54.3 percent with a significant reduction in investment. A study by Galal et al (1992) analyzed the after-privatization performance of twelve companies in different countries, including Mexico, and documented an increase of 26 percent in profits in eleven cases but an increase of benefits to workers in only three of the cases.

Resistance by labor unions, social movements and social society groups to privatization has often been fierce, but most of them have defeated. However, the Mexican government have not achieved the sell off of PEMEX and the CFE. unions and civil-society groups joined together in 1996 to protest the sale of Petróleos de México, the state-owned oil company. The political strength to reject the privatization program is bound up with changes in the labor unions movements in Mexico. When collateral petrochemical industry was privatized during the last decade, union membership fell to 7% while PEMEX still hovers at around 70 per cent. In the electrical sector at least, the labor movement began to change with the announcement to put the electrical system up for sale after the election of President Zedillo in 1994. Although the privatization of the pension system was achieved in 1997, the opposition of state employees labor unions and of the Mexican Institute of Social Security (IMSS)
employee union prevented the privatization of both health care provided by the IMSS system and any overhaul of the state employees’ social insurance system (ISSSTE). The pension reform erodes social citizenship rights, and in the overall, the pension privatization will have a negative impact on women’s welfare in Mexico (Dion, )

At the Union for Electrical Workers of the Mexican Republic (SUTERM) at the Federal Electricity Commission (CFE), the government seized control of it in such a way that the leader headed the Congreso del Trabajo, the main government affiliated labor federation. When the Union refused any defense against the privatization of the CFE, the workers that resisted formed a new union federation, the National Union of Workers, and declared open opposition to the sale of the Federal Electricity Commission. On May 22, 1999, 3000 of SUTERM members defied their national leaders and allied themselves with the SME, well respected for its internal democracy and gained legitimacy.

Another demonstration on August 28, the formation of a national coordinating committee and an alliance with national Union of Workers, the leftwing Party of the Democratic Revolution, and nationalist elements in the PRI have all vowed to cooperate in mass protest. More recently, at the end of September 2003, the Mexican Electric Workers Union (SME) and allies mobilized more than 50,000 people to the Zocalo the main central square in México City in opposition and protest over privatization plans and distributed 10 million leaflets across the country to urge actions against the government proposal to provide incentives to private companies to build generating plants financed with national pension funds. A statement signed by leaders of both Mexican electrical unions argues that "In Mexico, the people rightly think that the electrical industry and the petroleum industry should be public property and that such public property is the fundamental basis for their nation's existence and of their national sovereignty." (Bacon, 2003)

The controversial Mexican privatization program has led to a high concentration of capitals and income of local and foreign investors who have penetrated the strategic sectors of the Mexican economy. One major concern in the privatization process of Mexico is that the new owners of privatized companies are foreign investors as it is the case of the bank and financial institutions where less that 10 percent is in the hands of Mexicans and for some other firms, the percentage of foreign ownership has grown to very high levels.

Privatisation in banking and financial services is associated with mergers and acquisitions done by larger international banking groups and only a limited domestic investors remain in control of less that 10 percent of banks. City group from USA has bought BANAMEX, BBVA from Spain has acquired BANCOMER, HSBC from Honk Kong and Shanghai is the owner of BITAL, Santander from Spain has SERFIN, Nova Scotia Bank bought COMERMEX and the list continues. Prices for services have increased in such a way that last year’s profits came mainly for the sale of services.

These acquisitions and mergers make it difficult to distinguish the effects of ownership and reorganisation. The possible benefits of privatisation can be overshadowed by higher
profit margins, in particular if there is also higher concentration because of mergers (Willner, 2003b). Mergers may also aim at offsetting the competition that integration was meant to achieve (Neumann et al., 1985; Sugden, 1983). We agree with the conclusive statement of Willner (2003b: 19) that mergers in manufacturing as well as in banking “may be a reason for concern in the future, and a return to non-commercial objectives might require renationalisation”.

The World Bank has admitted that privatization of state-owned companies in Mexico has contributed to an increase in private monopolies with the consequent concentration of wealth acknowledging that "there has been a worsening of the already skewed and concentrated pattern of ownership distribution in the economy and an increase in vertical integration. Only a small group of local conglomerates have been involved in purchasing public enterprises" According to the 1991 Internal Audit Report (Heredia, and Purcell, 1994: 5). In Mexico, the number of billionaires rose from 2 to 24 in only six year period, from 1988 to 1994.

Two years after the privatization of its banking system, in December 1994, Mexico was forced to devalue its peso which set off a macroeconomic crisis characterized by increased exchange rate volatility, further devaluation of the peso and was followed by a financial sector crisis and bailout. The meltdown of the Mexican stock exchanges resulted in the loss of half of the stocks value and share prices, for major Mexican companies quoted on Wall Street, dropped 75 percent within a few months. However, after this situation was resolved a deeper crisis in financial markets came in the form of the devaluation of the peso and the sovereign-default crises. The majority of the governmental crises, without a degree of investment (as is the case of Mexico), were caused by characteristic weakness in governance. Concerns about corporate governance in Mexico has increased due in large part to the demands of international investors and the pressures faced by newly privatised companies (Husted and Serrano, 2001). If local people and foreign investors fear the Mexican peso will be devalued, they may convert pesos into dollars.

The privatization process in Mexico has not been used to increase competition by eliminating the former public monopolies. Rather than leading to increased competition and economic efficiency, the privatization process has led to a increasing concentration of income and wealth, while at the same time in the penetration of strategic sectors of the Mexican economy by foreign investors, such as in the electricity and oil industries.

Some state owned companies referred to as ‘public utilities’ considered unsuitable for private ownership because they operated in natural monopoly markets, reflecting their economies of scale and scope, such us the Mexican Telephone Company (TELMEX) and Ferrocarriles Nacionales de Mexico, the Mexican rail transport, nevertheless, were privatised without any market regulations and fatal consequences for the consumers. Further more, prices of these services conceal disparities in the distribution of the welfare gains between different consumer groups affecting the ones with lower income. In most of the privatised public utilities companies, prices have risen, such as the case of the increasing toll of roads, transport and telecommunications. Prices are market-oriented
with very limited controls, as for example in the case of toll roads and bank and financial services, prices have gone up to become one of the most expensive in the world and had been the main source of profits.

After the transferring property from public to private ownership monopoly positions still exist such as the case of TELMEX. From a normative perspective, consequences of competition in the markets for network telephone services are the abolishment of monopoly rents with a subsequent reduction of tariff levels, increasing incentives for cost efficiency, optimization of telephone service networks, more rapid reaction of prices to changes in the costs and demand structure, increasing price-quality options. Changes in service quality considered as a multi-dimensional variable, are difficult to measure since privatisation, but there are some evidences that service quality is at the expense of prices.

The privatisation of Telmex was a landmark which established the antecedent that in spite of their size, the public utilities could be sold off to a large investors, opposing the principle of creating a share-owning democracy. Until today, as a private company, Telmex has manipulated the political and economic environment to remain as a monopoly demonstrating that the privatization program in Mexico has not led to the expected increase of competition and economic efficiency. The total assets of the new owner of Telmex are more than the annual income of the combined poorest 17 million Mexicans. Although it had been projected by some analysts, that consumers would benefit in the long run, consumers have not received any benefits on improvement of cost and quality of telephone services. For privatised companies operating in non competitive markets reducing service quality to the disadvantage of consumers not necessarily leads to a loss of market share.

There is not any specific regulatory agency to protect the telephone consumer services from monopoly abuses until real competition will develop. The weak competition on the market has caused prices to go up. In the utilities sector, the high households’ prices for telephone is maintained by the privatized monopoly TELMEX. Since the privatization of the TELMEX, the infrastructure for long distance telephone services are monopolistic bottlenecks, with the need for adequate access regulation and a massive private investments in alternative long distance infrastructures is needed to be both more active and potential competition

Some concluding remarks

The state owned enterprises were created to promote growth and industrialization and consequently, their performance must be assessed according to these objectives in such a way that their success or failure is to a large extent a question of weather the aims have been reached at reasonable costs. State owned companies were downsized during the deep crisis of 82 and 94 despite some rescue operations. Today, the remaining state owned companies become more oriented to customers and to achieve growth through higher output, productivity and profitability share holder value oriented, more conscious about technological development and environmental considerations and still are
responsible to take social welfare, support private firms at the expense of their own profitability such as the case of CFE supplying low prices of energy to the private manufacturing and services sectors.

Furthermore, still supply income revenue from their profits to the federal government representing a substantial part of the budget. The distributional effects on income have an impact on social welfare and consumer welfare. This is consistent with the finding of Wilner (2003b:17) who contends that “Social welfare can be reduced despite lower costs and vice versa. But it can also increase despite a fall in consumer welfare, so it may make sense to analyse distributional effects and quality as well”. Social welfare has been severely damaged with privatisation process because the distributional effects on income and the concentration of ownership in private hands, affecting more the poor people with lower income per cápita, As Willner (2003b:19) concludes “social welfare has hardly changed because of privatisation in manufacturing and banking, because of the absence of a change in objectives and the lack of evidence of an ownership effect on financial performance and cost efficiency."

Therefore, public and state owned companies are in good health despite the campaign against their prestigious while some privatisations have resulted in an economic mess. For historical and ideological reasons, privatisation has been a large and hot political issue in Mexico as there has been more then 1,200 state owned companies to privatise. Nationalised public enterprises were at the core of Mexican economic nationalism and have faded as Mexico became part of the North American Free Trade Agreement. To summarise which sectors privatisation in Mexico has failed or was successful could be very often ambiguous and subject to qualitative judgements in particular cases.

The privatization policy in Mexico has not achieved the expected economic growth and developed promised. The success of privatization process is partly a question of its objectives. Regarding prices to sell of public companies these have not always been sold at a satisfactory price which means sales revenues for the State. If the aim was to achieve divestiture and widespread share-ownership which are not ends in themselves, until now the results have being disappointing with high concentration of private ownership in only few investors. Only part of the sales proceeds had been used to reduce public debt and not for public investment in infrastructure required for the development of the country. Unfortunately, most of the sales revenues have been mismanaged.

Unfortunately, the lessons from Mexican privatisations, deregulations and movement to free trade and away from state protectionism are not always positive. Deregulation and privatisation of state owned firms are factors in changing the competitive situation while the state owned enterprises can also promote competition with private companies. Some of these privatisations have resulted in private monopolies or quasi monopolies, such as privatisation of TELMEX, the Mexican Telephone Company. Privatizations of utility monopolies led to meet higher investors expectations on returns and profits becoming the main gainers rather than the consumers.
To develop regulatory governance of privatized companies with market dominance activities not only takes time but also a new culture. Mexico does not have a long tradition of independent regulatory agencies while monopolies are regulated through: direct intervention as the case of the oil company, the two electrical firms and the privatised telephone company. Therefore, regulation of competition is necessarily a pressure on time and culture to establish a new economic policy with fairer environment for investors and consumers at large.

It is often unclear to what extent privatisation rather than other factors is responsible of higher competitiveness and economic efficiency. Parker (2004) contends that empirical studies often proves difficult to separate out the effects of ownership, competition, regulation and technological change on efficiency. Ownership change does not appear “to have a significant effect in terms of improving economic performance where there is market dominance, especially in terms of welfare gains to consumers.” (Parker, 2004: 21).

In terms of the effects and impact of privatisation on firms’ efficiency, available the evidence available is not conclusive and suggests that there are other factors more important than ownership change, namely competition, the buyer type and the firm’s size and capital intensity. These factors can do that privatisation always would play a complementary and reinforcing role (Villalonga, 2002). Therefore it is often unclear how far privatisation rather than other factors is responsible for any economic efficiency gains achieved.

Nevertheless, the lessons from the Mexico’ privatisation are far away from the lessons of UK’s privatisation which, according to Parker (2004:21) are that “the empirical evidence is consistent with economic theory and suggests that competition and in the absence of competition effective state regulation are important if privatisation is to lead to performance improvements, including lower prices and improved services”.

Two different deep ideas about economic development and workers rights have emerged in Mexico after the implementation of the privatization plan. These two ideas are separated by over whose priorities of workers or investor will prevail. Wages and working conditions were better in state owned enterprises in comparison with privatised companies bus companies often because of different collective agreements.

The neoliberals behave in a two-way strategy: on one side, destroying the activities of the social society and in the other side, destroying the traditional functions of the State, and assigning a new role under the principles of liberal democracy and policies of free market relations... as it were another private enterprise. All this destruction is done in name of a more slim State and privatizing its functions, but the State do not disappear or diminish and what is really wanted, is to impose a distinct State capable of destroying the capacity of civil society to exercise resistance and opposition in front of the State policies, inspired on total market policy, which responds to interests of globalization and allows the instauration of a “New International Order”, where collective security rests on general acceptation of principles of free market.
From this perspective, it is the same Mexican State who assumes the anti-State ideology promoted by government, entrepreneurs, bankers and entities of the neoliberal model who assign an active role to the State as propulsion of its own reduction to allow a major protagonist to the private sector of the economy in such a way that do not compete each other for financial resources. But at the same time, upon oppositions emerging from the breaking down of social equilibrium and consensus require that the Mexican State may be the most strong possible to fulfill its functions within the economic model and guarantee the macroeconomic equilibrium.

State owned enterprises are privatized when they are profitable and the government stuck with the unprofitable ones, except few like the “crown jewels” PEMEX AND CFE that belong to the energy sector. Specifically, these enterprises were nationalized in the last Century and remain public because the privatization process is heavily loaded in terms of ideological reasons and for being considered in provisions of the Mexican Constitution for public ownership for being strategic for development of Mexico, although have been serious intents to sell them off. To push over the selling off of these state owned companies, neoliberals strategize for achieving an Energy Reform to make Constitutional amendments favorable to remove ideological arguments to finally achieve privatization plans.

If the energy sector privatization plan succeeds, the nationalist development policy will be buried. However, if the privatization plan is defeated could be possible to recover national economic sovereignty and independence. The privatization program can not be defeated without having an alternative project of development based on a strong internal market with well paid workers to oppose to the neoliberal economic development project.

Trough mechanisms of cooperation, trade unions, new social movements and civil society have resisted and fought to oppose privatisations plans, with a limited success, because they consider that results are unfair. Thus, today privatisations are not widely accepted in principle due to the reluctance to fulfil requirements of transparency information and governance rules during the promotion of the privatisation process.

However, it is safely to conclude that changes of ownership through the privatisation process in Mexico has led to the foreign investors to own the most profitable former state owned enterprises which under the spirit of globalisation of business has terminated any sentiment of national capitalism.

Finally, we can conclude that the policy of privatization in Mexico has not achieved the aims related to increase economic growth and development, but has contributed significantly to become a subsidiary economy owned and managed by transnational and multinational corporations. However, this aim is politically neither desirable nor feasible for the economic development of Mexico. If good performance of privatisation is required, actually it is successful only if state-owned companies are so well managed that there is no need to privatise. As Berne and Pogorel (2004;15) contend, “it is always easier
to privatise profitable companies... But at the same time, it is more difficult to explain why well-run entities need to be privatised"

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The Nature of the International Models of Reading

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Abstract

Reading is a complex activity which entails the reader to be involved in a series of linguistic, psycholinguistic, socio-linguistic as well as pragmatic interactions. Reading is not a simple act of visual perception and meaning derivation. Reading initiates from the text and goes beyond the page, while interacting with the mind of the reader. Comprehension requires the reader to interact with the printed page and bring his complicated and implicated network of schemata, scripts, proposition, psychological entities, sociological properties, conceptual parameters, pragmatic dimensions, and content and procedural knowledge into the reading act. (Varzegar, 2004) “The lower-level and higher-level processes work together interactively as parts of the reading processes.” (Grabes, 1980) “An important point about top-down and bottom-up processing is that both should be occurring at all levels interactively.” (Rumelhart, 1977) All these interaction knowledge sources available to the reader interact with each other and the interaction among the elements is of a compensatory nature. (Stanovich, 1980)

Models of reading hypothesize the mental operations of the reading processes from the time the eyes are exposed to the script to the time the written information is decoded and “demessaged.” The purpose of this paper is to discuss the nature of the interactive models of reading to enable the reader to understand the multi-dimensional aspects of the reading act in order to read more efficiently, effectively and proficiently.
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Participation of Aged in the Promotion of Socio-Economic Development

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Participation of the Aged in the Promotion of Socio-Economic Development

Dr. R.B.S. Verma*

Old people were widely respected in ancient societies and in India also, old age evoked deep respect and honour in the traditional society. In the joint family system a sort of gerontocracy prevailed. It was customary to obey the directions of the eldest member of the family. Even today, the elderly persons are respected and well looked after in the Indian Joint families. They are considered to be the best source of social education, social service and social cohesion. Their experience and perceptive ideas are invaluable assets for the development of community. But, with the passage of time, the position is gradually undergoing a change due to the process of industrialization, urbanization, social mobility, easy communication facilities and individualism. The wind of change brought about by modernization and technological advances has affected the traditional ties and earlier emotional links. The younger people migrate to urban areas leaving behind their congenial rural habitats. They are virtually thrown into a life of uncertainty and anonymity. Under such predicament, the old people who stay behind can not be taken care of nor do they have the same prestige and honour as they used to enjoy earlier (Bhattacharya: 1989:1). But, due to rise of number of aged persons in every society, their participation in the Socio-economic development must be ensured because these persons have experience, which can be utilized in constructive manner.

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Why Participation?

Participation is important because it expresses not only the will of the majority of people, but also it is the only way for them to ensure that the important moral, humanitarian, social, cultural and economic objectives of a more humane and effective development can be peacefully attained. In this way, participation strengths the capacities of individuals and communities to mobilize and held themselves (Midgley and others; 1986:8) and furthers the goals of empowerment, equity and democratic governance.

What is Participation?

It is difficult to give a single definition of ‘participation’ because the dimension and direction of participation of people in any given situation vary according to the contents and contexts of the task (Rehman and Rehman, 1998:5).

For the Oxford English Dictionary, participation is the action or act of partaking, having or forming a part of. In that sense, participation could be either transitive and intransitive, either moral, a moral, or immoral, either forced or free, either manipulative or spontaneous. According to Wolfe, participation designates the organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given situations, on the part of groups and movements hither to be excluded from such control (Goulet, 1986:165). For Baetz (1975:3), participation in development means how community members can be assured the opportunity for contributing to the creation of the communities goods and services. WHO (1982) defines participation as the process by which individuals, families or communities assume responsibility for their own health and welfare and the community’s development. While explaining the concept of participation, Human Development Report, 1993 says that participation means that people are closely involved in the economic, social, cultural and political processes that affect their lives. Oakley (1991: 8-9) has described (i) participation as other forms of contributions which implies voluntary or other forms of contributions by people to pre-determined programmes/projects; (ii) participation as organization which puts forth
that organization is a fundamental instrument of participation; and (iii) participation as empowering which recognizes that there exists relationship between participation and power.

In this way, in a nutshell it can be concluded that by participation, it can be meant that it is a process through which human beings will realize their full potential in all areas of life and solve their own problems and initiate struggle for them resulting into desired socio-economic development.

How to Participate?

Aged persons can participate in socio-economic development as contributors, institution builders as well as an agents of empowerment.

As Contributors

Aged persons can contribute both socially as well as economically. Socially they can contribute by:

(i) establishing good relations with family members and neighbourhood by changing their authoritarian attitude and inculcating in them a sense of tolerance, patience, non interference and cooperation;

(ii) Maintaining their health through exercise, cooperation with doctor, if necessary, taking necessary prescribed meals and imbibe in them a positive attitude towards day-to-day happiness;

(iii) Utilizing their leisure time in a constructive manner such as engaging themselves in different hobbies such as painting, music, reading books, playing cards, chess, etc., telling stories and experiences to younger, engaging in religious activities such as kirtan (religious songs), pravachans (religious discourses), etc.; playing with grand children; performing household chores; giving support to younger in solving their emotional, educational and social problems;

(iv) Attending and participating is social functions and helping family members in maintaining social contacts;
(v) Transferring responsibilities with authority to younger generation with a sense of cooperation and faith; and always remain ready to give them proper guidance, if asked for;

(vi) Showing non-resistant attitude towards change and cooperate with pro-changers by sharing the experiences and mobilizing other aged persons to respect such change;

(vii) Sorting out problems of family, neighbourhood and community by offering constructive suggestions;

(viii) Understanding and respecting needs, hopes, aspirations and capacities of younger generation and expecting accordingly from this generation which would certainly save them from expecting too much from this generation;

(ix) Managing or sharing the responsibility of managing or participating or showing positive attitude towards community functions such as organization of fairs and festivals, as well as organization of functions in educational, health and other social service institutions;

(x) Developing, maintaining and managing community assets such as community buildings, community entertainment gadgets, community gardens, lands, groves, ponds, schools, etc.

(xi) Helping community members, particularly in rural areas, in maintaining land records which will certainly reduce litigation;

(xii) Acting as contact person between governmental and non-governmental officials working for the development of whole community or for certain section of community;

(xiii) Following scientific and rational approach in dealing things instead of rigid and dogmatic approaches;

(xiv) Not imposing fulfilment of their needs on family or community members rather than trying to balance between fulfilment of needs of younger generation and older one;

(xv) Not suffering from the feeling of rolelessness, worthlessness, powerlessness, depression, social alienation, cultural deprivation, humiliation, physical insecurity, emotional instability, social maladjustment etc.;
(xvi) Not finding faults with the behaviour and belief of the younger generations;

(xvii) Giving opportunity to young generation to express their views and participate in decision making;

(xviii) Not indulging in such activities which give rise to social evils such as dowry, corruption etc.;

(xix) Developing a sense of respect among younger generations towards accepted values of society by acting as role model as well as awareness among them against social evils like dowry, corruption, etc.;

(xx) Taking active part in cultural activities of community so that cultural customs of the community remain intact;

(xxii) Developing companionship with younger persons and students;

(xxii) acting as councillors to hospital, wards and neighbourhood to meet patients and families who need their help and support (Gurumurthy, 1988:166);

(xxiii) undertaking study and inquiries concerning the life and living conditions of fellow aged which will provide them an opportunity to meet and express their viewpoints and relieve them of their stress and tension;

(xxiv) not interfering in the personal and private life of youngers for showing their superiority;

(xxv) engaging themselves in discussing social, economic and political issues through group discussions, seminars, symposia, etc.; and

(xxvi) understanding problems of weaker and vulnerable sections of community and cooperating with governmental and non-governmental agencies working for them.

Economically, they contribute by:

(i) engaging themselves in occupations like teaching, writing, doing light jobs or business like poultry farming, looking after nursery, running a preparatory school or working as consultant;
(ii) engaging themselves in producing things specially needed for aged such as spectacles, dentures, walking sticks, foot wear, warm dresses, bedding, etc.;

(iii) organizing training and counselling programmes for aged who are interested in self-employment;

(iv) investing life-time savings, if any at right places;

(v) securing social security benefits available to them;

(vi) helping young persons in expressing choice regarding their occupations;

(vii) keeping ancestral property intact and trying to add in it as well as properly distributing it fairly and timely among family members in order to avoid mutual acrimony among family members.

As Institution Builders

Aged persons can contribute towards strengthening of existing institutions and build new institutions/organizations for the development of people:

(i) The institution of family can be strengthened by providing emotional support involving the provision of moral and psychological support through sympathetic and caring relationship, informational support which assists the family members with the problem solving and decision making and finally instrumental support which takes the form of help with the practical tasks of every day life (Antonucci:1990: 205-216);

(ii) Neighbourhood and community relations can be maintained and strengthened through establishment of old age clubs. These clubs may take up the work of redressal of the grievances of any family through mutual help and support as well as organize educational, recreational and developmental activities in community;

(iii) Aged persons should take active part in the activities of Panchayat through participation in various committees and utilizing their
experiences in guiding and supporting office bearers and officials of Panchayati Raj resulting into its strengthening.

(iv) Utilization of the services of non-governmental organizations is another area through which older persons can benefit the community for its socio-economic development. Here, they can act as facilitator for the services of non-governmental organizations;

(v) They can also accept patronship or membership or the position of advisor in the existing non-governmental organization or form their own organizations such as aged clubs, recreational clubs, religious clubs, bhajan mandi, etc. or take active part in these organizations.

As Empowering Agents

Empowerment is an emotional and mental process, in which the understanding of individual and social identity develops. The contemporary relevance of empowerment is closely linked to social change. While it is the role of every individual to strive towards the building of an egalitarian society, this process can only take place through their active participation. The basis of this pro-active role is the internalization of empowerment.

As an empowering agent, aged persons can contribute by:

(i) organizing themselves for getting services both governmental as well as non-governmental organizations;

(ii) organizing marginalised sections, comparising mainly of women and dalits as well as tribals who have limited access to education and economic resources; and

(iii) developing awareness among members of community so that they may get space to move away from bureaucracy, politicians and middlemen towards collective self-reliance.

To conclude, it can be said that time and skills of aged persons can be utilized by giving them proper care at family and for this programmes and policies should be focussed on fostering and strengthening
relationship within families such as public education for the young and recreational activities to bring the family together that incorporate both young and old persons (Chadha, 1997:201).

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Title: Marginalization, Subordination, and Justification: A Gender Perspective of the Peñafrancia Tradition

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Marginalization, Subordination, and Justification: A Gender Perspective of the Peñafrancia Tradition

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The paper is a gender analysis of the Peñafrancia devotion as exercised in the annual celebration of the feast of Our Lady of Peñafrancia in Naga City. The analysis locates men and women in their differing roles in the festivities and situates their participation in gender power relations. Through a symbolic approach, it argues that the rituals in the Peñafrancia fiesta signify and legitimize male dominance. In turn, the dominance of men has resulted in the marginalization of Jesus Christ, the subordination of women, and legitimization of male-power in Bikol society. Furthermore, the paper directs attention to the gender dimension of the Bicol Region’s underdevelopment, as reflected in and justified by the Peñafrancia tradition.
Marginalization, Subordination, and Justification: A Gender Perspective of the Peñafrancia Tradition

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In the early 1990s, the sight of the naked icon of Our Lady of Peñafrancia during the Traslacion appalled the Catholic brethren of the Bicol Region in Southern Philippines. The voyadores, in the guise of religious fervor, had stripped the icon of its vestments and ornaments as they carried the icon through the procession. For Catholics, that incident was an erosion of discipline and respect for the religious icon following decades of degeneration of the voya tradition. From a gender perspective, however, that incident was a culmination of the history of male-domination of the Peñafrancia fiesta celebrations. More than disrespect for the Virgin of Peñafrancia, it was a blatant signification of the macho values that have pervaded the devotion and the male-biased culture that legitimizes them.

This essay does not offer any new historical facts on Bikol history or the Peñafrancia tradition. Rather, it provides another perspective through which to understand the emergence of the Peñafrancia as a regional symbol, the actual and symbolic value of the icon, and its implications on Bikol socio-economic life. Through gender analysis, the essay locates men and women in their differing roles in the festivities and situates their participation in gender power relations. Through a symbolic approach, it argues that the dominance of men in the celebration has led to the marginalization of Jesus Christ, reinforced the subordination of women, and legitimized male-power in Bikol society. Furthermore, the essay directs attention to the gender dimension of the Bicol Region’s underdevelopment, as reflected in and justified by the Peñafrancia tradition.


1 Held in the third week of September in the City of Naga, the feast of Our Lady of Peñafrancia is the biggest and most popular festival in the Bicol Region in the Philippines. The fiesta attracts thousands of local and foreign devotees, pilgrims, and tourists. The icon has been attributed with many miraculous events. It is regarded as a regional symbol of Bicol, one of the poorest regions of the Philippines.

2 Two rowdy processions highlight the celebrations of the Our Lady of Peñafrancia in Naga City: the Traslacion and the Fluvial Procession. The Traslacion transfers, on land, the image of Our Lady of Peñafrancia and the icon of the Divino Rostro (Jesus’ battered face imprinted on the cloth Veronica used to wipe His face on His way to Calvary) the Peñafrancia Shrine to the Naga Metropolitan Cathedral. Held on the second Friday of September, it marks the beginning of nine-day novenary leading to the feast day itself on the third Saturday of the same month. The Fluvial Procession signifies the return the image to the Shrine, marking the end of the fiesta celebrations. It begins with a short procession on land to a part of the Bicol River in downtown Naga. From there, the image is loaded on the pagoda (an ornate barge) for the river procession to the Basilica Minore of Our Lady of Peñafrancia, for the ceremonial ending of the fiesta.

3 In both the Traslacion and the Fluvial Procession, hordes of men, reeking of alcohol, bare-footed, and ruggedly clad, swarm on the image, grappling, hustling, and clawing for a chance to carry the andas (palanquin) bearing the image, touch the image, or grab a piece of the ornaments on the andas or image itself. This practice of the men is called voya and the men voyadores. With the voya as main spectacle of the processions, the fiesta, for tourism purposes, has been dubbed the Voyadores Festival.
The Voya as symbolic action

The voya, as highlight of the celebrations, is a symbolic ritual action. Ritual action is a “generalized medium of social interaction in which the vehicles for constructing messages are iconic symbols (e.g. acts, words, or things) that convert a load of significance or complex socio-cultural meanings embedded in and generated by the ongoing processes of social existence into communication currency” (Munn 1973). In the same way, the voya is a medium of social interaction that generates and signifies meanings. These meanings, in turn, provide the basis for social relationships between the actors. The meanings released by the ritual action “work back” upon the individual imagination of reality, thus legitimizing the meanings and social relationships (Munn 1973). Viewed, thus, from a gender perspective, the voya signifies and legitimizes male dominance, as transacted within gender power relations that is characterized by male domination and female subordination.

The Peñafrancia fiesta as male-domination

With the voya as main attraction of the whole celebration, the Peñafrancia fiesta is a stage virtually exclusive for men – macho values and male power. As it is the men taking to the center, the women are relegated to the periphery. The whole fiesta, thus, unfolds as signification and legitimization of man’s power over woman and his preeminent claim to salvation.

Signification and legitimization of male power. The voya is a signification of brute force, aggression, cunning, and violence – the ways men have subjugated women and nature – unfolded in religious ritual. The object of the competition and struggle among the voyadores is touching or getting a piece of (the image of) Our Lady of Peñafrancia. The Blessed Virgin Mary is reduced to an object of conquest. Touching or getting a piece of the image or the trimmings of the andas is the culmination of the conquest: it is an act of possessing Mary. As Mary is the embodiment of “the woman,” being the “most blessed of all,” her conquest by men is a legitimization of men’s power over women.

Preeminent claim to salvation. As it was the practice of getting amulets or anting-anting to empower the men with supernatural capabilities (an issue further discussed later in the paper) in the early times, the voya is the male experience of the divine and the contact with the image his claim to salvation. Caught up in his machismo and in social expectations, the struggle through the voya is his (limited) substitute for prayer. Thus, at reaching the image, he assumes a glorified state of one who has been rewarded or redeemed by God (but not Jesus, as will be explained later).

Subordination of women. Where are the women in the celebration? The irony is that the women are in the margins even as it is a woman that is the focus of the whole celebration. But, as explained earlier, the role of Mary in the center (of attention) is only as object of conquest, an instrument for the signification and legitimization of male power. Consequent to the legitimization of male claim to the center (and the heavens) is women’s marginal participation in the celebrations.

The women’s processions, called Aurora, at dawn in the two days prior to the feast day are significant of male-dominated gender power relations. Under cover of darkness, the procession is illustrative of the invisibility of women in social life. It also underlines the public and private divide between men and women. The participation of women can only be at dawn, prior to the start of their day engaged in domestic chores and, in this particular occasion, preparations for the festivities. The procession is conducted in the wake of men’s drunkenness in the previous evening’s celebration and in anticipation of the men’s bigger activities in the ensuing day. The practice of going barefoot is a feeble imitation of the men’s struggles, an attempt to approximate the meaning of the men’s voya; it is an imposition by males (The women do not need to feel pain further, as their daily lives are already crosses).

Another signification of men’s claim to the center and women’s relegation to the margins is the exclusion of women from the pagoda (ornate barge bearing the image) during the Fluvial Procession. The traditional reason given is that Mary would be jealous of any woman with her in that esteemed place and,
consequently, delay the progress of the procession. The tragic collapse of the Colgante Bridge during the 
1972 Fluvial Procession was even explained as Mary’s retribution for a woman’s transgression in the 
pagoda. There cannot be anything more misogynic. This is pure myth, but, for lack of any other plausible 
explanation, the male-determined knowledge system reified it into a truism.

Socialization into Macho Values: The Voya as rite of passage

For adolescent Bicolano men, the voya is a rite of passage from boyhood to manhood. However, it
is not so much a passage into adult status as it is an assumption of macho status. The young man who
participates in the voya does not gain the position of an adult male with its roles and responsibilities;
rather he earns a higher form of masculinity – being macho.

Initiation into machismo. For a sixteen year-old, the voya is commonly the first occasion for
which drinking alcohol is justified and necessary. Alcohol is believed to numb the nose and muscles in
order to bear the overpowering stench and the crush of bodies hustling tooth and nail, sweat and blood to
get to the andas. It also suppresses inhibitions, thus numbing the sense of propriety and loosening the
norms of decency. When there is alcohol, tobacco is not far away. True enough, the anticipation for the
arrival of the andas and the exhilaration after the voya is vented as a smoke of tobacco. The voya is thus a
young man’s formal initiation to vice and wantonness. It, thus, forms a major platform in the socialization
of young men into machismo.

Test of bravado. The struggle to get to the andas is the test of a young man’s physique and drive.
Getting to the andas requires brute force, aggression, cunning, and violence. Throughout, one is measured
against the elder men and fellow novices in terms of the above values. The passage culminates at the
point when one is nearest to the image until he is forced out of the crush. Although the ultimate end of
the struggle is reaching the top of the andas and touching the image, the passage is not deemed a failure if
one does not do so. It is going through the struggle that measures machismo. Reaching the andas and
touching the image is only the stage for recognition. Thus, one raises his arms, beats his chest, and hollers
in triumph – a public display of bravado.

Affirmation of macho status. But the recognition and affirmation does not end nor is fully
consummated in that public display. The affirmation of ones machismo comes best from the closest of
social relations, which, in this case, the family and the peer group. Within these circles, the stories of one’s
struggles and “triumphs” are exchanged as if these were the lore of ancient expeditions. It is the male
peer group and the male -figures in the family that can best bestow the affirmation of one’s machismo and
assumption of macho status.

Marginalization of Jesus

Male values vs. Christ’s values. Although the Divino Rostro is an integral element of the
Peñafrancia tradition, it is only a secondary devotion, a far one at that, among Bicolanos. At the fiesta
celebration, it receives only passing attention from the devotees – almost an afterthought. The minimal
attention to the Divino Rostro in the fiesta has stoked the centuries-old criticism that the devotion
marginalizes Jesus. But, contrary to popular accusation, it is not Mary or the devotion to her that
dominates Jesus and renders Him almost invisible in the celebration. It is the domination of men that has
marginalized Jesus. It is the macho values of brute force, aggression, cunning, and violence that have
supplanted Jesus’ values of gentleness, compassion, humility, and peace, among others.

The Divino Rostro as the “Un-macho.” The battered face of Christ is the last thing that can
qualify as a macho symbol. Instead, the Divino Rostro is a depiction of Christ as the “Un-macho.” The face

4 Holy Face of (the bloodied) Christ imprinted on the cloth Veronica used to wipe His face as He carried His
cross to Calvary.
is that of a man who has lost without any attempt to fight – the anti-thesis to the leering voyador on the andas collaring the image of Mary on one hand and beating his chest with the other.

**Not Mary, not Jesus.** In the *voya*, Mary, as pointed out earlier, is only an instrument of the exercise of male power. In this light, the Peñafrancia fiesta is not even a celebration of Mary; it is, more precisely, a celebration of machismo. The celebration, thus, defies the tenet of “to Jesus through Mary” for she is not even seen in the light of her role in salvation history. There is no mediatory role for Mary, as there is no Jesus to mediate with. Instead, Mary or, more precisely, that piece of her image’s cape is the ticket to joining God. And I say “God,” not Jesus, because Jesus’ persona is not at all reflected in the person of the Supreme Being regarded as God.

The reason behind the exclusion of women from the *pagoda* has caricatured Mary as jealous, attention-hungry, self-centered, and power-playing woman - a total opposite of her image in traditional interpretation of the Scriptures and in contemporary and alternative perspectives of her persona and role in salvation history.

**Reflection in Bicol Religious and Social Life**

The Peñafrancia tradition, as ritual, is a symbolic reflection of realities in gender relations in Bicol society. Its symbolic value provides the pattern upon which the fabric of Bicol religious and social life is woven and worn. This section discusses male aggression, spirituality, and salvation.

**Male aggression.** The values exemplified in the Peñafrancia tradition profess male aggression against both fellow men and women. There is, however, a difference between how aggression is dealt to men and women. The aggression against males is competition. Aggression against females, on the other hand, is domination and conquest. The challenge of other males makes the process of conquering worthwhile – may siram (exciting). The ultimate end is the possessing of the woman – getting a piece of her – and the exploitation of that ensues.

The above exercise of male aggression has been observed among male college students in a local sectarian university (Villaseñor 2001). Sexually aggressive behavior, as minor as peeping and *tsansing*, are acts of possession and domination. For these seemingly individual acts, the peer group is the platform both for the commission and the affirmation. The piece of the woman is the trophy, while the stories are the affirmation of macho status.

**Male spirituality.** On the basis of the *voya*, the Peñafrancia devotion is “spirituality” bounded in the physical rather than the spiritual. Like self-flagellation, the experience of the divine is in the physical struggle. But unlike self-flagellation, the *voya* has a physical fulfillment in the end – the possession of an object from the divine. As it was among early Bicolanos, the *voya* makes sense as a search for anting-ating. The anting-ating is the possessor’s link to the divine. The *orasyon* (incantation) for the anting-ating is the possessor’s prayers. The anting-ating thus bestows power on the possessor. This is macho spirituality.

**Salvation as seasonal.** The male’s preeminent claim to salvation, as signified by the *voya*, sets the example for most of the Catholic brethren. Salvation, rather than a continuing process of conversion, is largely believed as a seasonal or occasional penance. Thus, it is no wonder that many settle for one-time penitence to cleanse the soul as the way to salvation.

**Emergence of Male Dominance in the Peñafrancia Devotion**

**Margins to the center.** Aguilar (2004) posits that the emergence of Our Lady of Peñafrancia and the annual fiesta celebrations as prominent symbols of the Region was a movement from the margins to the center. The devotion began in and had been limited to the visita of Pena de francia, a settlement of outcasts, the remontados (and cimarrones [Obias 2003]), in the fringes of the Isarog foothills. Initiated in
1710 by a secular priest, Miguel Robles de Covarrubias, the devotion was indicative of the quarrel between the marginalized secular order that administered the visita and the regulars, the Franciscan order ensconced in the center of power in the pueblo of Naga.

The processions were not rowdy, as these facilitated the way for the marginalized groups in local society to assert their social presence and claim respectability (Aguilar 2004). Among these marginalized groups were the Chinese who provided the money for the building and decoration of the barge for the Fluvial Procession (thus, the barge is called the “pagoda”). The movement to the center culminated in the declaration of the Virgin of Peñafrancia as Queen of Bicolandia in 1924.

By the 1950s, however, the orderly “civilized” festival had been eclipsed by the prehispanic styles of celebration – revelry, drunkenness among men, and the incessant search for anting-anting. The emergence of the prehispanic elements, according to Aguilar, signified the triumph of the marginalized people over the dominant group. As it is celebrated now, the festival is symbolic of marginality entering and captivating the center, but which the center has been unable to fully control. Aguilar, thus, asks why and how the fiesta became mainstream, and then taken over by the masses.

Usurpation by the center. This paper’s position on the question is a modification of Aguilar’s margins-to-center thesis. It argues that the mainstreaming of the Peñafrancia devotion and fiesta, instead of a movement and triumph of the masses, was the usurpation by the center of “something big” in the margins. The Peñafrancia devotion had emerged as a potent symbol and, thus, tool for the consolidation of the Catholic brethren in Bicol, not to mention that it attracted the patronage and the wealth of the Chinese community. It cannot be left to the enjoyment of the marginalized groups. Obias (1999) notes this process as the dispossession of the cimarrones of their Ina (Mother). As the religious fervor around the Nuestra Senora de Peñafrancia increased, the friars and regulars slowly took over the supervision of the chapel in the settlement. The rich, famous, and mestizo also slowly took over the care of the icon, embellishing the once crude wooden image with jewelry and perfume.

The usurpation is best illustrated by the Traslacion from the Peñafrancia Shrine, the margins, to the Metropolitan Cathedral, the center (of church political authority). For one hundred fifty years, the fiesta had been limited to the visita of Peña de Francia, until, in 1849, Bishop Manuel Grijalvo decreed the transfer of the novenary to the Virgin to the Naga Cathedral (Gerona 2003). Through the Traslacion, the dominant group practically took over the rights over the Peñafrancia celebration and all the potencies it embodied. Right of ownership means the power to give (back), thus the Fluvial Procession returning the image to the Peñafrancia Shrine.

Mainstreaming of Male Values. How did prehispanic culture take over the fiesta celebration? Alongside the usurpation by the Catholic center was an even bigger process – that of men taking-over the celebration. More than a return of prehispanic culture, the rowdiness, drunkenness, and exploitation of the image were male values finding signification and legitimization in the fiesta celebration. Ironically, the emergence of prehispanic culture in the fiesta celebration was the male-dominated church taking control of the whole devotion – that is, putting males in the center of the celebrations. The male-dominated church had no need to control the erosion of civility in the processions, as the signification and legitimization male values in the celebrations also justified the same values and, consequently, the rule of the clergy.

On one hand, for the benefit of the festival and its main host, the clergy, the dominance of men legitimized a division of labor that is necessary for holding large-scale and protracted fiesta celebration. The women have to be kept in the margins of the celebration in order for them to accomplish the many chores for the fiesta. On the extreme, the dominance of male values in a religious celebration shielded the clergy from questions over its own macho excesses. The clergy created a sea of macho values on which it could swim freely. Noted Bikol historian Gerona (2005) points out that, although living austerely in material terms, the Franciscans that administered the Catholic Church in Bikol during the Spanish colonization were not at all sexually deprived and sterile.
Why did the rowdiness and the exploitation of the image not emerge earlier, prior to the mainstreaming of the celebration? Aside from being an assertion of social presence and claim to respectability, the celebration was relatively small-scale, certainly not the stage for the exercise of male dominance (A contemporary reflection is that of males shunning of micro-finance or micro-enterprise projects because these are small-scale, both financially and operationally). Male participation surged and dominated the celebrations as the stage moved to the center, expanded, and gained prestige.

Reflection of Bicol Underdevelopment

The landmark book *Ina and the Bikol People: A Journey of Faith* (Tria, ed. 2002) identifies dirty politics as cause of the underdevelopment of the Region, implying the corruption and incompetence of local leaders that has bedeviled local governance. Poor local governance has left the people powerless, helpless, and, consequently, resigned (Tria 2002). To further this analysis, a gender perspective directs our attention to the men who have led the Bikol Region to its moribund state, and to the symbols that have provide meaning to the Bikol people's resignation to poverty. The Peñafrancia celebrations reflect quite poignantly the underdevelopment led by male agenda and the system of meanings that justify Bikolanos' resignation.

**Underdevelopment reflected in the Traslacion and Fluvial Procession.** Governance in the region is reflected in the Traslacion and the Fluvial Procession--slow, chaotic, a competition among males to possess power and its spoils, and exclusionary of women. Like the Peñafrancia processions, local governance has been historically exclusionary of women and other marginalized sectors. Men have led the Region for all of its history of underdevelopment. Local governance reflects male values and preoccupations - resource exploitation, power-play, corruption, violence, and moral degradation, among many others.

The populace's attitude towards the above type of male leadership is similarly reflected and affirmed in the Traslacion. When public officials are given a free way to the andas, people frown in disapproval; they say, “Mayong siram” (No excitement). The disapproval is not for their using position to have a privileged share in our treasures, but for the “un-macho” manner that they do so. Thus, observers shake their heads, “Mayong siram.”

**Chaos vs. efficiency, exclusion vs. solidarity.** It is not the love for Mary that fuels the fervor of men in the Traslacion; it is the desire for power, prestige, and property. It is not Mary’s jealousy over a woman in the pagoda that slows down the Fluvial Procession; it is the load of men on the pagoda and those on the water clinging to it that bogs down the barge. In contrast, the cooperation, efficiency, and openness of women facilitate a smoother and more orderly and prayerful procession of the image. In contrast to the spectacle of exclusion and chaos in the pagoda, the solemn dance of lighted candles on the banks of the river enlivens the spirit of solidarity among a greater number. However, like the women’s procession under cover of darkness, this bigger expression of oneness in spirit of a people with God goes unrecognized.

**Underdevelopment as structural.** The gender-dimension of underdevelopment in the Bicol Region and its legitimization in ritual exposes the structural nature of deprivation. “Dirty politics” is not a matter of personality. Rather, in considering the values brought into such politics as male-oriented, underdevelopment is an issue of structure – that is, the structures that have marginalized women’s role in society and excluded them from local governance.

Local governance, both in terms of leadership and citizen participation, is dominated by males. Women’s participation in elections, both as candidates and, much less, winners, is very limited. Policy-making and program implementation remains not just male-dominated but more so macho-culture influenced.

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5 The Bicol Region has a poverty incidence of 48.4 percent, fourth poorest in the Philippines (NSCB 2005).
Traditional gender norms continue to limit women to the domestic sphere and prevent equal recognition for women’s capabilities and contributions to society. Male power gives rise to violence against women – a crime Bikol is notorious for. In turn, these cultural structures find legitimacy in the social rituals as the Peñafrancia celebrations.

### Justification of Bikol Underdevelopment

**Ina and poverty.** The resignation of Bikolanos to poverty owes much to the ingrained mindset that poverty is nature-caused or Moro-wrought. For so long, the sufferings of Bikolanos have been attributed to natural calamities and, up to the nineteenth century, Moro raids, so much so that man-made structures of oppression have been largely ignored. This mindset is signed and legitimized by the popular regard for the Virgin of Peñafrancia as Ina, tagapagligtas sa pag-alaman, parasurog kan Kabikolam (Mother, savior from disaster, protector of Bikol), justifying the historical poverty of Bikolanos as borne by nature or marauders. Ina, as she has been imagined, does not have the potency as symbol against social structural oppression.

**Guadalupe and independence.** In contrast to the Peñafrancia, the Lady of Guadalupe symbolizes independence from oppression to the Mexicans (Wolf 1965). Guadalupe is important to the Mexicans because she embodies their major political and religious aspirations. The apparition of Guadalupe to an Indian commoner signified that Indians, long in the periphery of the church, were as much capable of receiving Christianity and being saved as the Spaniards. Guadalupe validated the Indians’ legal and political rights in Mexican society. To those dismembered, impoverished, and displaced by Spain’s conquest, the Guadalupe myth assured them not only a place in heaven but also in Mexican society. The myth also represents the aspiration to drive out the Spanish overlords, who never quite cared for Mexico, and claim the land for their rightful heirs. As an ultimate signification of the symbolism, the banner of Guadalupe led the insurgents in the Mexican War of Independence, marking the realization of the promise of the myth.

In as far as the Virgin of Guadalupe has meant the mainstreaming of marginalized groups, the Virgin of Peñafrancia has signified the marginalization of half the population. Whereas the Virgin of Guadalupe has been a banner of independence, the Virgin of Peñafrancia has been a marker of (male) domination. While the Virgin of Guadalupe has agitated against oppressive structures, the Virgin of Peñafrancia has justified deprivation.

### Search for an Alternative Symbol: Retracing the “Journey of Faith,” Rethinking Mary’s Persona

Is there a symbol potent enough to rally Bikolanos against the structures of poverty? A search for this symbol should lead back to the origins of the Bikolanos’ “journey of faith” with the Blessed Virgin Mary and to her role in salvation history.

**Ina of the marginalized.** Before the wealthy embellished her with ornaments and jewelry, the original icon was only a crude wooden image (Obias 1999). Very similar to the Guadalupe, the crude wooden icon that embodied the devotion to the Virgin of Peñafrancia was the Cimarrones’ claim to salvation, even as they waged their resistance to the Spanish colonizers. On a lower political level, the devotion was, as cited earlier, a claim to respectability in society by the outcasts and the marginalized Chinese. This symbolic value of the Peñafrancia that was overran by the ostentatiousness of the rich and powerful in Bikol society needs to be recovered.

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6 The Bikol Region is in the typhoon belt of the Philippines and is home to Mt. Mayon, one of the most active and destructive volcanoes in the Philippines, if not the world. Aside from natural disasters, the raids of Moros from Southern Philippines were also the scourge of the Bikol people up to the 19th century.
Mary as social force. A re-interpretation of the Scriptures and re-examination of Mary’s role in salvation history within the context of her particular period shows her as a social force defying the structures of oppression in Jewish society. A little exegesis should show that Mary, unlike the meek and subordinate woman that she has been portrayed, must have been a very strong woman to defy the pharisaical norms and mores of Judaism. She proceeded to carry the child Jesus in her womb even without the assurance of a wedded husband and at the great risk of being stoned to death. As a widow, she was among the most marginalized in Jewish society. Yet, her survival during and after Jesus’ public ministry indicates she possessed the economic and political skills to fend for herself in a male-dominated society. These strength and capabilities brought the Savior into the world and provided guidance to the early Church.

Faith Experience as Social Liberation. What potency does her persona have as a symbol against oppression? Buhay (1998) explains that Mary’s obedience to God’s will was not powerlessness, rather was the “creative submission of the fully liberated human being who – not being subject to any other human being or human law – is free to serve God.” Her obedience was active: it involved responsibility, courage, and capabilities to face the struggles in being the mother of Christ. Mary was a “woman for others,” as indicated by the Wedding at Cana and her Visit on to Elizabeth. She had the competence to see the problem and contribute to its solution. Moreover, Mary was not a secluded Jewish girl, ignorant of the national and historical struggles of her people. Her awareness of the struggles of her nation and her patriotic aspirations for liberation are expressed in the Magnificat (Luke 1:46-55), which hearkens as a “song bursting out of the heartstrings of an oppressed people, the anawim” (Buhay 1998). In the Magnificat, Mary related her faith experience to her people’s liberation from oppression and injustice.

It is in the light of the above origins of the Bikolanos’ “journey of faith” that the discontent with oppressive structures becomes plausible and salient. It is in the light of the above model that Mary’s role in salvation history that Christ’s message of liberation from oppression becomes necessary, urgent, and attainable.

The Way Forward

The Bikol people cannot proceed towards improving local governance and alleviating poverty if they are gender-blind – that is, lacking the gender perspective to understand and navigate through the differing experiences of deprivation and oppression of men and women. The three R’s, Re-create, Re-evangelize, and Re-make, proposed by the book Ina and the Bikol People (2002) as steps to development, need to be fitted with gender lenses to see through the structural nature of underdevelopment of Bikol.

Thus, Re-creating the youth means re-socializing them into egalitarian norms and relationships between men and women. This entails providing the youth, at large scale, gender-sensitive, Christ-centered alternatives to observing the Peñafrancia tradition. Re-evangelization means empowering women to stand up for what is right – their rights – and question the male-values brought into decision-making. This does not mean allowing women into the pagoda and creating the same racket as men. That would simply be reaffirming the same male-values. Instead, this entails making visible and equally recognizing the role of women in the Peñafrancia tradition and of Mary’s role in salvation history. Re-making means mainstreaming the participation of marginalized sectors, particularly women, in local governance. The process and measure of self-determination are effective and valid only in their impact on the most marginalized, in this case, women. This entails re-making the symbolic value of the Virgin of Peñafrancia to see her strength and resistance to oppression.

In doing the above, the Peñafrancia celebration is re-focused on Christ – his message of liberation from oppression and the values by which that liberation is attained. After all, it is in the light of Christ’s salvific message that the real value of Mary can be fully celebrated.
References


Urban Governance in the Unplanned City: Houston

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Abstract:

The paper explores the planning and local governance of Houston, the archetype laissez-faire city in the U.S.. The research examines the complexity of Houston’s minimal government rhetoric, which in practice involves extensive federal, state, and local government involvement in economic development while maintaining a disinterest in social service and income maintenance programs. In fact, with a population of over 1.9 million people and an area of over 620 square miles, Houston is the largest city in North America without zoning or a plan.

The analysis illustrates that Houston’s local governance has historically been based on a management approach that actively attempts to minimize costs for potential investors to locate in the City, through public intervention, while at the same time as generating an unattractive urban environment for the socially marginalized. Thus, despite the local laissez-faire rhetoric, government intervention in Houston’s growth has been vital and has produced the extraordinary impacts usually expected from public involvement in local economic development.
Title: Chronic Fatigue Syndrome as Biopsychosocial Phenomenon

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Abstract

Chronic Fatigue Syndrome as Biopsychosocial Phenomenon

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Chronic Fatigue Syndrome (CFS), a modern epidemic with “thousand” different faces and names, the complex cluster fluctuant clinical symptomatology of chronic illnesses affecting a quarter of population, remains a poorly understood disease with various theories of its elusive etiology, fuzzy pathophysiology and strange vague conventional general case definition - “fatigue must be unexplained, debilitating, and present for at least 6 months…” Several possible causation-illustrations factors have been incriminated with a particular emphasis on various chemical agents (including even sarin), multiple vaccines, viruses, neurotoxins, low level radioactive (especially, depleted uranium) substances, and others, contributing to the broad scope of clinical manifestations. Polarized views of different approach and interest groups maintain CFS as area of sustained controversy, especially in connection with Gulf War (and similar Afghanistan and Iraq War) Syndrome, and also with Balkan Syndrome overlapping with CFS in multiple ways and accompanying symptoms.

Evidence is accumulated that CFS appears to be often induced by a relatively short-term strong (sudden CFS onset) or permanent environmental stress (gradual onset) which is followed by multidimensional chronic pathology, reflected in neuroimmunology, neuroendocrinology, metabolic, cardiovascular, and neuropsychiatric spheres disorder at multiple organism system hierarchy levels including physiological, neurobehavioral, cognitive, information processing, etc, components, connected with characteristics of generalized aging/senescence and neurodevelopment/neurodegeneration processes at macro- and micro-level and differing from them only by threshold phenomena corresponding to the stages of resistance and exhaustion of stress response.

In this context CFS is multidimensional biopsychosocial phenomenon and complex medical, scientific and political paradox presenting a challenge for patients, clinicians, scientists, health care providers, insurance groups, and government agencies (e.g., the Department of Veterans Affairs), because of its incapacity nature, and vague etiogenesis, pathophysiological mechanisms, and prognosis.

This challenge require novel integrated multidisciplinary insights at the gene-environment interaction level with coherent analysis of pertinent environmental stressors, genomic, proteomic, metabolomic, and molecular free-radical/redox biomarkers data.

In given generalized conceptual framework unique Chernobyl accident and “Sarcophagus-II” data, including epidemiologic, clinical, molecular genetic, biomarkers, etc, reflecting different exposures to multiple environmental stresses (acute and chronic, exogenous and endogenous (radionuclides) irradiation, various chemical agents, including Pb, viruses, extreme psychological stress, etc) allow to investigate conceptualize, and illustrate the nature and fundamental aspects of CFS phenomenon, its health impairment perspectives and possible ways for intervention. This is important for clinical medicine, including psychology, neuroscience, and prognosis of consequences of possible nuclear and chemical terrorist attack and technogenic accident.
Anti-Corruption Policies in China: Corrupted Policies in China?

Political Science

Paper Session

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Abstract:

The Chinese government in the past decade had highly publicized and launched a series of anti-corruption policies to deter the tendency rise of the corruption cases brought by the result of the economic reform. But first of all, what is corruption based on the Chinese definition? In this essay I will first try to present the major conceptual differences of the term 'corruption' in both western and eastern sense. Then I will focus on explaining why corruption is the by-product of the Chinese culture. While corruption seems to be solely destructive to the society and economy as a whole, sometimes it will also have positive side effect to certain players. Therefore, it is still uncertain whether the Chinese leaders are willing to establish the anti-corruption policies movement, as there has been a joke going around in Beijing asking that: should one fight the corruption to save the country or not fight the corruption to save the party? Major anti-corruption policies will then be evaluated, either as a tool for the Chinese communist party to sustain its legitimacy of ruling or the political struggle among leaders.
In recent decades, Chinese leaders have often claimed that anti-corruption is their major political task. For the past year, Jiang Zemin repeatedly has called the fight against corruption “a matter of life and death for the party and the state.”\(^1\) Hence, anti-corruption policy seems to be the only remedy for the Chinese state. However, a joke has been circulating in Beijing: should one fight the corruption to save the country or not fight the corruption to save the party?\(^2\) Neither direction is easy. Therefore, this dilemma leads to a basic question about whether Chinese leaders are willing to establish an anti-corruption policy. If so, how effective would this policy be? In the reform era, corruption is a channel for stabilizing the party-state apparatus via rent-seeking; that is, bureaucratic agents conspire with outsiders to block free trade and establish exclusive rights over lessened aggregate (but increased personal) gains from trade,\(^3\) and thus do not fight against it. At the same time, the corruption is a force that destabilizes the political authority and threatens the survival of the regime as a whole. The fight, therefore, is necessary.

In fact, the only remedy that can minimize corruption is to promote both economic and political reform simultaneously, that is, to open of the economic markets and institutionalizes the rules of law at the same time. While economic reform creates opportunities for making profits, political reform serves to protect people’s rights against abuses. Furthermore, the political reform would make the party accountable to outside institutions and groups and limit the power of the party officials by further loosening their control in governance, so that corruption through the rent-seeking method would also be

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reduced. Such political reforms would lead the party to lose its dominant position in China. Hence, the leaders are not willing to open up to political reform that would let the party ‘die’. Since 1978, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has launched only the economic reform. Without any political institutionalization, there would be a rise in corruption. This explains an aeronym why the leaders compelled to establish an anti-corruption policy, but yet implementing the policy itself is not enough to reduce corruption. Therefore, economic reform without any political reform is termed “incomplete of reform”.

Since there are many ways to participate in corruption, this essay is not intended to provide definition of what “corruption” means. Instead, it attempts to evaluate the PRC’s anti-corruption policy as an illegitimate use of resources by public or private parties.  

The party centre has used two methods to carry out its anti-corruption policy since the beginning of the reform era: the campaign method and the institutionalized method. The latter involves state and party supervisory institutions such as the National People’s Congress (NPC) and judiciary institutions like renmin fayuan and renmin jianchayuan. Specifically, the Chinese government implemented four anti-corruption campaigns during 1982, 1983-87, 1988-91, and 1993-97. Take the recent campaign as an example; the goals of this campaign were to address the issue of self-regulating senior officials, to strengthen the investigation and prosecution of large-scale (according to the official definition) and major corruption cases, and to forcefully curb unhealthy tendencies within

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4 Michael Johnston and Yufan Hao, “China’s Surge of Corruption,” p. 82.
the government departments, such as the collection of illegal and quasi-legal fees. In order for this campaign to win the public’s trust, its main focus was the types of corruption about which ordinary citizens had expressed dissatisfaction. The party centre holds that this campaign has achieved great results through increasing the quantity of cases and the severity of their punishment, but the increases may simply be due to an increase in corruption. This campaign also focused on the ‘types’ of corruption, but its main targets were not specified. Thus, the campaign could not be organized well enough because of the lack of specific targets. Large-scale corruption cases could not be found or prosecuted, and thus the ‘big mouse’ was still not being caught. In the pre-reform era the central government imposed its central policy on the local government. Now, the local government can negotiate with the central government in implementing the policy, an opportunity that is brought about by the decentralization process. Thus, the local government has become the key figure in determining the results of the implementation.

If the campaign is ambiguous and inconsistent, the local leaders then tend to arbitrary interpret and implement the centre’s policies in a way that furthers their own interests. Subsequently, due to the fact that most of the corrupted officials are at the local level, the campaign cannot be implemented well. Since the campaign has its weakness in the policy implementation process, the anti-corruption campaign method cannot be institutionalized. Virtually every year, the anti-corruption campaign can only mobilize itself to national and local authorities for a few months. Only a few portions of the corrupted officials will be charged as ‘samples’ of the government to the public, in order to emphasize the leaders’ efforts in anti-corruption.

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6 He Zengke, “Corruption and Anti-Corruption in Reform China,” p. 268.
While the launch of anti-corruption campaigns cannot reduce the corruption effectively, the incompleteness of the reform and the weakness of the current political system further undermine the anti-corruption effort. First of all, the lack of an effective mechanism of checks and balances of powers makes it very difficult to supervise the senior officials. The relationship between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the existing democratic parties is a co-operative relationship; therefore there is no real political opposition that can challenge the leadership of the CCP. Secondly, the lack of independent anti-corruption agencies undermines the leaders’ anti-corruption efforts, since both the party and the provincial government direct the supervisory department. This dual-leadership system of supervisory apparatuses will weaken the independence and hindered the efforts to resolutely implement policy.\(^8\) The Anti-Corruption Work Bureau, for example, is under the control of the Supreme People’s Procuratorate to serve as the major anti-corruption agency. More often, these agencies accept orders from the leadership of the Politburo or the local party committee on issues of significant political decisions. These hierarchical orders from the top-down level seriously restrict the ability of the anti-corruption to investigate independently.\(^9\) Also, the Central Commissions for Discipline Inspection of CCP is the party’s internal institutions in supervising the party members and leaders in various political organizations, that is, still it is under the CCP control. Therefore, both agencies act like the self-regulatory systems in the party, and it is expected that without a clearly defined set of norms and an independent agency that is free of party centre’s control, the self-discipline effort is meaningless.


During this transition period, many laws and regulations become increasingly irrelevant to the current situation changes. Now, cash is not necessary the only form of bribery, but also it can be the consumer goods or stocks. Even some of the fees are not easily recognizable by the public as the illegal fees. For example, the charges of the ‘Road Construction Fee’ from some of the highway management, or the fault permits and licenses that are well-printed. Therefore, the Chinese government has to make frequent revisions of its policies and laws, and update its information about the methods in involving corruption regularly.

Moreover, the prosecution against the corrupt officials is still not effective, and thus undermining the anti-corruption efforts. From the perspective of procuratorates, a case filed and investigated concludes in one of three ways: the case is dropped for the lack of sufficient grounds to prosecute; the case is prosecuted; the case is exempted from prosecution. More often the corrupt officials are just punished outside the criminal justice system with milder party or administrative disciplinary action. Not be considered serious enough to merit criminal punishment, such violations do not constitute crimes, and thus exempted from prosecution. From 1989 to 1994, the average proportion exempted from prosecution is about 43 percent of the total cases being investigated. Since there are lots of cases of corruption in China, then in order to shorten the time to go through the court system, some of the corruption cases were dropped. Therefore, even some of the officials are found corrupted, they might not be prosecuted. Moreover, Li Jinhua, the Auditor-General of the NPC, attacked the Ministry of Finance of the State Council for the wrong implementation of the 1998 central budget; some of the public funds were

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10 He Zengke, “Corruption and Anti-Corruption in Reform China,” p. 258.
misappropriated or allocated with delays. A total of 16.4 billion yuan was found by Li’s office to have been illegally used by 53 departments of the State Council. However, Li just ‘heavily criticized’ the Ministry of Finance and urged the ministry to be stricter with itself and set a good example for others. Therefore, the corrupt officials were just criticized or disciplined, but not charged or imprisoned.

In sum, the party remains firmly in control of the legal system and the law-enforcement agencies, so that some of the corrupt officials are avoided being prosecuted. As former NPC chairman Qiaosh said, ‘We must readjust the power relations between departments and between centre and the regions. We must also set up ways to constrain and supervise bureaucratic power. Unbridled power is easily corrupted.’

Rising corruption has led to significant public outrage. Like the functioning of the important force in the student demonstration in 1986-87 and the Tiananmen protest in 1989. The ordinary people are dissatisfied with the contemporary environment, and they are afraid that the corruption will have negative impact towards them. Since political legitimacy derives from the public support, while public support is based on the government’s ability to provide public goods and improve its citizens’ lives. Once, if corruption spreads into all institutions and levels of the government, the public’s image of the government will be damaged. In turn, leading to a loss of public support for the authority. The image of the average bureaucrat in the pre-reform era was that of an honest man of modest habits whose sole objective is to “serve the people”. However, now one gets the impression that it is only an opportunity or the lack of it in which determines whether an official is honest or corrupt; in a social system that assimilates corruption as

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one of its mechanism. The public outrage is still at a minimal level if the citizens have a fair standard of living. However, once China enters into a period of recession and rising unemployment, corruption will be more sensitive and more explosive issues that can threaten the political stability.  

What makes the most public dissatisfaction is the ‘rent-seeking’ nature of the officials in using their authorities to maximize their own personal gains. The market reform has created decentralized exchange that depends heavily on the ‘middlemen’ who gather information about trade opportunities and act as go-betweens in actual exchange. This systemic reform also involves re-distribution of economic power. Thus, reforms have to create a corps of entrepreneurial market-makers, and these middlemen are the officials themselves. Since the officials have the monopoly power to block the access of other competitors from getting resources and information, without any control to the powers of the officials, the competition that is created by the market reform is indeed unfair. Moreover, the dual-price economy is the cause for an increase in corruption. That is, producers sometimes produce more than the quotas that the government has set. In turn, they try to buy the products at a planned price and sell them at the market price, which are about two to three times the planned prices. More often, the local government acts as this brokerage role between the state planning agencies and the market. Since there is a huge income difference between the planned price and the market price, the corrupt officials therefore earn it as illegal money.

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16 He Zengke, “Corruption and Anti-Corruption in Reform China,” p. 248.
18 He Zengke, “Corruption and Anti-Corruption in Reform China,” p. 249.
Furthermore, the decentralization of the central government has not suppressed its power monopolies, but has multiplied them.\textsuperscript{19} Therefore, unlike the pre-reform era in which the central government gets its monopolistic and centralized control over the economy, the local government also has access now to this system of control. Hence, the problem facing by the central government is the maintenance of its own capacity to regulate the process of corruption as practised by decentralised communities. At a minimal level, the central state apparatus cannot be totally corrupted, for this will lay its legitimacy open to challenges from local authorities with organized corruption connections.\textsuperscript{20} In addition, the central leadership is concerned that corruption will cause political instability and damage the party’s legitimacy. Local cadres are giving priority to their private interests and local economic development. With the decentralization of the power to the local government and its bargaining power in implementing the central policy, the lower levels may pay only lip service to anticorruption policy implementation, and more likely to resist it.\textsuperscript{21} Thus, the government lacks the ability to mobilize the implementing agencies, which are the bureaucrats and local officials, to follow the central policy.

While some scholars like populist writer, Liang Xiaosheng, appeals to argue that economic reform has made corrupt petty officials wealthy, and thus market reform is in fact a failure towards the anti-corruption policy.\textsuperscript{22} It is quite true that without a set of norms to bind the officials, the unlimited nature of power will easily permit the officials in involving more corruptions. Although, contemporary regulation is set to prohibit all

\textsuperscript{19} Guilhem Fabre, “State, Corruption, and Criminalisation in China,” p. 461.
\textsuperscript{22} Susan V Lawrence, “Excising the Cancer,” p. 11.
public institutions from engaging in business activities or establishing satellite companies. Yet, it allows the trade unions to engage in such activities, and thus opening a door for these activities because all such institutions have their own trade unions. The regime also creates a grey area for the corruption – the unclear distinction between what is public and what is private. At the same time, corruption may hamper the capital accumulation and productive investment. Since state assets are the major targets of a wide range of corrupt practices, the corrupt officials may directly seize public assets for their own benefits. In addition, the corrupt officials have no structural incentives to work hard to implement developmental plans. They tend to put their efforts in extracting personal gains, and thus the implementation of plans is highly selective. Likewise, low basic salaries of the officials may also lead to corruption. Sometimes even an increase of the salary cannot catch up with inflation. At the same time, these officials are those that make decisions of the projects that involve hundreds of millions of yuan. Since the punishments are often lenient for some party members, the penalty may be simply expulsion from the party and removal from office. For a mid-level functionary making 300 yuan a month, one corrupt deal may bring 100,000 yuan – nearly 30 years of salary. Penalties may only be stiffer at the peak of anti-corruption campaigns and in times of political tension. On the other hand, since some civil servants are recruited or promoted on the basis of favouritism or bribes, the efficiency and the ability of the public administration will be undermined. These types of bureaucrats will focus on the personal gain, and as a result, they will mismanage the bureaucracy.

23 He Zengke, “Corruption and Anti-Corruption in Reform China,” p. 252.
24 He Zengke, “Corruption and Anti-Corruption in Reform China,” p. 262.
While it is the characteristics of the market reform that leads to the failure of the anti-corruption policy, the openness of the market reform itself is not the cause of this failure. It is true that this transition from planned to market economy has created more channels for corruption. However, the corruption phenomenon can also be observed in the pre-reform era. Moreover, other societies with mixed or market economies have managed to keep corruption within relatively low to moderate ranges, such as Britain and the United States. Hong Kong and Singapore are thought to have successfully reduced corruption, even though they share Chinese culture and are not considered democratic in the Western sense. Therefore, international practices are good routes for learning how to implement regulations of the market economies in order to reduce corruption. Not only so, economic marketization alone without institutionalization cannot effectively bind the power of the officials. In contrast, as seen in the above cases, the institutionalized method with NPC and judiciary as the supervisory agencies cannot effectively prosecute the offenders.

The issue of corruption is not only a matter of legal enforcement and norms in China, but also an instrument in the political settlement between various ruling factions. The former Beijing party secretary and politburo member, Chen Xitong, was accused to be responsible for the illegal acts of his colleague, former vice mayor of Beijing, Wang Baosen. Despite calls from the law scholars for an open trial, the proceedings were held in secret, and lasted just one day. This lack of transparency of the judicial procedures has been wondered that it is rather a political affair than the usual corrupted case. Due to

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the fact that factionalism plays a significant role in Chinese politics, the Chen’s Beijing faction had directly challenged the dominance of Jiang Zemin’s Shanghai faction, and with this exposure of corruption that provided opportunity for Jiang to officially purge Chen. Therefore, Chen was brought down simply because he lost in the political struggle against Jiang Zemin. Even Young Nam Cho suggests this as the result of cooperation between the Jiang faction and the Qiao Shi faction to exclude the Beijing faction.\textsuperscript{29} In addition, the chief investigator of Chen’s wrongdoings was another Politburo member named Wei Jianxing, who is an ally of Jiang. Later on, he has taken up Chen’s position as the Communist secretary in Beijing. Thus, corrupt party officials are not necessarily afraid to be charged because of their violations against laws, but they have to pay attention in building \textit{guanxi} with the top party leaders. On the other hand, some senior officials serve in a position for too long. Like Chen who stayed in Beijing for more than 15 years. This led Chen to establish a Beijing network in which this network was ready to protect one another in case of being found corrupted.\textsuperscript{30} The issue of corruption, therefore, is an instrument for playing the political game, and not an exhibit of the enactment of law against violations.

In recent years, moral education has been re-emphasized by the party to the officials and public. Moral figures that have not involved in corruption are often cited as examples to promote anti-corruption. However, their images are so unrealistically perfect and hard to follow. Due to this, the education lost its popular support. Nevertheless, it is necessary to let the people know what is the moral and legal standard of the government in defining the term corruption. The promotion of ‘getting rich first is glorious’ from the

\textsuperscript{29} Young Nam Cho, \textit{“Implementation of Anticorruption Policies in Reform-Era China: The Case of the 1993-97 “Anticorruption Struggle”},” p. 70.
\textsuperscript{30} Bo Zhiyue, \textit{“Economic Development and Corruption: Beijing beyond ‘Beijing’,”} p. 482.
state since 1978 had caused the decline in moral standard. People ignored the moral values and tried to earn fast money through corruption. Secondly, as long as the amount of the bribery is huge and attractive, there is always a temptation for the people to get involved, in which this phenomenon is quite general in all the nations. However, the only distinction between China and other nations is that the corruption is more limited in these developed countries. Without a set of legal norms and regulations, the corruption will be increased. As Michael Johnston and Hao Yufan note about corruption: “reforms have created incentives for people to enrich themselves, decentralization has given many more people the means with which to do so, and privatization has legitimized personal wealth.”

Rather than blaming on the start of market reform and the moral decline that lead to corruption, it is the incompleteness of this reform package -- economic reform without political reform that leads to the rise of corruption.

The better way to fight for the corruption is to take some preventive measure before the occurrence of corruption. For example, the strengthening of the collective leadership and teamwork; the increase in overlapping duties and the reduction of the power of individual officials; the increase in additional mechanism for internal control of institutional power; all are important institutional limitation on the abuse of power by party leaders. In addition, the role of the NPC and the judiciary has to be increased, so that it can supervise the work of the government, and avoid to be called a ‘rubber stamp’ legislature. Independent agencies of anti-corruption has to be established.

In conclusion, the Chinese leaders are not willing to institutionalize the anti-corruption policy, since in doing so will lessen their authoritative power in governing. On the other hand, the rise of the public upsurge in anti-corruption indeed has forced the

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31 Michael Johnston and Yufan Hao, “China’s Surge of Corruption,” p. 86.
government to implement or launch some of the policies and campaigns, yet those policies and campaigns are seemed to be ineffective. While the Chinese conservatives propose the recentralization of the state, it is also seemed to be unrealistic, since the market has already been opened. Therefore, the completeness of the reform of both economically and politically is the only remedy to reduce the corruption in China. For example, in 1999 Premier Zhu Rongji has formulated his anti-corruption plan for the cabinet members and local administrative bodies across China. This plan included the restructuring of the State Council and local government, self-discipline of the officials, government supervisory departments should intensify crackdown, special campaigns, and the local government should severed their ties with business operations (no more guanxi or houmen). However, the essay has been shown that the restructuring of the government and the special campaigns cannot reduce the corruption. Self-discipline is meaningless without a defined set of norms. The supervisory departments are still dependent on the orders of the central leaders, and thus it loses its autonomy in enacting the prosecution. The officials still have personal ties with the business operations. Overall, the anti-corruption policy cannot effectively reduce the amount of corruption, due to the incompleteness of the reform, the lack of the willingness of leaders in institutionalization, and the diminishing role of moral education in China. Thus, the contemporary Chinese anti-corruption policy is ineffective.

References


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LESBIAN PARENTING:

REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH AND RESEARCH PROPOSAL

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Lesbian Parenting: Review of the Research and Research Proposal

Problem statement

Lesbian families have always existed, however, there has been a shift in how these families are created. Throughout history lesbian headed families were generally created (or assumed to be created) after a woman living in a heterosexual marriage was divorced. After the divorce, she began to identify herself as a lesbian, and eventually came out to her family. Currently there are a growing number of lesbian couples that are planning to begin families via adoption, foster care, or donor insemination. Patterson (1995) has even coined this revolution as the “lesbian baby boom.” This shift in the lesbian population creates new dynamics that should be explored via social science research.

Parenting is difficult without question. Lesbians choosing motherhood are faced with additional challenges. For instance, lesbian mothers are more likely to be fearful of losing custody or visitation rights if their sexual orientation is discovered (Falk, 1989). Lesbian headed families also struggle with the lack of legislation protecting their marriages, the right for their children to inherit property from both lesbian parents, and an inability for both lesbian parents to adopt their children. Given the social and legal oppression faced by lesbian parents the need for accurate empirical evidence that dispels myths that society and the judicial system have relied on is imperative.

Research on lesbian parenting has largely been aimed at proving fitness of lesbian parents (Flaks, Ficher, Masterpasqua, & Joseph, 1995; Falk, 1989, Green, Mandel,
Hotvedt, Gray, & Smith, 1986; Golombock, Spencer, & Rutter, 1983, Harris & Turner 1985, Huggins, 1989; Kirkpatrick, Smith & Roy, 1981). Courts across the country have traditionally used three assumptions to remove or restrict the rights of lesbian mothers. These judicial assumptions include the potential negative impact of maternal gender role orientation on child development, effects of maternal sexual orientation on peer and social development, and the presumption that children raised by homosexual parents will be more likely to adopt a homosexual orientation in the likeness of their parents (Flak, 1989).

Since its conception, social work has focused on aiding oppressed groups. Jane Adams and Mary Richmond claimed roots in the feminist movement and fought to promote equal rights regardless of gender or race. Seeking equality among all parents, without regard for sexual orientation, is grounded in fundamental social work values. In this situation, fear and myth must be dispelled with empirically sound facts that will create a clear picture of the dynamics of planned lesbian families.

**Research review**

**Methods**

This author used various databases to accumulate data. Primarily of interest was the American Psychological Association (APA) website, which cited all empirical studies that were used to formulate their position on gay and lesbian parents. The *Journal of Homosexuality* was the next source providing the majority of research studies on the topic of gay and lesbian parenting.

A noteworthy fact was the lack of research in social work journals devoted to this topic. The NASW has adopted the position of supporting gay and lesbian families and equality,
but has not produced any empirical research to aid that cause. Gay and lesbian families are growing rapidly. Social workers should make this a topic of interest rather than relying on information supported within other disciplines.

Results

Review of literature searching with the word lesbian produced less than 50 matches. Using lesbian and parenting to narrow those results produced only five matches. Broadening the search to gay and lesbian parenting and families produced only 17 results. Of those 17 studies, 14 were chosen for their relevance to this text. All of the studies were non-experimental in nature. All of the sample sizes were small. In fact, only one of the studies (Green, Mandel, Hotvedt, Gray, & Smith, 1986) utilized a sample size of more than 30. With the exception of one study (Crawford, Isiaah, Sambonu, Jordan, 1999), all researchers utilized non-random sampling methods. The 14 studies utilized were chosen based on their review of child development in lesbian headed families, parenting capability of lesbians, and social and community support available to gay families. The findings of the research reviewed for this text will be organized into those three areas. A table has also been added for easy comparison of research reviewed.

Comparison of Research Methods in Lesbian Parenting

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<tr>
<th>Author(s)/Study</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Data Collection</th>
<th>Sample method</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crawford, Isiaah, Zambonu, Brian D, Jordan, Michael (1999)</td>
<td>Examine the attributions and interpersonal descriptions psychologists ascribe to gay and lesbian candidates seeking to adopt a child.</td>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>Probability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)/Study</td>
<td>Purpose</td>
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| Gottschalk, Lorene (2003) | To establish the relationship between society’s dominant belief systems about homosexuality and:  
- Women’s perceptions and understanding about how they became lesbians  
- Women’s experience of forming a lesbian identity  
- Gender to explore whether understanding of feminist challenges to essentialist constructions of gender and sexuality empowers women to feel that they can reject heterosexual relationships and choose lesbian relationships | Questionnaires and interviews | Non Probability |
| Green, R., Mandel, J.B., Hotvedt, M.E., Gray, J., Smith, L (1986) | To assess psychosexual and psychosocial development of children living with lesbian mothers or heterosexual single parents | Questionnaires, audio taped interviews, standardized tests | Non Probability |
| Harris, M. B., Turner, P.H. (1985) | Nature of gay and lesbian parents relationships with their children | Questionnaires and interviews | Non Probability |
| Neisen, J.H. (1987) | To determine what sources of support are available to families with gay and lesbian members | Survey | Non Probability |
| Patterson, C. (1994) | Explore behaviorally adjustment, sex role identity, self concepts of children raised by lesbians | Interviews | Non Probability |
Findings

Children

Flaks, Ficher, Masterpasqua, and Joseph (1995) studied children of lesbian couples and children of heterosexual couples. Their research revealed no significant differences in the two groups of children in the areas of cognitive functioning and behavioral adjustment. Moreover, they evaluated differences in parents’ relationship and parenting skills. Flaks, Ficher, Masterpasqua, and Joseph found that lesbian couples exhibited more parenting awareness skills than did heterosexual couples.

Green, Mandel, Hotvedt, Gray, and Smith (1986) conducted a study to assess psychosexual and psychosocial development of children living with lesbian mothers or heterosexual single mothers. Their findings showed no differences between the groups of child in IQ, self-concept, or social adjustment. There was no evidence of conflict in gender identity in the children of lesbian mothers and no psychopathology related to the mothers’ sexual orientation. Daughters of lesbians preferred traditionally masculine job roles significantly more often than the daughters of heterosexual mothers and were less traditionally feminine in current dress and in activity preferences at school and home, but these differences were not beyond the normal range. No difference was found for boys, with 95% of both groups choosing traditionally masculine jobs.

Golombock, Spencer, and Rutter (1983) also conducted research to compare psychosexual and psychosocial development of children living with lesbian mothers and heterosexual parents. The study found no differences between the children of lesbian and heterosexual mothers in gender identity or sex role behavior. No evidence of
inappropriate gender identity among children of lesbian mothers, and age and
developmentally appropriate friendships and good peer relationships were observed in
both groups. Psychiatric problems among children were infrequent in both groups but
higher in the heterosexual single parents group. Limitations of the study were short
follow up period and that the children were not old enough for sexual orientation to be
documented behaviorally.

Kirkpatrick, Smith, and Roy (1981) explored the differences in children raised by
lesbians and single heterosexual women. Results showed that lesbians are more likely to
have only one child. This may be because lesbian families require more planning, and
monetary investment in fertility assistance and/or adoption. However, the conclusions on
this topic are not clear. Kirkpatrick, Smith, and Roy also found no evidence of conflict in
gender identity in the children of lesbian mothers and no psychopathology related to the
mothers’ sexual orientation. They also failed to find evidence of differences between
children of lesbian mothers when compared to heterosexual mothers in toy preferences,
activities, or occupational choices.

Patterson, (1994) explored behavioral adjustment, sex role identity, and self
concepts of children raised by lesbians as compared to children raised by heterosexual
single mothers. Differences within lesbian raised children included greater symptoms of
stress, but also a greater sense of well being.

Parents

Gottschalk (2003) used a snowball method to conduct interviews with the purpose
of establishing the relationship between society’s dominant belief systems about
homosexuality and women’s perceptions and understanding about how they became
Lesbians, women’s experience of forming a lesbian identity, and gender to explore whether understanding of feminist challenges to essentialist constructions of gender and sexuality empowers women to feel that they can reject heterosexual relationships and choose lesbian relationships. Her findings add weight to arguments that women are influenced by popular ideas about homosexuality in terms of their experiences during the process of becoming a lesbian.

Harris and Turner (1985) explored the nature of gay and lesbian parents’ relationships with their children. All respondents reported positive relationships with their children and few serious problems. Among the differences noted by Harris and Turner, were that homosexual parents made more efforts to provide an opposite sex role model for their children; and that lesbians perceived greater benefits to their children relating to their homosexuality than gay men. However, gay men reported fewer disagreements with partners over discipline, more encouragement of play with sex typed toys, and more satisfaction with their first child than lesbians. One weakness within Harris and Turner’s study was that they did not make independent observations of the children’s behavior or adjustment. Rather, they relied strictly on survey style data gathered from the parents and teachers of the children.

Huggins (1989) examines the psychological construct of self-esteem using a comparative survey design with adolescent children of divorced lesbian mothers and divorced heterosexual mothers. Huggins found no differences in self-esteem scores of children raised by divorced heterosexual and lesbian mothers. Huggins did not discuss cultural, ethnic minorities, or other issues of diversity. Huggins has provided a solid
foundation describing no impairment on self-esteem based on a parents’ sexual orientation. This is certainly an area on which to expand.

**Treatment, society, and support**

Crawford, Isiaah, Zambonu, Brian, Jodan, and Michael (1999) used a randomly selected list of therapists registered with the APA to examine the attributions and interpersonal descriptions psychologists ascribe to gay and lesbian candidates seeking to adopt a child. They found that most therapists did not find sexual orientation itself to be a negative determent for recommendation of adoption. However, most respondents were more concerned with a potential lack of community support for gay/lesbian parents. Crawford, Isiaah, Zambonu, Brian, Jodan, and Michael’s results are telling of a society that needs to respond with equal services for this growing number of families.

Neisen (1987) conducted a survey style research project to determine what sources of support are available to families with gay and lesbian members. Neisen concluded that therapists need to be better informed about gay and lesbian lifestyles in order to help such families. Neisen also found that families with gay or lesbian members generally get their support and information from newspapers, books, and acquaintances rather than local or community based support groups. It is possible to speculate that these families choose the most anonymous approach to get support because it yields the most safety.

**Conclusions of research review**

Research has failed to produce evidence that children raised by lesbian parents are psychosocially or psychologically damaged due to their parents’ sexual orientation. Further, although being gay is not considered pathology by this author, the APA, or
NASW, this fear continues to be cited as a possible malady suffered by children raised by lesbian mothers. After reviewing the research, there is no evidence that children raised by lesbians are more likely to be gay (Flak, 1989). After reviewing research aimed at parenting effectiveness of lesbians, no evidence was found to show that lesbians are less capable to parent than heterosexual women (Flaks, Ficher, Masterpasqua, & Joseph, 1995; Falk, 1989, Green, Mandel, Hotvedt, Gray, & Smith, 1986; Golombock, Spencer, & Rutter, 1983, Harris & Turner 1985, Huggins, 1989; Kirkpatrick, Smith & Roy, 1981). An area of interest is the support available to lesbian parents and their children, including the attitudes of therapists toward treating this group. Research indicates that therapists are less likely to be concerned with a parents’ sexual orientation, than the amount of societal support (or lack thereof) for these families (Crawford, Isiah, Zambonu, Brian, Jodan, and Michael, 1999). That lack of support warrants further investigation.

Gaps in Methodology

One criticism of this body of research is that it lacks external validity. Specifically, it may not be representative of the larger population of lesbian parents (Patterson, 1995). However, no one actually knows the composition of the entire theoretical lesbian parent population because many choose to remain hidden for fear of loss of custody of their children, hate crimes, or the like.

Research has also been criticized for using poorly matched, or no control groups in designs that call for such controls. For instance, several comparative studies have been conducted in which lesbian headed families and their children were compared to single heterosexual mothers and their children (Kirkpatrick, Mandel & Hotvedt, Golombok, Spence, & Rutter). Research designed to ensure that children raised by lesbian families
should aim to include comparison groups of children in two parent heterosexual families when studying lesbian couples. In addition, variables such as reasons for parental separation, length of separation, and paternal involvement should be controlled for when using heterosexual single mothers and their children as a comparison group.

Another issue is that sample sizes are generally small, and include mostly Caucasian, upper middle class respondents (Flaks, Ficher, Masterpasqua, & Joseph, 1995; Green, Mandel, Hotvedt, Gray, & Smith, 1986; Golombock, Spencer, & Rutter, 1983, Harris & Turner 1985, Huggins, 1989; Kirkpatrick, Smith & Roy, 1981). Snowball appears to be the most chosen sampling plan. This is most likely due to the specific and hidden nature of the population. While these are methodological concerns, it is still essential that research continue in this area. However, researchers and social workers should use caution when generalizing this information.

**Gaps in knowledge**

Findings in all research reviewed suggested no psychological trauma to children raised lesbians (Flaks, Ficher, Masterpasqua, & Joseph, 1995; Falk, 1989, Green, Mandel, Hotvedt, Gray, & Smith, 1986; Golombock, Spencer, & Rutter, 1983, Harris & Turner 1985, Huggins, 1989; Kirkpatrick, Smith & Roy, 1981). Of these studies only one (Vanfraussen, 2003) controlled for the method in which participant families were created. Specifically of interest to Vanfraussen was the impact of planning a family using artificial insemination with sperm chosen from an anonymous donor. This creates special circumstances that warrant further exploration including the lack of involvement from a biological father, emotional effects of not knowing one’s birth parent, etc. This
method of planning a family is especially interesting in its potential effects on children and warrants further exploration.

There appears to be a lack of available support to lesbian parents and their children (Neisen, 1987). Although interest in this area is gaining ground within groups such as PFLAG and various alternative family groups, the issue still deserves exploration. This researcher was unable to locate a needs assessment conducted within this population. Neisen (1987) found that families with gay or lesbian members generally get their support and information from newspapers, books, and acquaintances rather than local or community based support groups. A needs assessment would be interesting to review areas in which these families perceive a lack of support. Also, following Neisen’s (1987) observations, the reasons for unstructured support system choices are of interest.

Research thus far has only captured a small portion of lesbian parents and their children. Samples generally targeted families attending parenting and support groups, families of upper socioeconomic status, and predominately Caucasian parents. Research should be aimed at meeting those families still unidentified with the goal of assessing their needs, designing, and implementing programs to meet those needs.

**Ideas for future research**

Several studies to date have focused on proving the fitness of gay and lesbian parents (Flaks, Ficher, Masterpasqua, & Joseph, 1995; Falk, 1989, Green, Mandel, Hotvedt, Gray, & Smith, 1986; Golombock, Spencer, & Rutter, 1983, Harris & Turner 1985, Huggins, 1989; Kirkpatrick, Smith & Roy, 1981). The sample sizes of these studies have been small for various reasons, including limited population size and
availability and willingness of gays and lesbians to identify themselves. Future research should aim to have larger sample sizes to allow for generalization when appropriate.

Studies to date have primarily consisted of Caucasian, well educated, lesbians (Flaks, Ficher, Masterpasqua, & Joseph, 1995; Green, Mandel, Hotvedt, Gray, & Smith, 1986; Golombock, Spencer, & Rutter, 1983, Harris & Turner 1985, Huggins, 1989; Kirkpatrick, Smith & Roy, 1981). Researchers should strive to include racial minorities and various socioeconomic groups.

Also of note is that almost all available studies have recruited gay and lesbian participants via parenting groups or gay and lesbian support groups (Flaks, Ficher, Masterpasqua, & Joseph, 1995; Green, Mandel, Hotvedt, Gray, & Smith, 1986; Golombock, Spencer, & Rutter, 1983, Harris & Turner 1985, Huggins, 1989; Kirkpatrick, Smith & Roy, 1981). Certainly, this technique was chosen because of the specific nature of the population. However, it is possible to see how individuals attending such groups may not be representative of all gay and lesbian families. Future researchers should consider other avenues of gaining participants.

The dynamics of the gay and lesbian family are still largely unknown. Some research has been done to assess the parenting style and division of labor in lesbian relationships (Patterson, 1995), however, this is an area that warrants further investigation. Future research should strive to derive an association between parenting success in lesbian families and variables such as socioeconomic status, partner relationship satisfaction, community, and family social support. For instance, one area that should be further expanded is what makes lesbian families successful? What services do lesbian families utilize? What is the association between social support and
Lesbian family success? What is the impact of lesbian divorce or separation on children? Are children of gay and lesbian families aware of the legal bias toward their families? What psychological benefits would gay marriage have on children?

**Research proposal**

**Research Method**

The method proposed by this author is a non-experimental, associational design. The study will be driven by the following research question: What is the impact of socioeconomic status and parental relationship satisfaction in psychosocial adjustment of children raised in lesbian headed families? Information would be gained using a survey administered to 100 lesbian families attending various groups geared toward gay and lesbian families. The hope is that those families will also refer the researcher to other lesbian headed families within the metroplex that are not participating in parenting or support groups, indicating a broader, more inclusive sample. Information will be compared to determine the relationship between socioeconomic status of lesbian headed families and the level of relationship satisfaction in their children’s psychosocial adjustment.

A non-experimental method was chosen for two main reasons. First, random selection of this group is impossible. Second, the intent of the given study is not aimed at proving a specific intervention effective. Rather, as this field remains relatively new to social science research, the scope of the research is still aimed at finding relations among variables and gaining detailed descriptions of lesbian headed family dynamics.

**Discussion of External Validity**
Threats to external validity that can not be controlled within this design are selection, setting, and multiple treatment interactions. These threats affect our ability to generalize across the theoretical population, time, settings, and different populations. Specific threats, given this population, will be described beginning with selection.

Lesbians attending support groups (which is where participants will initially be approached) may be more comfortable with their sexuality, family structure, and open to assistance, than those families who do not seek assistance from outside groups. This may threaten validity in that the sample may not be representative of the entire theoretical population. Due to the non-experimental design of this study, generalization outside of the study population would be inappropriate.

Setting concerns stem from the interview location and method of delivery. All subjects will be interviewed and administered questionnaires in a face-to-face manner at the group site. Additional home interviews will be conducted as the need arises.

The threat to validity specifically due to setting is limited because the setting of the interview is largely irrelevant and was chosen due to feasibility. Participants will be chosen based on their willingness to participate and will not be requested to perform any tasks or assignments that may be performed differently outside of the clinical setting.

Discussion of internal validity

The four levels of internal validity addressed include face, content, criterion-related, and construct validity. Each of these issues will be discussed separately to ensure clarity.
Face validity is achieved following an in depth review of previous studies and discussion with experts. It appears that this was achieved because it does appear that on the surface all possible elements have been included.

Content validity was established by using similar operationalization of variables as previous studies in the same domain.

Criterion validity is established by using various methods of measurement that have already established validity and reliability.

Construct validity is achieved in the following three ways. First, lesbian headed families and psychosocial development was defined within the existing symantic net accepted within social science research. Second, the author is able to provide direct evidence that operationalization of the construct has been controlled. Third, the reasons for operationalization are clear. They are clearly related to the definitions adopted by previous researchers within the same field of study, and include all of the elements of the population studied. Threats to construct validity that are controlled for include mono-operational bias, mono-method bias, and restricted generalizability. Mono-operational bias and mono-method bias are controlled by using multiple measures. Generalizability remains an issue due to the limited sample size and sampling method.

**Operationalization**

Socioeconomic status and partner relationship satisfaction are the predictor variables within this study. Socioeconomic status will be defined as ability to meet financial obligations without outside assistance. It will be measured using a series of ratio level questions.
Parental relationship satisfaction will be measured using the Parenting Stress Index (Abidin, 1990), Trait Anxiety Inventory (Speilberger, 1983), the Beck Depression Inventory (Beck & Steer, 1987), and the Golombok Rust Inventory of Martial State (Rust, Bennum, Crowe, & Golombok, 1988). These are all standardized instruments that have been tested for reliability and validity. Correlating high scores will indicate consistency among testing methods and lend itself to validity.

Psychosocial adjustment is the criterion variable. The construct has been defined for the purpose of this study to include peer relationships, self esteem, and the parent-child relationship. Psychosocial adjustment will be measured using several previously proven valid and reliable standardized measures. Correlation of these scores will also lend itself to proving the gained measures to be valid.

Self esteem will be measured using the Coopersmith Self Esteem Inventory (SEI). The SEI measures five categories including feelings about general self, social or peer relationships, relationships at home and with parents, lying, and school performance. Validity of the SEI has been well established since 1971 (Coopersmith, 1967).

The parent-child relationship will be measured using the PACHIQ or Parent-Child Interaction Questionnaire (Lange, Blon, & Wiers, 1998). The PACHIQ is designed to assess how each parent and each child perceives the quality of their relationship (Vanfraussen, 2003). The PACHIQ has been proven valid and reliable through test-retest and split half methods.

**Measurement**

**Reliability**
Reliability will be established largely by using standardized measures that have previously been tested and validated. Interobserver reliability will be addressed by providing education to all researchers prior to actual data collection. Each observer will be required to review the sample families to ensure they are all getting the same information respectively. Any variations will be addressed via additional education prior to actual data collection. Additionally, researchers will be randomly observed during actual data collection as well.

Validity

Care will be taken to avoid issues of systematic errors of interviewer, role-dependant effects, and role-independent effects. Interviewer error will be addressed via education on potential issues related to interviewer effects on subjects, and ways to avoid interviewer bias in interpreting information gained from subjects. Additionally, alternate, equally trained interviewers will be available in the event such a modification becomes necessary to preserve validity. Role-dependant effect will be minimized via clear instructions to participants about the role of the researcher. Observation will be made by alternate researchers randomly throughout the process as well. Role-independent effect will be monitored throughout the data collection process as well. Alternate research assistants will be utilized in this situation if necessary to preserve validity.

Sample (content, unit, extent, time)

The theoretical population is all lesbian headed families. The sample population is 100 lesbian couples and their children ages 3 – 17. The proposed sampling plan is snowballing. Specifically, families within the Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex will be sought via various advertised gay and lesbian groups. Identified lesbian headed families
will be asked to refer researchers to families also within the Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex who are not attending support or parenting groups. A nonprobability, snowball, sampling plan was chosen due to the limited and specific nature of the studied population. There are a growing number of lesbian headed families within the general population, however, they remain largely unidentified. Word of mouth will be essential in locating a sufficient number of participants. The proposed sample size will be 100 lesbian headed families.

Other considerations regarding the sample include the prescribed unit of analysis, extent, and time. The unit of analysis is children, in that the study aims to understand the impact between parental/partner relationship and children’s well-being. The extent of this study is restricted to lesbian couples and their children interviewed within the Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex. The temporal period adopted for the proposed study is a cross sectional study of lesbian headed families that have at least one child age 3 – 17.

**Data Analysis**

This is an association research design. Associational statistics will be used to explore the relationships between the variables. All possible variables will be controlled for statistically.

**Plan to protect human subjects**

The proposed study deals with children, a population defined as vulnerable by the IRB. Also, this study involves families and children that have a more than minimal risk of discrimination if identified as homosexual. Thus, the researcher has taken steps to ensure the protection of all participants. Especially of concern are privacy, confidentiality, and informed consent.
Privacy and confidentiality will be protected by having all participants and researchers sign a statement of confidentiality. Once information is gathered from participants, their responses will be coded with a number. No identifying information will be released in any completed or tentative public reports. Despite the emphasis on confidentiality, limits of confidentiality, including a participant being a danger to self or others, will be explained as well.

Informed consent will be obtained from each individual over 5 years of age, as required by the Institutional Review Board. Informed consent paperwork will be prepared in a fashion that is easily understood by participants according to age and development. Risks will be clearly defined as well as steps to ensure confidentiality and potential benefits. All participants will be offered the chance to decline participation at any time during the study.

**Strengths and limitations**

The chosen method is a non-experimental, associational, survey design. The method limits generalization outside of the study population. Also, due to the design of this study, causation will not be explored; rather relationships between socioeconomic status and parental relationship satisfaction on their children’s psychosocial adjustment will be explored. This is not to say that one causes the other.

**Statement of the overall vigor of this study compared to previous studies in this area.**

Ample research has been conducted to prove that being raised by lesbians does not in and of itself cause lasting psychological trauma to children (Flaks, Ficher, Masterpasqua, & Joseph, 1995; Falk, 1989; Green, Mandel, Hotvedt, Gray, & Smith,
1986; Golombock, Spencer, & Rutter, 1983, Harris & Turner 1985, Huggins, 1989; Kirkpatrick, Smith & Roy, 1981). In fact, the growing opinion within the helping profession, which is supported by empirical research to date, is that homosexuals are capable parents and children raised by homosexual parents are not negatively impacted due to their parents’ sexual orientation (Flaks, Ficher, Masterpasqua, & Joseph, 1995; Falk, 1989, Green, Mandel, Hotvedt, Gray, & Smith, 1986; Golombock, Spencer, & Rutter, 1983, Harris & Turner 1985, Huggins, 1989; Kirkpatrick, Smith & Roy, 1981).

The goal of this design is to move beyond description of parenting style and comparison of lesbians’ parenting abilities and toward an understanding of the key elements that allow lesbian headed families to raise well adjusted children.

This study will also more than triple the sample sizes of existing research on lesbian families. By using larger sample sizes, that are more reflective of the larger population, accurate generalizations will be possible. Also, this will be a landmark study using comparison groups of lesbian mothers respectively. To date research has largely used heterosexual single mothers as the population for their comparisons. This study will move beyond the premise that we are somehow still trying to prove that lesbian families exist and are as capable parents as their heterosexual counter parents, thus using heterosexual families as the group which comparisons are conducted. This will move the body of knowledge toward working on a model of intervention within gay and lesbian families.

Conclusion

There is no dispute that lesbian mothers have always existed. However, there has been a shift in how these families are created. Previously lesbian headed families were
created after a woman living in a heterosexual marriage was divorced. After the divorce, she began to identify herself as a lesbian, and eventually came out to her family. There are a growing number of lesbian couples that are planning to begin families via adoption, foster care, or donor insemination. This shift in the lesbian population creates new dynamics that should be explored via social science research.

Those lesbian couples that are planning families have largely been neglected in social science research. Previous research is primarily focused on the impact of parental sexuality on children. The proposed research study aims to move beyond those results stating that lesbians can raise children successfully and toward a more in-depth understanding of the dynamics of lesbian headed planned families and the impact on their children.


A Study of New Preschoolers’ Environmental Adjustment

Increasing with more maternal workers in the labor market and less children in the family, it is prevail to have young children to attend preschool in Taiwan. Undoubtedly, children face challenges when they attempt to adjust to new school environments. The available literature suggests that children’s adjustment may be affected by the internal and organismic characteristics of the child. In addition, research findings have reported that older children adapted better than younger children during the period from kindergarten to second grade. Thus, the purpose of this study is to explore new preschoolers’ environmental adjustment where children's variables, parental expectancy, and teaching behavior were examined.

Four hundred children and their parents and teachers in southern Taiwan were involved in this study. Questionnaires including “New Preschoolers’ Environmental Adjustment Questionnaire”, “Parental Expectancy and Participation Questionnaire”, and “Teaching Behavior Questionnaire” developed by the researcher and “Children's Behavior Questionnaire” by Rothbart (2000) were used to collect data. Statistical methods including descriptive statistics, One-Way ANOVA, t-test and
multiple regression were conducted to analyze data.

The findings are stated as follows:

1. There were significant differences at total preschool environmental adjustment and specific dimensions between new preschoolers of different age.

2. There were significant differences at total preschool environmental adjustment and specific dimensions between 3-6 year-old children on negative affectivity, effortful control. There were no significant differences at total preschoolers environmental and specific dimensions between 3-6 year-old children on extraversion.

3. Children's negative affectivity and extraversion, parental expectancy and participation, parent-teacher communication and teaching behavior were found to be predictive of preschoolers' environmental adjustment.

4. There was path analysis at children's temperament, parental expectancy and participation, teaching behavior for preschoolers' environmental adjustment.

Finally, based on research results, suggestions were provided to parents, preschool administrators and future researchers.

**Keywords: new preschoolers, environmental adjustment, temperament**
Title: Creating a Learning Environment in the Workplace: Taking the Graduate Classroom to the Field

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Abstract
Creating a Learning Environment in the Workplace:
Taking the Graduate Classroom to the Field

Universities are increasingly challenged to expand educational opportunity and access to non-traditional students. In order to meet this challenge, university faculty and administration must look beyond traditional methods of course delivery. The Credit for Learning Program (CFL) is an innovative educational outreach partnership among the University of Kentucky, University of Louisville, Western Kentucky University, Eastern Kentucky University and the Kentucky Cabinet for Health and Family Services designed to enhance the professional development of public child welfare workers in the Commonwealth of Kentucky. This program offers new and tenured child protection workers the opportunity to take graduate social work courses and earn graduate-level credit as non-degree graduate students while fulfilling the professional development requirements for employment. The universities and the training division of the agency jointly develop the curriculum and a teaching team consisting of a university instructor and an agency trainer collaborate to ensure that both university and agency requirements are met. The program utilizes distributed education models, and courses are taught off-campus at workplace sites throughout the state to improve accessibility to higher education.

This presentation will demonstrate how instructors in the Credit For Learning partnership have implemented graduate courses in the field using a combination of face-to-face classroom sessions (lecture, group discussion, exercises, video and audiotapes) and online sessions (Blackboard) to deliver the courses. Coursework has been offered specific to child welfare practice, research, and policy knowledge necessary for understanding, assessing, and intervening in various forms of family violence. This mixture of intensive face-to-face sessions and online sessions has shown to be quite helpful for workers that need and want information on best practice in a format that is current, useful, and easily accessible. Agreements between the public agency and the universities allow workers to attend classes during regular work hours, and establish a career track for workers to pursue graduate education. The credit hours earned through the CFL Program can be applied as elective credits in any of the three participating universities offering the Master of Social Work degree if the participant is admitted to the graduate program.

Encouraging workers to take advantage of these courses, and providing the opportunity to do so, helps better prepare them for the difficult and challenging work in public child welfare. The research suggests that a sense of competency and job preparedness increases worker retention thus reducing the amount of worker turnover experienced by the families they serve. More importantly, workers are empowered to pursue advanced education to develop the critical thinking and casework skills necessary to effectively assess and intervene in family violence.
ABSTRACT

If the goal of classical rhetoric is to teach, to delight and to move, certainly the rhetoric of the 21st century is digitally-mastered mass communication, complete with its full complement of advertising expertly designed to “persuade” (that is, effect a behavioral change) consumers to buy. Accounting for theories of selected exposure, the techniques of modern persuasion, be they print or electronic, are not equally effective as contributors to the persuasion of consumers in the global marketplace. Persuasion, as an end result of the advertising effort, is not reoccurring and thus, by definition, is inherently limited. This is because all advertising is not created equal. There is no parity in the advertising game and there never was. Therefore, the larger question deals with which of the two advertising formats (print or electronic) is the most efficient in affecting consumer behavior with the least amount of “waste.” The
communication value of each of these forms is quite different in nature. Of these two forms of communication, electronic arguably produces the most measurable gain with the least amount of waste. And, once noted, this indelible, electronic impression becomes only one of the many variables influencing consumer buying decisions and may not even be the most important variable at play in the race to persuade ever-elusive potential customers to ante the dollars that constitute a multi-trillion dollar economy.

Kathleen Hall Jamieson and Karlyn Campbell in their book Interplay and Influence, point out that the Romans identified three goals of rhetoric: to teach, to delight and to move. In modern day parlance, the rhetoric of the 21st century is digitally-mastered mass communication and the parallel term for to move would reference the advertising that supports and drives today’s mass communication enterprises, whose main charge is to ultimately move (that is, persuade) potential consumers into action via this advertising. Although one can argue that advertising effectiveness is measured by recall and not by persuading consumers to action (sales), it cannot not be denied that advertisers buy advertising only if they foresee a result from that advertising in the form of increased sales which ultimately emanate from those shoppers who recall an advertiser’s message.

This recall is made possible by repetitive exposure (at least three times in a given week) of an advertiser’s message both during the pre-experience phase of consumerism (anticipating the benefits of buying and then using a product prior to purchase), the experiencial phase when one is actually using the purchased product (or engaging in a certain shopping experience) as well as the post-experience phase when the user is reminded of the benefits of having used the product. This final phase occurs when the brand is imprinted in the mind and Top of Mind Awareness occurs, creating brand recall. (This concept will be more fully developed when the P/E/M model is discussed on page five of this paper.)

That this (advertising) is attempted to the tune of some $150 billion dollars per year is a matter of record. (Vanden Bergh & Katz, 1999). What is not on the record and subject to debate is the variation in the persuasive power of the populous mass media forms in relation to the billions of dollars actually being spent on consumer oriented advertising. That a correlation does exist between the advertising message and the end result of persuasion is beyond debate. What is subject to academic inquiry is the ability of any one advertising form to compel more effectively than other forms of advertising. Simply stated, the discussion asks are all forms of advertising equally effective as contributors to the persuasion of consumers in a global marketplace?

Persuasion as a rhetorical device

Perhaps a good place to begin the inquiry would be to examine the limits of persuasion as a rhetorical device in advertising. The limits begin when one examines the theories of selective exposure which postulate that people (consumers) tend to avoid information (whether from commercials or news stories) that is inconsistent with their personal value system or set of beliefs. Hence, if a lifelong Republican living in a “red” state is presented with a political commercial featuring a liberal Democrat, that person will tend to avoid the information presented in that commercial, just as a non beer drinker will tend to see nothing useful in the rhetoric of a beer commercial.

However, if one is persuaded by either an advertisement or a news story to enter a particular store or try a certain product, this persuasion, which is the desired end result of the advertising effort, is not reoccurring. Persuasion can only occur once, since advertising, as a form of persuasion, can only cause a potential consumer to try a product or service one time and one time only. From that point on, persuasion is rendered neutral, superseded by the attributes of the product or service tried on that one-time basis. One does not return, for example, to a restaurant after a negative experience simply because the advertising is attractive or memorable. Advertising, whether print or electronic,

can only persuade once. (To clarify, the operative word “persuade” is used as an all-encompassing term that identifies the element in advertising that triggers a response in the mind of a consumer that causes that consumer to either switch brands/stores or try a new product altogether. In a word, “persuasion” causes a behavioral change.)

Such persuasion, then, set in motion by the influences of advertising is not set in motion equally. This is because not advertising is not created equal. There is no parity in the advertising game and there never was. There exist distinct and measurable differences in the forms of advertising available to America’s corporations, businesses and retailers. That demand responds equally to all media is a hypothesis objectively rejected (Kinnucan and Miao, 1999) by many who struggle to measure responses using recall or similar methodology. The purpose of this paper, then, is to adopt the point of view that the gains realized from electronic media advertising are greater than those realized by the more ineffectual print media, despite the placing of millions of advertising dollars into the print media (newspapers and direct mail) by regional and local businesses, such spending far surpassing the combined revenues for radio and television at that level. (Larger corporate entities tend to gravitate to network television due to the larger ad budgets not enjoyed by regional and local companies.)

Advertising Waste

A major concern facing the planners who purchase and evaluate advertising space and media schedules should be (but, often is not) the concern of overall waste. That is, how much of a company’s or store’s advertising is going unnoticed, is not being consumed by the appropriate demographic group or intended target customer, or is not producing results even when it is placed or targeted correctly? That waste does occur in all forms of advertising is beyond dispute. (The higher the waste, the less the persuasive appeal.)

This waste occurs not only in the delivery of the message itself (being
targeted to the wrong demographic or not being properly impressed upon the right demographic), but in the copy and/or strategy that is used to impress or reach the intended target group (the right message targeted to the right market segment is ineffective with the wrong copy or copy that says the wrong thing. Bad ideas written well do not make memorable advertising).

Reducing actual waste inherent in the advertising process and hence, increasing the level of persuasiveness, may be argued from many perspectives. However, the corporate/business advertising budget itself may be a logical place to begin simply because these budgets often finance other projects outside of the realm of pure advertising. Pure being that effort designed to elicit a direct consumer response (again, with the right idea or strategy written the right way) to a product or a business.

As an example, consumers certainly cannot respond to off-media promotions (below-the-line) costs such as trade shows, the cost of which is invariably borne by the advertising budget. Trade shows are designed to move merchandise from manufacturer to retailer, thus enabling stores to be stocked with goods that can then move with the assistance of advertising. If consumers are out of the loop, waste certainly does occur; in this case, however, it occurs because the budget was used improperly - not because what was done was improper. Separate promotional budgets to differentiate promotional efforts from advertising efforts may be advisable for companies that roll both off-media promotions like trade shows and direct retail advertising efforts into one.

And what about the so-called above the line or pure budgetary costs designed to elicit direct consumer response through the persuasive and (hopefully) effective use of advertising like radio, television and newspaper? Certainly, waste does occur in even these above-the-line efforts, as advertisers and academics alike insist in classifying inefficient media, like the Yellow Pages for example, as an above-the-line expense. Yellow pages are not equally efficient in delivering potential customers as are radio, television and newspaper, as the Yellow Pages cannot make available an advertising message in any meaningful way. (It could also be argued that all forms of advertising outside of radio, TV and newspaper are below-the-line costs fraught with waste and unable to produce meaningful

consumer response.)

However, the example being used here is yellow page advertising and as a reference medium, the Yellow Pages is a directory that is referred to after the consumer's mind has been directed or franchised by the traditional forms of mass media, mainly radio or television. As such, Yellow Page advertising space for any business is mere courtesy display, not advertising in the pure sense of above-the-line expenditures. Hence, the persuasive appeal of advertising can be argued to be limited to only the above-the-line efforts of radio, television and newspaper.

The concept of waste in this paper will concern itself only with budgeted above-the-line media expenditures or those designed to produce, through advertising recall, direct retail results. Naturally, there will exist a correlation between what can be considered high waste and the correspondingly low levels of persuasive success. The vast amount of waste that does become apparent in corporate/business advertising actually occurs when advertising is placed with the least effective of the above-the line mass media, specifically the daily newspaper in each market. Since newspaper represents a one-time only impression (any medium actively used only once in a 24 hour timeframe is not a multiple-impression medium where the rule of "three" exposures affecting cognition comes into play), inherent waste is minimized (and the ability to persuade enhanced) when advertising is placed on an educational/intrusive medium (radio or television) where consumers have no choice but to receive the impression and usually multiple times over a select time period.

The Correlation Between Dollars Invested and Measurable Advertising Results

Since the topic of "waste" and "budgets" is on the table, the next level of discussion should focus on the results that advertising expenditures should be expected to produce. In other words, is there actually a measurable return (ROI) that correlates to the number of dollars actually being spent on advertising, regardless of medium? (ROI is easily calculated by dividing sales by advertising costs.) Much

Information is available on this topic, but in general terms, there seems to be little correlation between dollars invested and results gained. What “results” can be measured seem to be linked to the advertising copy itself or the message delivered to the consumer by the advertising.

If this message is non-believable, predictable or boring, it will receive little attention. If the copy evokes positive memories and taps into human emotions, it will likely remain in the consumer’s mind until point-of-purchase. Using the P/E/M model (Hall, 2002), advertising does more than just “get the name out.” Effective advertising creates a perception (P) prior to pre-experience where a consumer anticipates certain feelings and experiences while trust and relationships are being built. This phase improves the odds of a first-timetrial when the consumer actually decides to try the product or service being advertised. The consumer (target audience) then experiences the product (E) during which time the advertising should enhance the quality of the actual experience. Post-experience advertising should then enhance the quality of the remembrance (M). This model enhances brand-related recall if the copy directly impacts our sensory and social experiences, that is, causes us to correlate product usage with a past, positive experience.

McDonald’s advertising does exactly that. Consumers remember earlier childhood experiences of wanting to go to that fast-food chain and current advertising reminds them that they have always loved the experience – “I’m Lovin’ It.” Beer advertising reminds us of past parties with friends and that Miller Lite is still “less filling and tastes great.” Soft drink advertisers play to that part of our brain by reminding us that Coke is still the “real thing” or how much fun is associated with doing the “Dew.”

All of these referenced examples enhancing brand-related recall are electronic by nature, as imagery through frequency on an intrusive medium is the only valid instrument for shaping perceptions and attitudes. Newspaper’s effect is minimal in this regard, as it provides only a “one-time” impression to the consumer, meaning that a reader has only one opportunity during a 24 hour cycle to notice any one particular advertisement.
**One-time impressions vs. Intrusiveness**

More simply stated, a one-time impression medium (newspaper) has little overall effect on cognition (even if an ad is run over an extended time period) when compared to the intrusive nature of the electronic media where cognition is enhanced by the consumer receiving the message passively, that is, without choice multiple times throughout the day. Waste is therefore minimized (and persuasion is enhanced) in cases where advertising budgets favor the electronic media. This is simply due to the nature of the consumer. One hears or sees an ad on radio or TV and some cognition occurs, even if that consumer is not in the market for what is being advertised. One who is not in the market for a product, business or service being advertised in the newspaper will choose to pass that ad over (passover effect) and no cognition will occur.

The evidence in this regard is compelling. To make a point, surely no one consciously intends to memorize the many popular songs from past decades that are carried around for a lifetime inside of our heads. But, those songs are there. (No one memorized these lyrics from sheet music purchased, then read and put to memory.) Therein may lie some insight into how proper mass media selection may reduce advertising waste and enhance the persuasive nature of the advertising effort. A business should simply use the media whose function is unconsciously educational, that is, the electronic media. This mind-education leads to Top of Mind Awareness or Brand Recall, terms familiar to all who work for and with the mass media.

**The Electronic Media - The Intrusive Rhetoric of Persuasion**

The electronic media, defined simply as either the medium of radio or television and its many systems of delivery, is different from print in its ability to deliver advertising messages to potential consumers as the invisible sine wave that delivers the

electronic signal is from its tangible cousin, the printed page. Understanding those differences can have a profound impact on the longevity of a business and the way in which it chooses to invest its advertising dollars.

The argument that entertainment programs on both radio as well as television exist only as vehicles to deliver rhetorical commercial messages intended to persuade large numbers of potential consumers into action has been advanced by numerous media critics over the years. It would be hard to argue such a point, for it is precisely that commercial system, self-supporting that it is, that gives us a government-free information and entertainment system whose only cost to the consumer is the price of a receiver set and the electricity to run it.

The concept of programming, then, is to run the information and/or the entertainment concurrent with the commercials that make such programming possible. Commercials are interwoven together in a tapestry of entertainment programs, news, sports, weather, public service announcements and commercials, a mosaic where all becomes one and the consumption of the advertising is as natural as consuming the program, be it radio or television.

Electronic media commercials are a part of the programming, where the listener or viewer consumes them whether they wish to or not because they are one with the program. Unlike the active medium of newspaper that requires an attentive involvement, the consumer of radio or TV has no choice but to attend to the advertisements (or, of course, leave the room or engage in other activities). There is no “passover” choice to be made with a media whose advertisements are intrusive by nature and viewed or listened to on a passive medium that takes no effort on the part of the consumer other than to turn the set on.

Industry Research on Passive Media

These distinctions have been noted in advertising research for the past several decades. (David W. Finn, 1984) noted the passive nature of print that requires an active audience that selectively passes over content of no interest. Naturally,
information that is skipped, not attended to or is unseen does not present a learning opportunity because it is invisible to the mind. Conversely, the intrusiveness of the electronic media allows the consumer little freedom to pass over low or no interest advertisements with the end result being that some cognition will occur and the consumer will learn something about the message. Thus, any advertisement that is at least noted will influence cognition. Two of Finn’s propositions are that television (radio was not included in his study) has a higher probability of influencing awareness than print advertising and that the repetitive nature of television will lead to more learning of brand claims than print advertising.

(Krugman, 1965) noted the differences in the consumer’s processing of print versus broadcast advertising and the demanding cognitive task required to consume the print media. Low involvement consumers simply will not read printed material. They will, however, be exposed to the intrusiveness of television (or radio) advertisements.

The developing theme of this paper, noted by researchers like (Holbrook, 1984) and (Greenwald and Leavitt, 1984), essentially marks the inability of the print media to elicit a response from uninvolved readers who are not motivated to note or read the message, simply due to the fact that they are not in the market to buy what is being advertised. These very consumers, however, can be influenced by a broadcast media providing verbal messages which are noted even by involved consumers who are not in the market, simply because they cannot avoid the intrusiveness of the spectrum delivered signal.

Other studies (Murdock, 1967-1969), (Edell and Keller, 1989) reiterate how consumers extract more information and exhibit heightened retention from radio and TV than from the printed medium. It should also be noted that the more the consumer is involved (in the market for what is being advertised), the more attentive he or she will be to the electronic message. In other words, a logical or hot prospect will pay attention at a heightened level. As noted by (Buchholz and Smith, 1991), the level of consumer involvement plays a significant role in how a consumer personally connects to an advertising message and subsequently processes brand and copy points leading to top-of-mind

awareness.

Despite the greater attentiveness given to media messages by those in a high state of involvement, the message here is that the intrusive nature of the electronic media affects cognition even when a consumer is in a low or no involvement state. Hence, the rhetoric that is inherent in the persuasive efforts of 21st century communication forms can only be said to be efficient where that communication form is electronic as opposed to print. This efficiency stems from the concept of intrusiveness, paramount to the understanding of how powerful a social and educational force radio and TV are given the fact that commercial messages (as well as news-information) intrude into the lives of consumers not once or twice, but multiple times over the life cycle of a commercial campaign. Such multiplicity provides repetition, a key ingredient in the psychology of learning. Such repeated or successive exposures over time leave an indelible imprint in the mind that one or two exposures provided by an active medium like print cannot provide.

Regardless of perceived broadcast media strengths, however, neither radio or television is a panacea. Additional research on broadcast media testifies to the limitations of radio as a form of persuasion, that is showing radio to harbor inherent limitations. In researching the correlation between broadcast media use and political attitudes (Johnson, Braima and Sothirajah, 2000) conclude that few people today list radio as a primary source of information and that radio use contributes little to knowledge gain. Attention to television news, however, was correlated to high levels of political interest. Several factors can account for both of these findings (methodology, campaign-related factors or lack of voter interest), but the study addresses only how consumers respond to and process political rhetoric, not how creative broadcast advertising intrudes via thirty or sixty second jingles and copy.

The Non-Reoccurring Nature of Advertising/Persuasion

It was earlier noted that persuasion can only occur once and that it is rendered neutral after a potential consumer’s one-time experience. Hence, there are rhetorical limits to what the electronic media can actually accomplish, the
experience at the consumer level being the determining factor as to whether or not that first-time experience becomes actualized into subsequent visits or purchases. All advertising can do is to persuade first-time customers to try the product or business being advertised. In other words, provide communication to a logical prospect that is sufficient to cause that person to get to the front door of the business or to examine a product found on a shelf. From that point on, advertising has little to no influence on customer behavior and, therefore, the persuasive power of that message is inherently limited. The end result of consumer behavior has always been and always will be the responsibility of the store or the business on whose doorstep the potential customer is now standing.

Communicating with a potential customer via advertising, then, is only one variable of many that influence consumer buying behavior. Such advertising does not ultimately cause or actually initiate buying behavior. Advertising triggers the response needed to motivate the consumer to go into a particular store or place of business to look at and consider the purchase of a product or of a service. Since the product or service will be accepted or rejected on its own merits, advertising plays no role in ultimate consumer behavior other than that of reinforcement.

Once in a store, a consumer who has a favorable disposition toward a particular product may be more inclined to buy than a consumer whose attitude is neutral. But certainly, no one enters a store and buys what they don’t want merely because the advertising is good. Hence, the limits of advertising and persuasion in 21st century rhetoric.

What does trigger the buying decision on the part of the consumer is a complex matrix of variables, including advertising. But, advertising is but one variable. Since it may be considered the most noticeable of the variables, it is usually the one to receive the “blame” when corporations and businesses fail in their sales efforts.

**Variables Influencing Consumer Buying Decisions**
Advertising, by definition, is a communication form and a variable that impacts consumer decision making. However, there are multiple marketing variables, both external (the factors that exist in the environment outside of the immediate store or business) and internal (the variables or factors that are a part of the interior environment within the store or business) that ultimately determine whether a potential customer actually is converted into a paying customer. Both the internal and the external variables may be influenced directly or indirectly by store management, but both most certainly contribute to consumer behavior within the complex marketplace of choice.

Simply stated, all things being equal, potential customers that advertising delivers will usually not shop in a store they may feel uncomfortable entering (location), that they feel looks shabby or out-dated (store appearance), where they may have to walk what they feel is a considerable distance (adequate parking), where inadequate lighting does not present a safe or secure environment or where they perceive the overall store reputation within the community to be questionable for whatever reason. These are the external variables that may work for or against a particular business regardless of the advertising done, which may have very positive or high communication value.

Once in the store itself, a budding consumer will not become a customer if he/she is not treated well or is overly pressured by floor salespeople (trained/friendly floor personnel), if the price of the item sought is not within the shopper’s budget or he/she feels it can be purchased for less elsewhere (price related to benefit/competition), if the desired item is not presented well (packaging/floor display), if there is disappointment with product quality or features or if the business is not perceived as being hygienic, as in having clean restrooms. Lastly, consumers are creatures of fashion and trend. They enjoy having what others desire or covet, so likely will not seek to own what is out of the mainstream of consumer taste.

Simply stated, if a business knows what its customers want and then provides
for those needs with good service and competitive prices, nothing will keep customers away. Poorly run businesses, however, will have difficulty maintaining a customer base no matter how creative or clever any advertising effort might be.

These are the internal variables over which the retailer has more direct control since the consumer is actually in the store and can be spoken with one-on-one about product price and quality, consumer benefits from paying that price, product features that separate the product from its competition, delivery schedule, service after the sale or other internal variables.

Advertising, then, cannot create what is not there- that is, a favorable shopping environment for the consumer. Once enveloped with this environment, the end-result is positive word-of-mouth (or negative, if the environment is disappointing), a phenomenon that works better than does any form of print or electronic advertising. What a consumer experiences is far greater than what that consumer sees or hears via advertising. In actuality, advertising of any kind can only do one thing, that one thing being the result of deciphering the lowest common denominator in advertising.

**The Lowest Common Denominator**

Ask any group of media professionals or retail clients to define the one thing that advertising can do, if it could theoretically be broken down to a lowest common denominator, and you'll receive multiple answers like "create awareness," "stimulate demand," or "enhance overall image." Each answer, of course, contains a bit of truth about how advertising functions in our society, but it is rare that the one "correct" answer (the lowest common denominator) ever surfaces.

Yes, advertising can create images, motivate consumers, create desire or do any number of things claimed by advertising people, but Hank Seiden (1976) was absolutely correct with his assertion that advertising can only bring a logical prospect or a potential consumer into a place of business or cause them to use a particular service one time and one time only. From that point on, of course, the
product or service stands on its own, a recurrent theme running throughout this paper. Advertising has done all it can do when it convinces someone to try or experience something for the first time. Consequently, advertising does not make customers. Only well-run stores and good products make customers. Hence, the communication value of any advertising rests, not on the advertising itself, but rather on other variables outside of the advertising such as whether or not the logical prospect is actually in the market for what is being advertised and the overall buying experience encountered when shopping for that product or service. If the store or business is rejected at that point, such rejection has nothing to do with advertising but with the store or business itself.

Logical Prospects

At this point, it is essential to understand just who a logical prospect or a potential customer of any business engaged in advertising is, in order to expand the customer base of that business. A logical prospect for any corporation, business or retail group is one who must meet certain criteria; such criteria must be understood by advertisers who often tend to believe that "everyone" in their marketing area desires what they have to sell or what they are advertising on any given media. In fact, very few people in any given market are actually potential customers for any products or services being offered by any retail establishment during a typical business day. A person who does enter a store and agrees to make or does make a purchase is one who:

* Is in the market for that product or service. In other words, possesses a demonstrated need that has to be filled.

* Can afford to buy the product/service or can afford to finance the product or service being advertised.

Knowing this, one can then state that advertising communication to the general public or to a defined demographic, in and of itself, cannot sell a product or a service to someone who has no need for such, is out of the market for any reason (someone who buys a new car today will be out of the automotive market for an average of 24 - 36 months) or who cannot afford it. And, as has been
established, advertising does not make a satisfied customer. Only good products and well-run stores create customer satisfaction and if those variables are not present, a business cannot be saved from market extinction.

Advertising -- Planning for the Long Term

When done correctly, advertising is a courting ritual that does woo with intended long-term results. Checking how much advertising was done for this weekend's sale with the actual sales volume for the weekend is myopic management at best. The general influence of this weekend's advertising may not be felt for weeks; no correlation exists between short-term sales volume and current advertising. Today's customers providing those immediate sales are consumers who have been communicated to and, hence, educated over the past several months or longer by the store's advertising.

To be long-term, advertising must necessarily be consistent - that is, run without interruption for a measured period of time (usually a minimum of 13 weeks). Hall (2002) has noted that for a product (or a business or service) to succeed in the marketplace based solely on product superiority, that product must be, not equal to, but substantially better than its advertised alternatives. Communicating that one has a superior product commands consistent advertising attention over the long run in order to compete with the massive advertising budgets of the market leaders in the applicable business category.

This point is also well made in advertising journal research. Anthony I. Margan, senior vice president and research director at Backer & Spielvogel, Inc. (Margan, 1985) notes that few would deny that advertising's role is to help sell the product; however, he concludes that most testing systems evaluate a commercial's success or worth on the basis of a single exposure's ability to produce immediate results, that is to sell today, an over-simplification at best.

(Jones, 1992) has shown the long-term effect of advertising working in conjunction with the added values of the brand. Over time, these added values translate to repeat purchases. In other words, the more familiar the brand, the more popular it remains in the marketplace. Brands become familiar over time as

they are advertised over time, thus making advertising long-term by definition.

Conclusions

The question that has been addressed throughout this paper is, of the two distinct types of media, print media (newspaper, magazines, billboards, flyers, etc.) and electronic media (radio and television), which type is designed to produce consumer results for the long term?

(Although long-term by definition, some short-term results do indeed occur as there are always a percentage of consumers in the now market.) The conclusion is that the electronic media is far more efficient than is print advertising and will produce long-term results with the least amount of waste for advertisers. This efficiency enhances persuasion and positions radio and television as the medium of choice, if 21st century rhetoric is truly to be painted with the brush of the classical rhetorical intent of teaching, delighting and moving.

Further, of the variables involved in consumer intent-to-purchase, advertising may be the least efficient variable of the many impacting consumers in a 21st century multi-media environment. Stores and products make customers. Advertising merely brings them in, thus giving the businessperson the opportunity to convert the prospect into a customer. Although advertising is trumped by consumer reaction and feeling about their shopping experience, the efficiency of intrusive broadcast advertising creates word of mouth, which has routinely been shown to produce better overall results than any form of advertising, print or electronic. Thus, we have come full-circle from the classical rhetoric of the early philosophers, whose spoken words motivated generations to examine their own behavior, to modern day electronic rhetoric driven by the intrusive nature of commercials that shape and define self-behavior in a modern and complex marketplace of goods and services.

References


Gender Differences in an Aviation Flight Science Degree Program:
A Study of Population and Performance
(Women’s Studies)

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Gender Differences in an Aviation Flight Science Degree Program: A Study of Population and Performance

Purpose

The primary purpose of this research study is to examine and compare the academic performance of female and male students enrolled in the Aviation Flight Science degree program in the College of Aviation at Western Michigan University. The hypothesis is that the academic performance of female students at the College of Aviation will be equal to or greater than the performance of male students as measured by GPA and ACT scores indicating that their aptitude is equal to or greater than males.

Importance of proposed study

Although female students make up only 10% of the student population at the College of Aviation (“Enrollment retention”, 2005), this female to male ratio is typical in the field of aviation (FAA, 2003). In fact, this ratio is typical of women in male-dominated fields, including science, technology, engineering, and math (hereafter referred to as STEM) (Atkinson, 1990; Department of Labor, 2004; Frehill, 1997).

It is important to understand the reason for such ratios. The under representation of women in traditionally male-dominated areas of study and work is the reason for an increased focus on sex-related differences in performance, especially in math and science (Kahl, 1982).

The study of academic performance is an important factor in our understanding of the low population of women in aviation. An examination and comparison of the college entrance exams and college GPAs of male and female students can easily be conducted using available data. If the GPAs of women are equal to or higher than those of men, then the study’s results can be used to encourage women to pursue aviation and discourage others from believing that women do not have the aptitude for aviation related
studies. If the GPAs of female students are lower than male students, then existing body of research on gender differences in performance might help explain the reasons. Studies, such as this one, need to be conducted within the aviation field to validate or refute theories and even contribute to the findings of prior related research.

Background

Aviation is a male dominated field consisting of only 11.5% of aerospace engineers (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2002), approximately 1.5% of aviation technicians, and 3% of airline transport pilots (Federal Aviation Administration, 2003) who are women.

While there has been extensive research explaining the reasons for the low numbers of women in the male dominated fields of STEM (Atkinson, 1990; Ayalon, 2003; Becker, 1990; Brush, 1991; Burton, 1990; Frehill, 1997; Healy, 1992; Widnall, 1988), research of gender differences within aviation is less prolific (Karp, Turney, Green, Sitler, Bishop & Niemczyk, 2002; Turney & Maxant, 2004). Since aviation flight science has so much in common with STEM programs, it is important to make use of existing research in order to understand the performance issues regarding women.

Elizabeth Johnson conducted a model case study in 1993 of college women’s performance in a college math-science curriculum. Within this study, several outcome based measures were analyzed, including SAT scores, class standing, and GPA. Results revealed that although women had lower average SAT math scores, there was little difference between the men’s and women’s grade point averages even within the same majors. Johnson’s study provides a foundation for the methodology in which to conduct a similar study of women in a collegiate aviation flight science program.
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Extensive documentation has been published regarding the lower participation rate of women in science, technology, engineering and math (Becker, 2000; Brush, 1991; Hayes and Tariq, 2000; Heller and Ziegler, 1996; Principe, 2001). The number of women getting degrees in math, science and engineering peaked at 37% in 1984, but is currently down to about 28% (“Women equal,” 2002). The participation rate has reached a plateau (Atkinson, 1990; Brush, 1991). The employment rate is not equivalent either. There are few women working in science that are educated in the field (Hayes and Tariq, 2000). This study examines gender differences in performance and also indicates the reasons for the low population of women in male dominated fields.

Theoretical Framework

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Achievement Motivation Theories

In the expectancy-value model, achievement behaviors, persistence, selection, and the performance level are interpreted as the result of a multiple networked causal system. How much a student is attracted to a subject or the outcome is predictable and affects their achievement (Heller & Ziegler, 1996). The causal attribution model relates prejudicial knowledge about female’s ability to the female’s actual potential ability in that subject. Women tend to be pessimistic and blame themselves for failure in academics, whereas men are more optimistic (Campbell & Henry, 1999). Women show less interest in science and achieve poorer grades in physics and math than male students. Heller hypothesized that these gender differences are a result of the female student’s false and low self concept of their own ability and involvement in physics and math. In other words, girls believe they are less talented in physics and math than boys, and adjust their own behavior to fit this belief (Heller & Ziegler, 1996).

Other studies have reiterated this finding. Empirical studies have shown that females are more competent in math and science than what is assumed (Weiner, 1985). If females hear that differences in their brains cause them to be poorer in math, then they may exhibit poorer performance in mathematics and less tendency to choose careers, such as science, that require math skills (Trankina, 1993). Reasons for success and
failure in science vary according to gender. But in essence, women attribute external factors to their success, such as luck, and attribute internal factors to their failures, such as lack of ability (Brownlow, Jacobi, & Rogers, 2000).

**Nature-Nurture Debate**

In this hypothesis, aptitude is a product of our hereditary makeup and our environment (Heller & Ziegler, 1996). A person’s aptitude for math and science may depend on their genetic intellect as well as their experiences in grade school, and both will influence the desire and ability to perform at higher levels. For example, parents and/or teachers may discourage a female from pursuit of higher level math classes by saying the women do not belong in that field.

**Cognitive Ability**

The actual aptitude and abilities of women are questioned in studies done during the 1970s and 1980s. Many studies state or imply that women are inferior to men in spatial visualization and mathematical skills (Brush, 1991; Trankina, 1993). The literature is filled with inconsistent findings, contradictory theories and emotional claims; however, there are clear differences in cognitive ability between the sexes (Halpern, 2000). A study of mathematically talented youth concluded that sex differences in science achievement are found relative to mathematical reasoning ability and males excel in this area (Benbow & Minor, 1986). Scholastic Aptitude Tests (SAT) results indicate that women have consistently scored lower on the math portion of SATs (Cleary, 1976; Johnson, 1993); however, the argument is that SAT scores are not an accurate predictor of successful performance in college, especially for women (Brush, 1991). Studies have shown that females received better course grades in math than males even though they
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felt less successful (Becker; 1990; Benbow & Stanley, 1982). Such research findings may have had a significant negative effect on performance of females in the manner of a self fulfilling prophecy (Halpern, 2000; Trankina, 1993). Women’s low level of confidence and self-esteem could be the reason for low performance, low participation, and the public perception of women’s lack of aptitude for the sciences.

Classroom and Work Environment

Other scholars have explored the environment. Women select degree programs that they perceive as having a more supportive environment (Becker, 1990), for example. Reports indicate that during college and graduate school, female students who are well qualified and motivated “lose their self-esteem, are harassed by male professors and other students, are excluded from discussions and social interactions, and in general are made to feel that they do not belong” (Brush, 1991, p. 404). Women describe American college classrooms as chilly or unfriendly and overly competitive. According to the National Council for Research on Women, many women still feel that labs and other technology workplaces are unfriendly or hostile environments (Frehill, 1997; Principe, 2001). Rather than figuring out how to make women fit in to the program, these studies focus on the classroom climate.

Social Environment

Obviously, girls are influenced by their family in their education and various studies explore family influence. For example, a mother’s profession, especially in a non-traditional science or technical field, influences her daughter’s decision to study in a similar field. Prior experiences in technical problem solving, games or learning experience also influence students, and girls are not typically encouraged to develop
interest in these areas. According to research by Yee and Eccles (1988), parents attribute their children’s successes differently; daughter’s successes are attributed to diligence and effort, while boys’ successes were attributed to special abilities or talents. Girls also react more to the influence of social models than boys. The lack of female role models for traditional male activities or studies affects girls negatively compared to boys (Heller & Zeigler, 1996) and therefore negatively influences their decision to pursue such studies.

**Preparation for Math and Science**

In a major study done on sex-related differences in pre-college science, the lack of preparation for math and science is explored. The importance of pre-college science and mathematics education, especially for disadvantaged groups, has been stressed (Widnall, 1988). Students who do not start preparing for a technical career even in high school will limit their opportunities. Teaching methods and systems were examined as well as student characteristics such as science course background, spatial skills, cognitive level, age, sex, socio-economic status (Kahl, 1982). Although significant differences between the sexes in science achievement and attitudes have not been revealed, this study concluded that in order to increase performance and participation of women, direct encouragement by parents and teachers improves female student’s attitudes and self-confidence and increase their awareness of the usefulness of such training. Although institutions have increased their effort to attract women into the engineering degree programs, the female population remains low. Explanations for the low percentage of females in “quantitative fields” include high school preparation in math and science (Frehill, 1997).
Math Anxiety

Anxiety toward math and science also seems to be a factor in performance. Anxiety toward math is not unusual, but female students and women report higher levels than males. However, female performance in math courses is superior, indicating a lack of self confidence (Brownlow et al., 2000; Levine, 1995). Beliefs about abilities may be more important than performance in reducing anxiety.

Teaching Methods

Certain teaching methods in the sciences are not always favorable to women’s learning styles. Gender differences in learning styles include the style of interactions, level of independence, relations among students, achievement goals, level of confidence, mentorship, and family concerns. Teaching methods could have an impact in the achievement and enrollment levels especially in male-dominated programs (Brush, 1990; Karp, et al., 2002).

Gender Preference

Other research suggests that there are fewer female students in science, math and technology because women have a natural tendency to gravitate toward ‘soft sciences’ that include the arts, languages, social sciences and humanities rather than the ‘hard sciences’ such as, physics, engineering and math (Ayalon, 2003; Burton, 1990). In some cases, males may receive greater support for a decision to pursue education in the subjects such as engineering, while females are encouraged to pursue a less masculine field (Frehill, 1997). Neoclassical economic theory suggests that in some cases, women, more often than men, choose careers based on values other than economics. Males and females anticipate different family work roles, such as men as breadwinners and women
as caregivers. And gender role socialization theory suggests that women often select jobs based on social significance and the level of interest for that type of work, rather than for the occupations’ monetary prospects (Frehill, 1997).

**Masculine versus Feminine Fields**

Additionally, other research suggests that certain fields are perceived as ‘masculine’ or ‘feminine’, including science, engineering, technology and math (Brush, 1991). Women are often portrayed as “atypical women” by entering a male-dominated field, such as science or aviation. Personality traits associated with scientists are typically male traits; however females and males in the same fields tend to be similar (Benbow & Minor, 1986). Although physics is considered a masculine subject, there is no convincing evidence that girls have less ability to excel in physics, in fact there are women achieving at very high levels in physics courses (Benbow & Arjmand, 1990). Considering this fact, gender differences in ability alone can not explain the low numbers of women in science. A different explanation is provided by research that shows that parents tend to encourage gender consistent activities. School subjects and activities are gender-labeled, and parents may consequently consider their male and female children as capable only in certain domains. Few parents see daughters as capable in masculine domains (including science and math), but do consider humanities more appropriate (Brownlow et al., 2000). Perhaps if more female students take more “masculine” courses in high school, they will major in “masculine fields of study in higher education and eventually join “masculine occupations” (Ayalon, 2003).
Stereotyping

While society perceives certain fields as having a masculine or feminine identity, other studies indicate that society has preconceived notions and expectations of the sexes. Two stereotypical traits emerge from the research; the male stereotypical trait suggests competence and task orientations; whereas female stereotypical traits suggest warmth and expressiveness (Halpern, 2000). Additionally, women are also seen as incompetent and passive (Becker, 1990). Male academic performance is perceived as being higher than females, especially for “masculine” majors (Beyer, 1999). Many recent studies of gender stereotype accuracy were generally found to be exaggerated (Grant et al., 1997). The under representation of women in most scientific fields leads to the assumption that women lack interest in the hard sciences (Hayes & Tariq, 2000). Also assumed was that an increasing parity in scientific knowledge among men and women would reduce the gender gap in attitudes toward science. Society’s view, even today, of females’ roles in society as homemakers and child bearers may contribute to parents and teachers attitudes that science is an inappropriate career choice. A stereotypical characterization of women in science is that they are aggressive, adversarial, cold and analytical…typically masculine characteristics and unflattering to women (Trankina, 1993).

Population

Interestingly, females have higher academic achievement within single-sex programs than in mixed-sex educational programs. “Surely a change in social groupings does not affect women’s abilities although there is ample evidence that it does affect their achievement” (Burton, 1990). The proportion of students is likely to influence students after they experience being “one of the few” (Frehill, 1997). Females may not be
deterred from entering a male dominated program; however, once in the program, their experiences related to being one of few females may cause them to feel negatively about the program. Female students in male dominated programs reported lower academic self-concept, lower career commitment and less sensitivity to family issues (Ulku-Steiner & Kurtz-Costes, 2000). Mentor support relates to self-concept and there are not as many female mentors available in STEM and aviation fields. Children are more likely to pursue activities at which people of their own gender succeed (Brownlow, 2000; Principe, 2001; Ulku-Steiner & Kurtz-Costes, 2000). “A lack of women in the field tends to perpetuate a lack of women in the field” (Brush, 1991). Significantly lower participation rates for women compared to men are found in all countries.

Hypothesis

I argue that women have as high or higher grades than the men who are enrolled in the Flight Science Degree Program at Western Michigan University, indicating their aptitude for aviation is as high or higher. If women earn lower grades than the men, women cannot perform as well as men in sciences and technology.

Method

Performance of students enrolled in aviation flight science program is first examined. A quantitative study will use performance metrics that include ACT scores and GPAs. The independent variable is the gender of the participants, and the dependent variables are ACT scores and GPAs in college. The study will describe sample data (descriptive statistics), and associate the two types of variables (bivariate analysis) to determine gender differences in performance.
Sampling

The cohort group or population will be all of the students who were enrolled in the aviation flight science degree program in the College of Aviation at WMU during the spring 2004 semester, a total of 700 students. The class of 2004 was chosen since they attended all four years within the newly formed College of Aviation, which was established in 1999.

Data Collection

Data will be collected using the WMU registrar’s faculty services web site. From this site, information can be collected about the students’ majors, GPAs, ACT scores, and gender. The population will be divided into two groups, freshmen and sophomores / juniors and seniors. The reason is that the four year flight science degree program was organized such that students would take general education and prerequisite courses during the first two years on the main campus, and then take flight courses and complete degree requirements at the airport campus during the last two years. There was a significant decrease in student population during the last two years.

Description of instruments

The information needed include student ID, gender, ACT scores, GPA, and gender, were obtained from the Western Michigan University registrar. These metrics are transferred to an Excel spreadsheet.

Data analysis procedures

Descriptive statistics using a 2 x 2 ANOVA or F test will be used to test differences between the two independent variables (freshman / sophomore males and females) and the two dependent variables (ACT scores, GPAs). The ANOVA will be
used again to test the difference between junior / senior males and females using ACT scores and GPAs. The mean and standard deviation of each pairing will be calculated. The F test will determine if we can reject the null hypothesis (that female students have lower grades than male students). In order to determine the significance level, a follow-up test such as Newman-Keuls will be conducted. The table will be organized like this example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male freshmen / sophomores (MFS)</th>
<th>Female freshmen / sophomores (FFS)</th>
<th>F value</th>
<th>Male juniors / seniors (MJS)</th>
<th>Female juniors / seniors (FJS)</th>
<th>F value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACT scores</td>
<td>Mean SD</td>
<td>Mean SD</td>
<td>x.xx</td>
<td>Mean SD</td>
<td>Mean SD</td>
<td>x.xx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPAs</td>
<td>Mean SD</td>
<td>Mean SD</td>
<td>x.xx</td>
<td>Mean SD</td>
<td>Mean SD</td>
<td>x.xx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusion

The reason this study is important is that women are a necessary and vital part of the industrialized 21st century, which is which heavily dependent upon science and technology. Because of the growth of technical industry positions, enrollments in colleges increased. In order to remain a leader in technological development, financial and human resources are needed to meet our many domestic and global challenges (Atkinson, 1990, Trankina, 1993). It was predicted that by year 2000, almost 70% of the labor force will be women and minorities (Healy, 1992). According to the U.S. Department of Labor, women comprised 47 percent of the total labor force (male and female) in 2003. The labor-market participation rate for women 25 to 44 years of age (child-bearing years) has risen to more than 75%, earning in aggregate a yearly $1 trillion. Of working married women, 48% provide at least half of the household income (Workforce trends, 2004). Therefore, understanding the reason for so few women in science and technology education and training programs is critical. The Office of
Technology Assessment concluded that the “principal reason for the slowdown in women’s interest in science and engineering careers is that women continue to experience higher unemployment, lower pay and fewer promotion opportunities than their male counterparts” (Atkinson, 1990, p. 431). Science and engineering will become less inhospitable only when there are more women participating. At a senate hearing on Title IX, women suggested that schools do more to support women by increasing scholarships, making the environment more supportive, creating better work-family policies and extending time for earning tenure (“Women equal,” 2002). Intervention aimed at enhancing women’s self-concept might be particularly instrumental in lowering their attrition rate (Ulku-Steiner & Kurtz-Costes, 2000).
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References


Modelling intention to consume functional food

Psychology

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Abstract

What people eat influences their susceptibility to disease, yet many consumers within the Western World are consuming inappropriate diets. One approach to facilitating the consumption of a healthy diet has been the development of so-called “Functional Foods” (foods that provide a health benefit beyond the traditional nutrients they contain). The ultimate aim of this research was to model current psychological predictors of intention to consume functional foods.

A mixed method approach was utilised. Qualitative (one-to-one interviews) and quantitative (questionnaire) exploratory studies were used to inform a larger qualitative study (focus groups). Emergent key information was then used to inform a large-scale questionnaire and structural equation modelling was used to identify the predictors of intention.

The interview study highlighted the important issues surrounding functional foods. The small questionnaire determined the further research on a) conditions important to consumers and b) conditions that varied along a perceived genetic scale (Alzheimer’s disease, Cardio Vascular Disease and Stress). The focus groups highlighted four design rules for the successful development of functional food (‘inversion’, ‘subterfuge’, ‘inclusiveness’ and ‘authenticity’) and three key segments of the population (‘pro-science’, ‘conditionalists’, and ‘negatives’). The final study modelled the three health conditions (Alzheimer’s disease, Cardio Vascular Disease and Stress) and three preventative health behaviours (eating functional food, a healthy diet or doing more exercise). Multi-dimensional Health Locus of Control and perceived hazard characteristics were modelled as predictors of risk perception. The main predictors of risk perception differed significantly by health condition. Intentions for the three preventative health behaviours were modelled using a Theory of Planned Behaviour framework. Good predictive utility was demonstrated, which was further improved by expansion of the model.

Output from the research could be used to inform both psychological theory and the design of future communication initiatives. Findings are discussed with respect to practical and methodological implications and directions for future research.
From Artemis to Xena: The Image of the Amazon in Western Art and Popular Culture

Amazons belong to the very earliest period of Western mythology, mentioned even in the Homeric epics. Representations of Amazons have existed in the art and popular culture of Western civilization for more than 2500 years, longer than any other recognizable female image. Ancient Greeks and Romans employed the Amazon image to represent worthy foes or barbaric outsiders. Post-Renaissance art used the Amazon as part of the European reclamation of Greco-Roman culture. Contemporary American representations have constructed romantic and valiant Amazon heroine images, but have also hyper-sexualized and trivialized the Amazon, often remolding or completely removing the original mythological underpinnings. Alternately flouting and pandering to shifting norms of femininity, a source of inspiration to women, titillation to many men, the Amazon continues to fascinate. In this paper I trace the various permutations of Western civilization's representation of the Amazon and the degree to which it has both challenged and been subsumed by patriarchal hegemony.
Chemical Dependent Pregnant Women: Best Treatment Options and Legal Issues for This Population

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Abstract

The use of drugs and alcohol by pregnant women is a widespread problem that not only causes harm to themselves, but also to the fetus. The debate over whether treatment or punishment is best for this population continues. State legislation involvement includes passing laws that encourage pregnant women to seek treatment and also passing laws that support prosecution of drug abusing women, thus deterring pregnant women from seeking treatment. This paper will present a background on drug abusing women, prevalence and also effects to the fetus. The best treatments for this special population are reviewed as well as the legal issues mentioned above.
Chemical Dependent Pregnant Women

Best Treatment Options for Chemical Dependent Pregnant Women

-Introduction-

Chemical dependency has always been a legal, social and moral issue. Instances of drug and alcohol use among pregnant women are in the millions. Use of drugs and alcohol during pregnancy not only has negative effects for the women but also the fetus; maternal drug use complicates pregnancies and damages the health of the newborns (Steinberg and Gehshan 2000).

According to Cosden, Merith, Peerson, and Stacy (1997), substance abuse amongst women was given little public attention until the late 1980s when national interest was drawn to the impact of prenatal drug exposure on children. Steinberg and Gehshan (2000) agree but were more specific in mentioning the “crack-baby” phenomena, which occurred in the mid-1980s having created much of the concern. Although the initial effects of drug-exposed infants have been studied extensively, there is a lack of research on long-term effects. Most studies on the long-term impact of drug-exposed infants don’t go beyond the ages of two or three (Cosden, Merith, Peerson, and Stacy, 1997). Research on long-term effects of drug exposed infant’s needs to be done to see the true effects of drug exposure to infants.

The estimates of drug and alcohol use differ among pregnant women (Steinberg and Gehshan, 2000) due to the fear of their losing custody of their child (children) and also punishment by law (Weber, 2002). The Child Welfare League of America (1999) estimates that one of every five pregnant women uses
drugs, drinks or smokes. The Washington State Department of Social and Health Services and the Department of health (2002), estimate that one in ten pregnant woman use drugs during pregnancy. Use of drugs or alcohol by pregnant women is correlated with home instability, which has been shown to be a significant factor for the development of the drug-expose infant. Therefore, other research has found that the development of the drug exposed infant to be more progressive for those whose mother discontinued drug use (Cosden, Merith, Peerson, and Stacy, 1997).

Alcohol Use

Alcohol is the number one addictive drug in the United States. Use of alcohol among pregnant women is estimated to be 2.6 million out of 4 million women. Also, an estimated 22,0000 children per year experience mild, moderate or severe adverse effects due to their mothers use of alcohol (Steinberg and Gehshan, 2000). According to Abel (1984), out of the approximate 3,598,000 children born in 1980, the number born with Fetal Alcohol Syndrome was 3,958, (1.1 cases per 1,000).

Fetal Alcohol Syndrome is considered the extreme side effect of alcohol use amongst pregnant women. Effects to the child include slowed growth, damage to the nervous system, facial abnormalities and mental retardation. Fetal Alcohol Effects cause much more milder problems such as mental and behavioral problems, which may include short attention spans, and memory problems and disorganization (Steinberg and Gehshan, 2000). Abel (1984)
estimates Fetal Alcohol Effects cases to be 6,550 to 11,000 annually and Fetal Alcohol Syndrome to be 1,800 to 4,000 annually.

Illegal Drug Use

Steinberg and Gehshan’s (2000) estimates of illegal drug use by pregnant women in the United States differ, ranging from 221,000 to 739,000 births per year (5.5 percent to 18 percent). According to The Child Welfare League of America (1999), approximately 2.9 percent (119,000) of pregnant women smoke marijuana, 1.1 percent (45,000) use cocaine and 1.5 percent (61,000) use prescription drugs improperly. Use of illegal drugs during pregnancy has been shown to cause shortened gestational periods, miscarriages, infants to be born with low birth weight, smaller than normal head size, genital and urinary tract deformities and nervous system damage (Steinberg and Gehshan, 2000). Although infants that have been exposed to crack or cocaine are initially smaller, these children usually catch up by the age of two (Cosden, Merith, Peerson, and Stacy, 1997).

Infants exposed to opioids have been found to go through neurobehavioral characteristics during their first months of life: withdrawal symptoms which include irritability, tremors, high pitched crying and feeding problems. It is also mentioned that neurobehavioral problems and the limited parenting skills of women with drug use history may inhibit early attachments, which may account for the later social and behavioral problems of the child (Cosden, Merith, Peerson, and Stacy, 1997).
So many factors have to be included when doing research of this kind. With drug and alcohol use, there are always other factors, like genetics, that have to be considered that influences how healthy a child is going to be (Cosden, Merith, Peerson, and Stacy, 1997). It has also been acknowledged that drug and alcohol use among pregnant women is an issue that has to be dealt with. Treatment for this special population and legal issues will now be reviewed.

-Treatment-

Chemical dependency treatment for women was not addressed until the 1970’s when Federal legislation (Public Law 94-371) mandated the development of specialized drug treatment programs for women. At this time research was then done on the needs of this special population during treatment (Brown, 1992). Before the legislation only few studies covered the topic of women and drug treatment.

The most important treatment issue for pregnant women is finding a treatment program that meets the needs of the individual (Inciardi, Surratt and Saum, 1997). According to Brown (1992), a comprehensive approach to drug treatment should include medical, social and vocational services for women and childcare, preferably including medical and early intervention services for their children. Family-oriented programs have been found to attract more women into treatment and result in pregnancy outcomes comparable to those seen in non-drug-using pregnant women.
Specialized treatment vs. mixed-sex treatment

A study by Copeland and Hall (1992) compared the characteristics of women seeking drug and alcohol treatment at a specialist women’s program with those of women attending traditional mixed-sex programs. They argue that the little consideration paid to any psychological and physiological differences between men and women, or to the sociopolitical context of women’s lives has failed to identify and address the potentially crucial treatment concerns for women. This being the reason they believe traditional services fail to attract women into treatment.

Copeland and Hall (1992) found that women in both programs for substance abuse treatment had delayed treatment due to the perceived social stigma. Both men and women were found to have similar social problems such as unemployment, broken relationships and unstable residences. The women at the specialized women’s service were found to have additional problems of dependent children, serious parenting deficits, and psychological and personal safety issues concerning their experience with physical and sexual abuse. The findings suggest that a specialized women’s center attracts women with a history of abuse, parental concerns and/or awareness of sexual politics. Copeland and Hall (1992) conclude that specialist women’s services may fill an important gap in the existing traditional mixed-sex treatment services.
Family Center Model

Kaltenbach and Finnegan (1992) discuss the Family Center Treatment Model that was developed in Philadelphia at Family Center that reflects a multivariable systems approach.

Services include a prenatal clinic with staff specially trained in the field of addiction and high-risk pregnancy. There is also a newborn nursery for infants that exhibit withdrawal symptoms, which is staffed by specialists in newborn medicine. The Family Center also offers a wide range of psychosocial services that comprise two components: education and treatment. The education component focuses on prenatal and parenting courses as well as prevention of sexually transmitted diseases. The treatment component aims at the development of personal resources, improving family and interpersonal relationships, reducing and eliminating socially destructive behavior and facilitating the parent/child bond (Kaltenbach and Finnegan, 1992). The Family Center Model was designed to cover all social and medical variables that complicated addiction and the recovery process. This is emphasized through outreach services, which helps facilitate appropriate medical care for chemical dependent pregnant women.

Treatment With Reinforcement

There are some treatment programs that use a reward system. Marlatt (2001) addresses contingency management programs in enhancing abstinence among addicts and increasing relapse prevention among those being treated. In
this comment on a study by Silverman where abstinence reinforcement was incorporated into a work-training program in which participants are required to provide drug-free urine samples, monetary vouchers were given to participants to reinforce abstinence and workplace attendance. Participants were pregnant women, which Marlatt says may add more motivation to abstain from drug use than other populations.

Marlatt (2001) mentions that job training as a reinforcer for maintaining abstinence provides a broader base of incentives than do programs that offer only reward vouchers for clean urine samples. Reinforcement was given to participants for other relevant target behaviors such as workplace attendance, productivity, professional demeanor and achievement of daily learning goals offering considerable promise in terms of increasing compliance among participants over and above the effect of rewarding only drug-free urine samples.

It has been argued that once reinforcement is terminated, relapse will occur. Marlatt (2001) argues that the longer a person abstains, the higher probability of long-term treatment success. Other “extrinsic” reinforcers for abstinence might include social reinforcement from family and friends, improved health, decreased legal problems and patients sense of self-efficacy or confidence in their mastery of a difficult addiction problem.

Marlatt (2001) adds that providing patients with traditional experiences and skill-training opportunities can enhance this type of treatment during the abstinent period. He concludes that contingency management for short-term
behavior change coupled with relapse prevention skills designed to enhance long-term maintenance would seem to be an ideal combination for a comprehensive behavioral treatment program.

A study by Jones, Svikis and Tran (2002) included motivation training in increasing an individual’s motivation to quit substance abuse and rewards for attending those sessions and providing drug-free urine samples. The purpose of this study was to compare women who complied with therapy to those who did not comply. Participants were pregnant women who were offered a $25 voucher or merchandise (baby supplies) valued at that amount for attendance of each session contingent upon providing a clean urine sample. A bonus of $100 would be given to participants who went to all four sessions and provided four clean urine samples. Being a compliant participant meant attendance of all four sessions. Noncompliance was measured by attending three or less sessions.

Jones, Svikis and Tran (2002) found that 71% of the participants attended at least one intervention and that 68% of the participants provided at least one drug-free urine sample. This suggests that this brief intervention may facilitate reduction in drug use during pregnancy. Participant compliance did not guarantee drug abstinence, though compliant women were found to have higher birth weight babies and they were most likely to be delivered drug-free than noncompliant women. They concluded that brief motivational and behavioral intervention for pregnant drug-using women has but further study the potential for both clinical as well as economic efficacy.
Drug Replacement

Replacement of drugs is a harm reduction technique that involves replacing a drug with another considered to be less harmful. One clear example of drug replacement that creates a decline in complications of pregnancy, childbirth and infant development when coupled with prenatal care is shown with the use of methadone, a pharmacological substitute for heroin (Kinney, 2003). Methadone requires less frequency of administration compared to heroin and also does not provide the rush that heroin supplies. There is no risk of contaminants or unintentional overdose with methadone since it is a drug that is FDA approved and administered in clinics by professionals. Like heroin though, withdrawal symptoms occur in the mother and the child.

Detoxification of a heroin or opiate dependent pregnant women can cause distress to the fetus. Though Finnegan (1982) contends that detoxification should be done under carefully monitored procedures, data of a detoxifying pregnant woman on methadone revealed a significant fetal response of the adrenal gland with an increase in epinephrine and of the sympathetic nervous system with an increase of the norepinephrine, both of which were dulled after methadone was increased. Kinney (2003) suggests that the use if methadone for treatment helps promote an environment in which rehabilitation efforts can take hold. He says that doses should be administered at a level that is comfortable for the individual and should not be decreased due to the chances of withdrawal by the mother and fetus (Kinney, 2003).
Dawn, Gerada and Strang (1992) developed a pregnancy liaison and outreach service to provide women with information on harm reduction, safer drug use and offered treatment for drug-dependence. The treatment goal of this study was slow reduction or low dose maintenance of methadone to retain women in treatment and to minimize non-prescribed drug use. The participants who had maintained their treatment with low doses of methadone had a significant reduction by delivery. Unfortunately, neonatal withdrawal symptoms were present in seventeen of the thirty-four babies born, two needing treatment.

Mothers who had lower doses of methadone at delivery were found to have babies born with less chance of neonatal withdrawal. They conclude that they were successful in attracting drug-using pregnant women to services and with many remaining in treatment throughout treatment. Treatment services appeared successful in reducing maternal methadone use and that improved access to health care for all drug users, in particular pregnant women, needs to be an aim of drug services (Dawn, Gerada and Strang, 1992).

Women who receive maintenance therapy during the majority of their pregnancy are more stable both physiologically and emotionally and also receive more prenatal care than those not receiving no such treatment, resulting in better maternal and neonatal outcomes (Fischer et al., 2000). Methadone is a safe alternative to heroin, but withdrawal symptoms can still occur. Fischer et al. (2000) studied an alternative to methadone, which is maintenance treatment with buprenorphine. This study was done to follow exiting evidence showing that
children born to mothers maintained on buprenorphine may be at lower risk for
neonatal withdrawal symptoms than those maintained on methadone.

Fischer et al. (2000) found that buprenorphine was well tolerated by both
mother and fetus, and that the level of neonatal withdrawal symptoms
experienced by the newborns was minimal. Twenty-six percent of the participants
delivered babies with no neonatal withdrawal symptoms. This study found that
only twenty-percent of the children born to mothers maintained on buprenorphine
to have moderate neonatal withdrawal symptoms compared to 100% of
participant’s babies born to mothers maintained on methadone. Results of the
study may be due to the fact that buprenorphine is a partial agonist with high
receptor affinity and low intrinsic activity compared to other full opioid agonists
(Fischer et al., 2000).

It was also found that the less cigarettes a mother reported to smoke the
more likely they had infants with no or mild neonatal withdrawal symptoms. The
benefits of reduced neonatal withdrawal include lessened distress and shorter
hospital stays with lessened costs (Fischer et al., 2000).

-Legal Issues-

To help with the chemical dependency problem amongst pregnant
women, states have taken a variety of approaches to fund treatment, protect
children from abuse or neglect and divert people convicted of drug related crimes
to treatment. Some of these actions have been made through state district
attorneys using several types of statutes to prosecute pregnant addicted women
(Steinberg and Gehshan, 2000). The debate that surrounds this issue is whether punishment or treatment is best for pregnant women with chemical dependency.

For Treatment

The American Psychological Association (APA) (1988) believes that alcohol and drug abuse by pregnant women is not a matter for the criminal justice system. They affirm that no punitive actions should be taken against women on the basis of behaviors that may harm a developing fetus and oppose mandatory/nonconsensual drug testing of women in the course of prenatal services. They urge for the development of treatment and outreach programs to treat alcohol and drug abuse among pregnant women. The APA (1988) recommends more education and training for chemical dependency professionals and more funds to go to research on reducing substance abuse during pregnancy and innovative methods to treat chemical dependency during pregnancy.

The Drug Policy Alliance (2000) asserts that drug-treatment is the most effective method of reducing substance abuse and related harms. According to Krupski (2004), receiving chemical dependency treatment is associated with higher infant birth weights and is also associated with a lesser amount of infant medical costs. With this proven fact, it has also been established that criminal prosecution of chemically dependent women deters them from seeking out necessary medical treatment as well as chemical dependency treatment. Women that do receive medical treatment may withhold vital information about their drug
use to their doctors due to new cooperatives between healthcare and the law. This increases the harm to both the mother and fetus (Drug Policy Alliance, 2000).

The American Society of Addiction Medicine (ASAM) (2001) which is committed to the “prevention of alcohol and other drug-related harm to the health and well being of children” believe that education, intervention and treatment are the most humane and effective ways to achieve this. The ASAM (2001) recommend:

1. Prevention programs to educate all members of the public about the dangers of alcohol and other drug use during pregnancy and lactation.

2. Early intervention, consultation, and case finding programs specifically designed to reach chemical dependent women.

3. Treatment services able to meet the needs of chemically dependent women.

4. Research on the effects of alcohol and other drugs used during pregnancy.

5. Law enforcement avoiding any measures defining alcohol or other drug use during pregnancy as “prenatal child abuse”.


Weber (1992) discusses Federal laws and regulations of confidentiality of drug and alcohol patient records. These laws and regulations guarantee strict confidentiality of information for individuals that have sought or received treatment or diagnosis for alcohol and other drug-related problems. These laws
and regulations were enacted by congress because they recognize that alcoholism and drug dependence are stigmatizing illnesses. They believe that without these strict confidentiality laws and regulations, chemical dependents would not enter or fully benefit from treatment.

According to Inciardi, Surratt and Saum (1997), public policy toward prenatal substance abuse needs to move in the direction of rehabilitative and social services. The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that addiction is an illness and not willful, criminal behavior. The American Medical Association has recommended a medical rather than a punitive approach to maternal drug use (Inciardi, Surratt and Saum, 1997). The general assumption for those in favor of a punitive approach is that pregnant women willfully and criminally choose to hurt their fetus through the ingestion of damaging substances. Inciardi, Surratt and Saum (1997) mention a study that found that pregnant women seeking chemical dependency treatment to be motivated because they don’t want to harm their child/children. Education to pregnant women and the general public is also recommended to clear up misperceptions about the effects of different substances on the fetus. One study found that 90% of women knew that alcohol was harmful to the fetus in the first trimester, and less than 50% knew that it was harmful in the second and third trimesters. Inciardi, Surratt and Saum (1997) consider this information vital to high-risk populations as well as to the public.
Here are some examples of state legislation that support pregnant women in seeking chemical dependency treatment. (Steinberg and Gehshan, 2000):

**Arkansas**

Ark. Code Ann 20.85.101 Creates a cooperative program with the University of Arkansas for medical Sciences called the Family Treatment and Rehabilitation Program for Addicted Women and their Children. Charges the program with “develop[ing] a statewide program of treatment, rehabilitation, prevention, intervention and relevant research” on maternal drug use as well as “resources for local treatment and rehabilitation.”

**Colorado**

Colo. Rev. Stat. 25-1-212 Creates special treatment programs for women who abuse drugs while pregnant.

**Connecticut**

Conn. Gen. Stat 17a-710, 711 Requires the Dept. of health to provide care to pregnant women who are addicted to drugs or alcohol.

**Delaware**

Del. Code Ann. tit. 16,190, tit. 24, 1770 Requires any professional who treats or counsels pregnant women to warn them of the dangers of abusing alcohol, cocaine, marijuana or other narcotics while pregnant.

**Florida**

Fla. Stat. Ann. 381.0045 Creates the Targeted Outreach for Pregnant Women Program, a two-year pilot program that involves outreach, education and peer and cultural counseling and encourages HIV testing.

**Georgia**

Louisiana

La. Rev. Stat. Ann 46-2505 Adopts explicitly a state policy of addressing prenatal substance abuse through prevention and treatment rather than punitive measures. Instructs the Department of Health and Hospitals to structure appropriate programs and combat the public perception that substance abuse during pregnancy is a problem only among minority populations.

Maryland

Md. Code Ann., Health-Gen. 8-403.1 Requires state-operated drug abuse treatment centers to accept pregnant or postpartum women on priority basis.

Minnesota

Minn. Stat. 254B.01 Requires treatment initiatives for pregnant women to include halfway houses, aftercare psychiatric services and case management.

Missouri

Mo. Rev. Stat. 191.725 et seq. Requires doctors to be educated about the dangers of prenatal substance abuse and to counsel patients about prenatal substance abuse. Grants pregnant women priority at drug treatment centers. Establishes a hotline on prenatal substance use. Mandates that other services addressing the issue shall be offered.

Oklahoma

Okla. Stat. Tit. 43A 3-417 Requires alcohol and other drug abuse treatment centers to have adequate services for pregnant women, including residential treatment centers.

Pennsylvania

71 Pa. Cons. Stat. 553 Requires the office of Drug and Alcohol Programs, in conjunction with the Department of Health, to create a residential program for pregnant women and mothers with dependent children.
Washington

Wash. Rev. Code. 70.83C.020 Outlines prenatal substance abuse prevention strategies. Requires the secretary of the department of Social Health Services to develop a strategy for three pilot programs, to locate pregnant women using drugs, educate them about the health risks to them and their fetuses, and refer them to treatment.

Wash. Rev. Code. 74.09.790 Specifies that the Maternity Care Access Program must provide services for women addicted or at risk for addiction to alcohol or other drugs.

For punishment

Steinberg and Gehshan (2000) state that a statute criminalizing drug addiction during pregnancy would criminalize the woman’s status and identity rather than a specific criminal act. Some state district attorneys who have tried to hold pregnant women because of their drug use encounter problems due to the language of the statutes or laws in defining a fetus as a minor. Steinberg and Gehshan (2000) consider this to be the reason such prosecutions are avoided.

According to Inciardi, Surratt, and Saum (1997) the most common way of prosecuting women who use drugs during pregnancy is through abuse and neglect statutes. They discuss the first prosecution of a woman using this approach in 1977(Reyes v. California). Ms. Reyes had given birth to twins, whom were both born addicted to heroin. They attempted to prosecute her under child endangerment laws, but the conviction was overturned due to the statute not being applied to fetuses.

The central issues with the Reyes case and a majority of abuse and neglect prosecutions are (a) whether the fetus can be considered a “child” in the
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tradition of state child abuse-neglect laws and (b) whether prenatal conduct can be considered an appropriate criterion for the determination of abuse and neglect sanctions. Most convictions of pregnant women who used drugs during pregnancies are successfully appealed. High courts suggest states to pass legislation that specifically establishes the fetus as a person (Inciardi, Surratt, and Saum, 1997).

States have also attempted prosecution of women by charging them with manslaughter and homicide based on drug use during pregnancies. A 1989 case, Alaska v. Grubbs, actually convicted a woman for the death of her cocaine-exposed child. She spent six months in jail and received probation. Another type of prosecution for pregnant women is using laws of trafficking and delivery of drugs to minors.

In 1989, Florida v. Johnson was the first case to successfully prosecute a woman under a drug delivery statute. Ms. Johnson had given birth to children who were found to be positive for cocaine. Prosecutors argued that the child is considered a minor immediately following birth and that the 60 seconds after birth, before the cord was cut, Ms. Johnson had delivered cocaine to the “minor”. Ms. Johnson received 15 years probation. The conviction was then overturned in 1992 due to the fact that the statute did not indicate delivery through the umbilical cord (Inciardi, Surratt, and Saum, 1997).
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Drug Testing and Constitutional Rights

Bornstein (2003) discusses a case involving the fourth amendment. He contends that policies that require drug testing and possible prosecution of pregnant women raise serious issues regarding women’s constitutional rights. These types of policies add a new “wrinkle” by potentially infringing on pregnant women’s rights. In Ferguson v. City of Charleston (March 2001), the Supreme Court struck down a South Carolina’s policy of testing pregnant women for cocaine use and turning positive results over to law enforcement for prosecution. This policy:

“(a) Established procedures for identifying and testing pregnant patients suspected of drug use;(b) required that a chain of custody be followed when obtaining and testing urine samples;(c) provided for education and treatment referral for patients who tested positive (d) contained guidelines for arrested patients who tested positive; and (e) prescribed prosecutions for drug offenses or child neglect depending on the stage of pregnancy.”

Due to the policy, thirty arrests were made. Of the thirty patients arrested, ten were plaintiffs/petitioners in the suit. They sued on the grounds that testing for drugs and turning the results over to police for possible prosecution violated their Fourth Amendment right against unreasonable search and seizure, that medical personnel committed tort of abuse in the process in administration of the policy, and that the policy discriminated against minority women. All of the drug tests were administered without patients consent.
In order for a testing policy to be successful, Bornstein (2003) suggests a policy that requires patients explicit consent to giving the police access to their test results (Although would result in some patients not seeking prenatal care). A less discretionary policy, such as testing for all pregnant patients, is also suggested to reduce hospitals discrimination of poor and African American patients. Regardless of suggestions for a successful policy, Bornstein (2003) argues that implementing such a policy would have a negative impact on pregnant substance abusers utilization of prenatal care.

Here are some examples of state legislation that support the prosecution of chemical dependent pregnant women (Steinberg and Gehshan, 2000):

**Arizona**

Ariz. Rev. Stat. Ann. 13-620(B) Requires health professionals who have reason to believe that a newborn has been affected by drugs and alcohol to report their findings to child protective services.

**California**

Cal. Penal Code 11165.13 Mandates that a positive toxicology screen at the time of a child’s delivery triggers a needs assessment.

**Florida**

Fla. Stat. Ann. 39.01(30)(g) Includes prenatal substance use under the definition of “harm” to child.

**Illinois**

Ill. Comp. Stat. Ann. ch. 325 para. 3-5 Defines neglect of a child to include prenatal substance abuse, as evidenced by a positive toxicology at birth in the bloodstream or meconium.
Indiana

Ind. Code 31-34-1-10 Defines “child in need of services” to include children born to a mother using drugs or alcohol.

Iowa

Iowa Code 232.68 (2)(f) Includes incidents where “an illegal drug is present in a child’s body as a direct and foreseeable consequence of the acts or omissions of the person responsible for the care of the child” under the definition of “child abuse.”

Iowa Code 232.77 (2) Instructs attending physicians to conduct a “medically relevant test” on children they suspect have been exposed to drugs or alcohol and report their findings to the state.

Maryland

Md. Code Ann. Cts. & Jud. Proc 3-801 Creates the legal presumption that any child born addicted to cocaine, heroin or derivatives is not receiving “ordinary proper care and attention.”

Massachusetts

Mass. Gen. L. ch. 119, 51A Requires that children found to be addicted at birth be reported as abuse children.

Nevada

Nev. Rev. Stat. 200.220 Defines prenatal substance abuse as manslaughter only if the mother intended to abort the fetus through drug use and the fetus was viable at the time of drug use.

South Carolina

S.C. Code Ann. 20-1-736 Establishes that children are presumed to be neglected and unable to be protected from further harm without being removed from the custody of the mother if either mother or child is found to have any amount of alcohol or controlled substance in their bodies at the time of the child’s birth.
Texas

Tex. Fam. Code Ann. 261.001(7) Defines “born addicted to alcohol or a controlled substance” as substance abuse. The statute describing “child abuse or neglect,” however, does not explicitly include children born addicted.

Virginia

Va. Code Ann. 16. 1-241.3 Establishes that a positive screen for controlled substances forms the basis for a suspicion that a child is abused or neglected.

Wisconsin

Wis. Stat. 48.01 et seq. The state of Wisconsin has rewritten its entire Children’s Code such that all its provisions concerning custody, child abuse, termination of parental rights and all other provisions explicitly include unborn children and/or pregnant women where applicable. Both the code and revisions are extensive.

Conclusion

The issue of chemical dependent pregnant women is important because not much attention has been devoted to it (Steinberg and Gehshan, 2000). Punishment of chemical dependent pregnant women has been shown to deter them from needed prenatal and medical treatment, as well as treatment for their addictions. Chemical Dependent pregnant women receiving treatment is vital due to studies that show infants are born healthier with higher birth weights and in effect require less medical attention (Krupski, 2004). The best option for this population is treatment that is comprehensive in nature. Providing family-centered services, such as day care, promoting self-esteem, coping skills and general mental health in the mothers and addressing other needs such as
transportation and nutrition are all predictive of successful treatment outcomes (Bornstein, 2003).

The policies focusing on treatment are helpful in that they get to the heart of the problem. Punishment of pregnant women due to their drug and alcohol use doesn’t address the true problem of addiction. Having laws that require health care systems to report suspected drug use as child abuse breaks patient–doctor confidentiality. This makes it so that even women who seek prenatal care may not disclose their use of drugs to their doctors.

Drug policies need to be implemented by the law, as hospitals should only provide medical services. The teaming up of the healthcare system and the legal system doesn’t constitute a good arrangement for patients and their rights. The move for legislature has been to define a fetus as a minor in the books so prosecution of the mother can occur. Many states consider punishment to be the best way to fix the problem of drug and alcohol use during pregnancy.

In conclusion, the focus should not be on punishing the chemical dependent pregnant woman but on getting them to stop their drug and alcohol use. Studies on interventions that have helped reduce maternal drug use have shown that a fetus has a better birth outcome (Fischer et al., 2000). Legislature should be used for passing laws that will help motivate and educate chemical dependent pregnant women on seeking treatment.
References:


The Mythic Construction of Terror and the Acceptability of War as Response: A Rhetorical Examination of the Conflict in Iraq

Topic Area: Communication

Keywords: Conflict, Myth, Rhetoric, War

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A Paper Abstract Prepared for
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The Mythic Construction of Terror and the Acceptability of War as Response: A Rhetorical Examination of the Conflict in Iraq

(Abstract)

Bormann’s (1972; 1985) theory of Symbolic Convergence addresses how people organize not only their communication but world views in times of stress or discontent. The role of the mythic is used to help explain how persons’ communication uncovers their views and desires to find order and meaning in perceived chaotic or crisis situations. This paper applies Bormann’s theory to explain how War becomes an attractive mythic structure that is an acceptable, and even favorable, reaction to human’s construction of fears and uncertainty. Specifically the mythic construction of the “War on Terror” as a basis for societal consent to go to war in Iraq is analyzed, and the construction of the myths utilized and embraced by the public are rhetorically examined. The role of the rhetorical scapegoat, as developed by Burke (1968), emerges as a central figure in the mythic constructions.

References


Diversity in Debate: Reasons for Limited Asian-American Participation in Intercollegiate Debate

Topic Area: Communication

Keywords: argumentation and debate, culture, Asian American, forensics

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Diversity in Debate: Reasons for Limited Asian-American Participation in Intercollegiate Debate

(Abstract)

Culture has been ascertained as an important factor relating to the comfort that one has in argumentative situations (Kim, 2002; Yeh & Chen, 2004). That comfort with argument and the likelihood to approach argumentative situations has impacts on the participation of a variety of students in intercollegiate forensics competition. This study is a follow up to the pilot survey on Asian-American college students’ inclination to argue (Woods & Wang, In press). The present research advances the pilot by increasing the sample size, and introduces a control group of non-Asian American college students for purposes of isolating the variable of cultural influence and measuring the strength of cultural impacts upon individuals’ tendency to participate in argumentative situations. By employing a survey instrument relating to competitive debate along with Infante and Rancer’s (1982) instrument on argument approachability (1982), this study further verifies the effects of culture upon individuals’ argumentative propensity and the differences between Asian and Western college students in approaching arguments and in their participation in debate.
Diversity in Debate: Reasons for Limited Asian-American Participation in Intercollegiate Debate

A good part of Western education in fact consists of teaching children how to generate arguments and counter-arguments concerning a given position. In contrast, there is very little emphasis on construction counter-arguments in the Asian tradition.

--Kaiping Peng & Richard Nisbett (1999, p. 748)

As American society rapidly moves from a “melting pot” to a multi-cultural society, cultural diversity is quickly becoming a reality in citizens’ daily life. This social cultural change has, to some extent, been reflected in American institutions of higher education as students of diverse cultural backgrounds participate in all fields, areas, and disciplines of intellectual inquiry. In the area of argumentation and debate, however, there is a severe lack of participation from students with Asian cultural backgrounds (Woods & Wang, 2003; In Press) as the great majority of forensic programs in the United States remain attractive mostly to Caucasian students with Western cultural upbringing. To increase active participation from Asian-American students, for instance, has been a significant challenge to forensic educators in the United States for some time. Assuming diverse student participation is an element of strength in American intercollegiate forensic programs, the real test facing forensic educators may lie in the obtainment of an understanding of the cultural barriers that have prevented Asian-American students from
participating in intercollegiate debate. Being informed of the reasons accounting for the lack of Asian-American student participation is indeed a necessary and important step before diversity in intercollegiate forensic program can be encouraged and effectively increased.

The purpose of this paper is to extend the pilot study run by Woods and Wang (2003) to ascertain further the impact of cultural upbringing upon Asian-American students’ attitudes toward, perceptions of, and personal involvement in argumentation and debate. Our primary interest lies in the discovery of the strength and magnitude of the influences of students’ cultural backgrounds on their propensity to argue and debate. We are also interested in uncover the reasons, if there are such reasons, that have discouraged Asian-American students from being personally involved in intercollegiate forensic programs. By utilizing a survey of Asian as well as Caucasian college students who were participants of intercollegiate forensic programs and students who were not involved in debate, we hope to reveal subjects’ argumentative traits and characteristics. Further comparison of the data collected enables us to gain knowledge and information leading to better understanding of the cultural obstacles standing between Asian-American students and their active participation in intercollegiate debate programs.

In Western cultures such as the United States and Canada, the tradition of argumentation and debate dates back to the ancient Greeks (Tannen, 2002). In fact, Peng & Nisbett (1999) argued that one of the essential elements of a Western education is the teaching of competencies relevant to the development of arguments and counterarguments. By the time a Western individual completes post secondary
education, constructing arguments and counterarguments will have become a natural
talent or, in Nisbett’s (2006) words, a “second nature to Westerners” as he explains:

The tradition of debate goes hand in hand with certain style of rhetoric in
the law and in science. The rhetoric of scientific papers consists of an overview
of the ideas to considered, a description of the relevant basic theories, a specific
hypothesis, a statement of the methods and justification of them, a presentation of
the evidence produced by the methods, and argument as to why the evidence
supports the hypothesis, a refutation of possible counterarguments, a reference
back to the basic theory, and a comment on the larger territory of which the article
is a part. For Americans, this rhetoric is constructed bit by bit from nursery
school through college. By the time they are graduate students, it is second nature
(p. 110-111).

On the other hand, the lack of argumentation and debate in Eastern countries
such as Japan and China has generally been attributed to Asian histories, languages,
philosophies, and religions (Becker, 1991). Even in modern Asia, the practice of
argumentation and debate involving face-to-face confrontation and refutation is still far
from being popular as Asian cultures emphasize group harmony and collective interests
(Kim, 2002). Nisbett (2006) argues that “the whole rhetoric of argumentation that is
second nature to Westerners is largely absent in Asia” (p. 110). In his discussion on the
inseparability of meaning and context, Edward T. Hall (1994) also argues that in high
context cultures such as China, Japan, and Korea, a large proportion of communicative
meanings rely on the context rather than the spoken word. Thus, implicit
communication, (*Han Xu*, a mode of communication that is reserved and indirect), Gao
(1998) asserts, is the preferred mode of communication for Chinese people. Han Xu, argued Yu and Gu (1990), is such an appropriate and widely acceptable form of communication that it is considered by the Chinese a fundamental character of their society and culture. The consequence of such an implicit mode of communication is often considered primary reason to account for the Chinese indirect expression. Gao (1998), on the other hand, proposes that “direct expressions in Chinese culture tend not to carry the same weight or be as meaningful as those that are indirect” (p. 171). To people in Asia, verbal interactions are intend for creating harmony in the group, maintaining interpersonal and inter-group relationships, and promoting collective interests. Gao (1998) thus claims that “the primary functions of communication in Chinese culture are to maintain exiting relationships among individuals, to reinforce role and status differences, and to preserve harmony within the group” (p.168).

Although the generally negative feelings of people in Asian cultures toward debate and argumentation are apparent and not difficulty to understand, there is no certainty that such cultural attitudes, perceptions, beliefs and values will be maintained and passed over to the next generation when cultural contexts are altered. Specifically, in the interest of this study, when Asians migrated to a culture such as the United States where argumentation and debate is strongly encouraged, will their attitudes toward, perceptions of, and involvement in argumentation and debate be changed as well? Assuming most Asian-American students were born and raised in a competitive environment that characterizes North American countries such as the United States, will their traditional cultures still impact upon their thoughts and behaviors in respect to participation in intercollegiate debate. Hence, it is of importance to ask:
(1) How argumentative are Asian-American students (non-debaters) as compared to their Caucasian counterparts?

(2) How argumentative are Asian American student debaters as compared with their Caucasian counterparts?

(3) What are Asian American students’ attitudes toward intercollegiate debate?

(4) What is Asian American students’ general perception of intercollegiate debate programs?

Methods

Procedure

Focusing on a control group of non-debating college students, and increasing the pool of debaters overall were the groups of interest to this study to help round out the data from the pilot study. A 20 item survey instrument was utilized and given to all participants. They were told their participation was voluntary and results would be anonymous. Students taking a communication class from a northwest campus were given the instrument, and random participants at the 2005 National Parliamentary Debate Tournament were surveyed. There was no attempt to target specific variables related to ethnicity, nationality, gender or other factor.
Participants

64 new survey responses were collected from debaters and non-debaters. These new survey responses were pooled with data collected previously to make a total n of 98. Of the total respondents 58 were female and 40 were male. The data was initially sorted into 3 groups: Asians (n=12), Debaters (n=45), and a control group of non-Asians and non-debaters (n=41). 3 surveys were thrown out from the control group because of incomplete data. If someone in the control group survey set indicated debate experience they were placed in the debater group.

The Survey Instrument

A survey questionnaire was utilized identical to the pilot study to collect information on students’ ethnic and cultural backgrounds along with questions that would determine respondents’ argumentativeness (c.f., Appendix ). Ethnic and cultural information was collected by having the respondents self identify rather than having them select from pre-set categories. The instrument incorporated in the survey to measure participants’ argumentativeness was developed by Infante and Rancer (1982) which asks questions that relate to tendency to approach arguments (ARGap) or avoid them (ARGav). The argumentativeness trait is determined by subtracting avoidance from approach (ARGgt = ARGap - ARGav). Subsequent applications and analyses of Infante and Rancer’s argumentative scale have consistently indicated high level of reliability and validity (Canary, Cunningham, and Cody 1988; Graham, 1994; Hample and Dallinger 1987; Infante and Gordon 1985; Infante and Rancer 1982; Rancer, Baukus and Infante 1985). For instance, Rancer, Baukus and Infante (1985) reported a coefficient alpha of .86 for
ARGap and .84 for ARGav dimension of the scale. For this study the original twenty
questions of the scale measuring argumentativeness were incorporated in its entirety.
Survey results were tabulated and ARGgt was calculated for each respondent group.

Results and Discussion

Table 1: Results by response group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Overall N</th>
<th>ARGgt</th>
<th>Female N</th>
<th>Female ARGgt</th>
<th>Male N</th>
<th>Male ARGgt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>8.12</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6.75</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians*</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-.3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>n/c</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>n/c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debaters*</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>17.55</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17.647</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall*</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>11.418</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>9.05</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15.125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* includes new survey respondents and those from the pilot study pooled
n/c not calculated given size of sample

As was expected in the pilot study, the distinction between the argumentativeness
of Asians is disparate when compared to the control group, not just the debate group.
Debaters are more argumentative than the control group, and the difference between the
control group and debaters is about the same as control group to Asians. The score range
possible being from -40 (highest argument avoidance) and +40 (highest argument
approach) suggests that entering into an argument is more likely for the non-Asian
groups. The argumentativeness score indicates that Asians are more likely to be neutral
in preferring to approach or avoid an argument, where Caucasian/European American
students might be slightly more likely to approach an argument, with debaters more than
likely to approach and argument rather than avoid it.
Such results tend to support the analysis that culturally Asians are not likely to consider argument a preferable form of interaction. Even non-debater Caucasian students (the control group) were more likely to consider argument an acceptable behavior.

While not part of the original question, the data did provide the ability to compare ARGgt over two other variables that reflect a differentiation along a cultural basis. Most clear is the difference between males and females. Overall males had higher ARGgt scores in the groups identified, except debaters. The distinction in the control group is a factor of 7, which is nearly as great as the difference between Asians and non-Asians. The male ARGgt of the control group is actually closer to that of the debate group than it is to non-debate females.

While not within the scope of this study’s literature base, there is a basis in constructing the concept of gender as a cultural issue. Given that cultural realization, there is also a basis in viewing Western culture as favoring male assertiveness over females exhibiting the same behavior.

Interestingly, women debaters were slightly more, or nearly identical, in argumentativeness to male debaters. Given that debate is an activity in which one can self-select being a participant in, it is likely that rather than “making” women more argumentative, debate attracts already argumentative participants both male and female. Though, given that greater number of males who have higher argumentativeness scores in the group, there are more likely more males who would find the activity of debate more accessible or in line with their interests.
A second variable that could be tested for is that of age. While the numbers are not as strong and the distinctions in age not nearly as dichotomous as gender, there is still a difference worth noting.

Table 2: ARGgt by Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>ARGgt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All 18-21*+</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>8.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All 22 &amp; Over*</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* includes new survey respondents and those from the pilot study pooled
+ one respondent did not include age making n=97

Overall, the older a respondent was the more argumentative they were likely to be. It could be as persons get older they have become desensitized to argument, that they have built up more experience in argument, or that they have higher status in society and more social power so a positive outcome may be more likely when engaging in argument. But in all those explanations, cultural understanding is consistent with such a finding.

Conclusion

A strong result appears for the first research question in that Asians do not seem as argumentative as either non-Asian college students or debaters. However, there are distinct limits to answering the remaining questions. Given the lack of Asian and Asian-American participants in debate it is not possible to determine adequately their argumentativeness for comparison. While a random sample of debaters was taken (in
2005) and a convenience sample in the pilot (2003), it appears that direct targeting of Asian participants in debate is required to get enough respondents in that category to assess more accurately the status of their ARGgt.

There seems to be a rationale for the lack of participation given the attitudes revealed by the survey, but further data may be informative. As in the case of females, while in the control group they score a lower ARGgt score, female debaters are equal to or slightly higher in ARGgt score than males. It may true with Asians as well that those who are naturally more argumentative may find debate participation more attractive. Another explanation could be that participation in debate makes students more argumentative. In order to test this hypothesis more detailed data about length of participation would need to be collected to see if Asians or females enter debate less argumentative and increase, or if they enter with an already high ARGgt level.

The survey also was not able to effectively address issues of Asian attitude toward debate (questions 3 & 4). While the new survey did include questions regarding reasons for participation, no students who took the new survey identified themselves as Asian, so no attitudes could be ascertained.

Ultimately, such information can be used to help build diversity in participation in debate programs. If it can be determined why or why not participation in debate is attractive, new ways to encourage participation can be pursued.

As American debate professionals continue to expand Western style debate outside U. S. borders, more and more interaction with other cultures will add to the knowledge base. There have been programs for debate established in Asia for quite a while in Japan, and there is a growing interest in debate in Korea and China.
This research needs further exploration, and the logical expansion points toward including Asians in other countries, not just Asian students studying in America, or Asian-American students.

As debate comes to be taught to other cultures, an understanding and sensitivity to other cultures is necessary. While the method may not be altered, the means by which it is explained and carried out may need to be modified to have the best translation into new contexts. It may also be important to increase awareness of the trainers to the cultural aspects of argument that they may be taking for granted that need a better context and rationale. It may also be critical to explain argument in debate as a process, and not necessarily as a model for social or inter-personal interaction. Just as the scientific method has specific application, the method of debate may be useful for some issues and conflicts, but not for all.
References


Appendix

Questionnaire

Instructions: This questionnaire contains statements about arguing controversial issues. Indicate how often each statement is true for you personally by choosing the appropriate number. Remember, consider each item in terms of arguing controversial issues.

1. While in an argument, I worry that the person I am arguing with will form a negative impression of me.
   - never true
   - rarely true
   - occasionally true
   - often true
   - almost always true

2. Arguing over controversial issues improves my intelligence.
   - never true
   - rarely true
   - occasionally true
   - often true
   - almost always true

3. I enjoy avoiding arguments.
   - never true
   - rarely true
   - occasionally true
   - often true
   - almost always true

4. I am energetic and enthusiastic when I argue.
   - never true
   - rarely true
   - occasionally true
   - often true
   - almost always true

5. Once I finish an argument I promise myself that I will not get into another.
   - never true
   - rarely true
   - occasionally true
   - often true
   - almost always true

6. Arguing with a person creates more problems for me than it solves.
   - never true
   - rarely true
   - occasionally true
   - often true
   - almost always true

7. I have a pleasant, good feeling when I win a point in an argument.
   - never true
   - rarely true
   - occasionally true
   - often true
   - almost always true

8. When I finish arguing with someone I feel nervous and upset.
   - never true
   - rarely true
   - occasionally true
   - often true
   - almost always true

9. I enjoy a good argument over a controversial issue.
   - never true
   - rarely true
   - occasionally true
   - often true
   - almost always true

10. I get an unpleasant feeling when I realize I am about to get into an argument.
    - never true
    - rarely true
    - occasionally true
    - often true
    - almost always true

11. I enjoy defending my point of view on an issue.
    - never true
    - rarely true
    - occasionally true
    - often true
    - almost always true

12. I am happy when I keep an argument from happening.
    - never true
    - rarely true
    - occasionally true
    - often true
    - almost always true

13. I do not like to miss the opportunity to argue a controversial issue.
    - never true
    - rarely true
    - occasionally true
    - often true
    - almost always true

14. I prefer being with people who rarely disagree with me.
    - never true
    - rarely true
    - occasionally true
    - often true
    - almost always true

15. I consider an argument an exciting intellectual challenge.
    - never true
    - rarely true
    - occasionally true
    - often true
    - almost always true

16. I find myself unable to think of effective points during an argument.
    - never true
    - rarely true
    - occasionally true
    - often true
    - almost always true

17. I feel refreshed and satisfied after an argument on a controversial issue.
    - never true
    - rarely true
    - occasionally true
    - often true
    - almost always true

18. I have the ability to do well in an argument.
    - never true
    - rarely true
    - occasionally true
    - often true
    - almost always true

19. I try to avoid getting into arguments.
    - never true
    - rarely true
    - occasionally true
    - often true
    - almost always true

20. I feel excitement when I expect that a conversation I am in is leading to an argument.
    - never true
    - rarely true
    - occasionally true
    - often true
    - almost always true
Title of the submission: Private business associations in Shanghai: evidence of corporatism or civil society?

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Abstract

After Chinese leaders adopted “open door” policy in 1978, post-Mao society has seen a revitalization of the role of “associations” (xiehui). Extensive, if incomplete, decentralization of the economy and concomitant strengthening of economic actors during the last two decades and a half have allowed this limited, Chinese-style associational life to emerge. But do post-Mao associations truly and autonomously promote the interests of their members and reflect, as some have suggested, the emergence of “civil society” in China? Or do associations simultaneously exhibit elements of both state-domination and autonomy?

This research intends to examine the private business associations in Shanghai. Three associations are selected: they are Federation of Industry and Commerce, Self-Employed Laborers Association and Private Enterprise Association. This research aims at gathering enough data and finding out whether a civil society is being generated in contemporary China or the associations reflect the characteristics of corporatist nature.

In order to fully understand the relationship between the three private business associations and the state, the following questions need to be answered:
1. What are the functions and role of the three associations? Is there any functional change compared to earliest establishment?
2. What is the operation process of the three associations (eg. staff appointment, member recruitment, funding and spending, and etc)?
3. What is the relationship between the three associations and their supervision unit?
4. Can the three associations represent their members’ interest and how do the members think it?
5. Is there any relationship between the three associations? If yes, what kind of relationship, competition or cooperation or others?

Theory of civil society and corporatism will be used as the theoretical framework, as they are frequently being used to explain the changing state-society relationship in China by most scholars. I intend to look at whether these two theories can be applied to explain the relationship between private business associations and the state.

Because of the limited time and manpower, the study just focuses on one selected city—Shanghai and its different districts. A qualitative interview will be adopted to collect data. Shanghai has eighteen districts and each district has its own federation of industry and commerce, self-employed laborers association and private enterprise association. Five out of eighteen districts will be selected as the target of interview, plus the three business associations at city level.
Title: Between Perceived Personal Control and Mental Health: An Investigation into Cultural Differences

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ABSTRACT

The classic stress process theory suggests a negative relationship between self-concepts and stress outcomes. First, life events and chronic strains result in a diminishment of self—i.e. mastery and self-esteem—which will directly lead to a higher level of psychological distress. Second, the sense of personal control buffers the negative impact of stressors upon mental health. Although studies carried out in Western countries have confirmed the validity of these two claims, little attention has been paid to cultural variations. Yet it is essential to apply mainstream presumption to a growing body of immigrants of various ethnicities in the U.S. This paper explores conceptually how cultural factors moderate the relationship between life events, perceived personal control, and psychological distress. Cultural values other than social locations determine whether an individual tends to possess internal or external control. Moreover, the effectiveness of personal control varies by cultural ideology and social control. The mitigating effect of perceived control found in one culture may be counteracted by a set of values in another culture. Furthermore, the occurrence of a diminishment of self out of negative life events depends on how people evaluate noxious circumstances. The inclusion of cultural factors into the stress process model has implications on clinic counseling for ethnic minorities.
1. Title of the submission:
Communication within Interlingual Families: A Comparative Study of Japanese-Filipino and Japanese-English Families in Japan

2. Name(s) of the author(s):
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6. Abstract and/or full paper:

(Abstract) The present study investigates how parental native languages are used in interlingual families, where two or more languages are involved. In analyzing data collected from two different groups of interlingual families in Japan, namely Japanese-Filipino (J-Fi) and Japanese-English (JE) families, some intriguing group differences are found in regard to their language use: (1) the J-Fi families use the societal language much more than the JE families do in their communication among themselves; (2) the J-Fi families employ, either exclusively or complementarily, one or more languages not native to either of the parents (La), while none of the JE families use languages other than the parental native languages.

The analysis also found a significant group difference in assessing the general Japanese perception of bilingualism in their own native languages and in their bilingual child-rearing.

Conjoining with the author's previous findings (Yamamoto, 2001, 2003, in press), the present findings strongly suggest that how languages are used in interlingual families is language-sensitive, interrelating with the perceived prestige and possible merits of proficiency in a given language.
BRIEF COUNSELING
ANALYSIS OF A CROSS-CULTURAL COUNSELING SESSION

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Abstract

In the past several years, the ethnic variable in counseling and psychotherapy has received increased attention. An awareness of the differences and similarities between Eastern and Western psychological paradigms is an important first step toward more therapeutically effective outcomes in counseling Eastern clients. Counselors should be willing to attain more specific information on appropriate therapeutic techniques, depending on the acculturation levels of individual client, in order to enhance the effectiveness of counseling session when meeting Eastern clients.

The international student population in the United States has experienced phenomenal growth over the last four decades. In addition to the educational and vocational decisions that all students must make, international students must acquire linguistic and daily living skills, integrate new values, and adapt socially. Hence the international students constitute a population with its own special requirements for counseling services. The need for professional counseling assistance in American universities is often greater among foreign students than American students. This is particularly true for students from oriental cultures. The Asian values of reserve, restraint of strong feelings, and subtleness in approaching problems may come into conflict with Western therapists and counselors who expect their clients to exhibit openness, psychological mindedness, and assertiveness. For culturally effective counseling, counselors should possess an understanding of their own basic tendencies, the way in which they comprehend other cultures and the limits that places on their
comprehension. According to Root (1985), brief therapy is a positive model for Asian-Americans in terms of their expectations of counseling.

The basic purpose of interventions in brief counseling is to help clients “do something differently.” As a strategic system process, brief counseling is a concise, action-oriented method that incorporates a solution-focused approach within a limited time frame. Brief counseling models have required that counselors employ an appropriate theoretical orientation and specialized techniques to help the client deal with his/her psychological problems within a time limit ranging from one to twenty sessions.

According to de Shazer (1985, 1988) there are several underlying themes in brief therapy. He believes that a counselor must understand the world view and values of the client, then help the client delineate the problem and set a specific goal. He suggested that “how” questions are better than “why” questions when working with what the client presents. Instead of emphasizing the problem, the counselor and client simply focus on breaking the problem cycle and discover acceptable solutions. One special technique is to employ the client’s own strengths and resources. In addition, the emphasis on genuineness, positive regard, and empathy in the relationship is stressed.

Essentially brief therapy is distinguishable from other dynamically-oriented therapeutic modalities in its use of five dimensions: (1) setting a time limit; (2) rapid assessment; (3) developing a central focus; (4) monitoring the transference; (5) flexibility in interventions (Hersh & Taub-bynum, 1985). One major difference between brief therapy and other models lies in the brief therapist’s idea that no matter how awful and how complex the situation, a small change in one person’s involvement (de Shazer, Berg, Lipchik Nunnally, Molnar, Gingerich, & Weiner-Davis, 1986).

This study is an analysis of a brief counseling session with a Taiwanese student. The intent of this study is to look at use of a four-step brief counseling model that are: (1) helping the client define a problem in concrete terms; (2) investigating the client’s attempted solutions; (3) helping the client set a specific, realistic goal and (4) giving compliments and assigning an intervention task or homework assignment to assist the client in reaching the goal (Fisch, Weakland, & Segal, 1982; de Shazer, 1985, 1988); and the utilization of specific strategies, as well as cross-cultural awareness, in assisting the client to resolve her problem.
A Study of Troubleshooting Strategies on PLC Circuits

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1. Abstract
The objective of this research basis includes: 1. Discussing the trouble-shooting behavior of a group of successful students, 2. Drawing up PLC breakdown tree analysis strategy, 3. Comparing the troubleshooting result between the Experimental Group and the Control Group (dividing the research design into two measures, i.e. quality and quantity). For quality measures, the research adopted Thinking Aloud with clinical investigation observation law, 6 second year students from the Institute Of Technology Electrical Engineering Department were arranged to carry out the PLC troubleshooting experiment; Next, drawing up the PLC breakdown tree analysis – this portion is proposed by the researcher based on their PLC teaching experiences and the breakdown tree analytical method, and inviting experienced teachers who have PLC teaching experiences to participate in this discussion for the draw up. For quantity measures, the researcher will select another group of 48 students who were then be assigned to carry out the research. According to their “PLC practice” semester results, the students were divided into Experimental Group and Control Group, each group consists of 24 students. Before carrying out the actual experiment, the Experimental Group is required to undergo 6 hours of troubleshooting training, after which the researcher will assign the water level control circuit and the automatic valve control circuit, 2 breakdown spots were set up respectively in each control circuit, which two groups of students were to carry out the troubleshooting experiment separately.

The conclusion of this experiment is: searching and questioning helps in minimizing the problem space. Searching plays an important role in PLC troubleshooting; Questioning is the key attribute to problem solving, it helps to confirm the attribute of the problem, thus assisting in the classification of the problem. Measurement is another indispensable method in the trouble-shooting process. Incorporating the implementation of visual evaluation, it leads to the completion of troubleshooting cycle. The open-ended method is most commonly used in PLC troubleshooting strategy, followed by the comparison test, short-circuits law, and trial and error.

Regardless whether it is water level control circuit or automatic valve control circuit, more students from Experimental Group completed the research as compared to the Control Group. In terms of the overall time taken, Experimental group takes shorter time than the control group. The result of
this experiment shows that it is more efficient to use the breakdown tree analysis to perform the troubleshooting of the PLC control circuit.

Keywords: PLC, breakdown tree analysis, and troubleshooting.

2. Plan Reason & Goal

Currently, information processing has become the mainstream in problem-solving research. With the influence of this theory, science education research has gradually got rid of supposition test and statistical pattern. Though common education research and its correlation research are becoming a rare scene, researchers believed that problem solving and its correlation research technique are working towards the quality of a research. “Thinking Aloud” in targeted research, as its language spoken, is receiving the attention of problem solving researcher (Schoenfeld, 1985). Piaget believed that the development of cognitive psychology research has clearly demonstrated that clinical investigation can be used as the foundation for scientific research.

Raising the ability in problem solving has become an important topic in today’s education. Teaching the technique of troubleshooting has become part of the problem solving training for every technical student. As troubleshooting in its correlation research stood the minority in local and foreign engineering education domain, this research will target towards PLC control circuit. By recording the troubleshooting behavior of the students in a targeted research, followed by troubleshooting analysis argument, it constructs the PLC strategy, untying the knot faced in the difficulty in troubleshooting, thus improving the method in technical teaching, as well as the efficiency in learning.

The process of troubleshooting is actually a course of minimizing a problem space: from a big space to a small space, from a big system to the diagnosis of a small component. From the strategy of minimizing a problem space, it can clearly demonstrate the important factor in the success or failure of a troubleshooting process. This research combines the troubleshooting tree analysis in minimizing a problem space. In addition, the researcher suggested the troubleshooting strategy to go through a number of experimental researches, and coordinate with the nature of “Thinking Aloud” research. In view of the PLC circuit system, researcher hopes to untie the knot faced in the difficulty of PLC troubleshooting by making use of troubleshooting experimental analysis, and exploring PLC circuit diagnosis behavior and strategy, thus guiding the diagnosis to reflect on the principles.

Based on the above summary, this research draws up the following goals:

i) Discussion on the trouble-shooting behavior of a group of successful students

ii) Drawing up the analysis on the breakdown of PLC strategy,

iii) Comparing the result of the troubleshooting experiment between the Experimental Group and the Control Group

3. Rationale

Troubleshooting is a continual problem solving process. The discussion of a problem solving should be annotated by problem space and the attribute of the problem. In addition, it should blend into the theory or principle of troubleshooting to continue the overall elaboration. Problem is composed by problem space, but problem space includes the initial state, goal state and
intermediate state. *Problem space is made up of the initial state, goal state, operating procedures and constrains* (Yang Kun Yuan, 1999; Glass & Holyoak, 1986; Hayes, 1989; Mayer, 1992); these characteristics define a problem. Problem can comprise of goal, useful resources and process and principles of deriving a solution. Problem solving is the use of past learning experiences and skills to derive a solution. Problem solving is a situation whereby the problem solver is faced with a given state and desired goal. Therefore, it is considered a process that starts from the initial state of a problem to the goal state. Troubleshooting is a one form of problem solving process. Troubleshooting also consists of the initial state and goal state. The initial state of troubleshooting takes the shape of the problem; and goal state refers to the normal operating situation after a problem is solved. The troubleshooter should be equipped with the necessary knowledge and skill, and have the ability to utilize the initiative cognition and verbalize his thought in order to troubleshoot a problem.

Representation is a general description of an object or behavior. A good representation helps in problem solving (Shi Chun Xie, 1999). Rasmussen & Jensen (1974) believed that representation of a problem is the key influence to troubleshooting process. Troubleshooting is actually a continual problem solving process, and the first step to problem solving is the representation of a problem. It comprised of the initial evaluation of a system, as well as any hypothesis that can solve a problem. Representation is helpful in providing a concise understanding of a system. In cognition analysis, most scholars agreed that problem solving can be divided into 2 phases, i.e. representing the problem and search for means to solve a problem. Therefore, difficulty in problem solving mainly occurs in the problem representation phase (Mayer, 1985). The formation of problem representation is the first step in problem solving. According to the theory of information processing, representation means one object replacing another. Representation of a system should consists of 5 essential factors (Luo Su Zhen, 1994; Rumelhart & Norman, 1988); 1. Represented the world, 2. Representing the world, 3. What levels has the represented world to represent? 4. Does the represented world have the levels to represent? 5. What is the corresponding relationship between these two represented worlds?

When the troubleshooter performs the troubleshooting process, he can correctly identify the cause of the problem (the initial state of problem), which allows the problem space to become more apparent. The troubleshooter gradually reduces the scope of the problem space by series of operation, thus achieving the objective of troubleshooting. However, the troubleshooter will not be able to achieve the objective of the troubleshooting process if he started with a wrong representation of a problem, or failed to integrate the correct troubleshooting procedures, and overestimated the problem space.

A problem solver will usually form an initial representation when he encountered a problem. The formation of a representation derives of an individual’s experience or memory. It can also be derived from external representation. After forming the initial representation, he can follow up with the searching of the problem space, and finally the evaluate the method to solve the problem.

There are many ways for a problem to achieve the goal state from the initial state. All these possible ways are known as problem space, thus problem solving means a problem solver attempt
to find the correct solution in the problem space between the initial state and the goal state. Therefore, problem solving is a type of searching process (Zheng Li Yu, 1993). The important capability of a problem solver is to build the problem space in a complicated task environment. If he can correctly find the important information in the problem space, and explore the foundation that can help in solving the problem, problem can easily be solved (Newell & Simon, 1972).

According to a survey, it is pointed out that most troubleshooters can identity the problem that exists in the system. They often adopt hypothesis from their experiences into new circumstances that helps in diagnosing the problem. Although, these hypotheses are usually very effective, they can cause confusion during synchronization. The conformity of knowledge and design minimizes a problem space, leading to troubleshooting of possible problem, for e.g. disrepair after many years, environmental factors and etc. (Flesher, 1993).

Basic mental pattern or problem space representation are very important. Barlett (1958) mentioned that problem solvers often build their own set of reference rules. The quality of mental pattern affects the result of information obtains. Schlager, Means & Roth (1988) pointed out that when both experts and newcomers troubleshoot a complicated system, experts are able to make use of the entire system to minimize a problem space. On the other hand, the newcomers are not able to identity the correct problem space for a similar problem, and were lost in the complicated system.

Can troubleshooters accurately confirm the possibilities of a problem? Well, they often depend on the type of information they received to make the decision. In order to achieve their goals in troubleshooting, troubleshooters often have to eliminate the problem areas in order to minimize the problem space as they perform their diagnosis.

The drawing up of a problem space normally requires the coordination of information collected and the strategy in problem solving. Now, hypothesis is divided into four levels; (1) system, (2) subsystem, (3) equipment, (4) components. Taking “Unable to start a car” for example, first he has to get better understanding of the problem, he needs the information on; the sufficiency of the fuel, ignition switch, starter, oil gauge indication, sound of the engine when the car was started.

The core of the system whereby “Unable to start a car” is branched out into several subsystems, the hypothesis from the subsystems minimizes the possible problem space. If the initial diagnosis of the vehicle is “the motor is possibly not working”, the mechanics will derive hypothesis from the equipment that can minimize the problem space and perform further investigation on the breakdown of the components (Johnson et al., 1993). Problem solvers should be able to extract important information from the problem, and reorganize them in order to effectively and correctly proceed with the problem solving process (Bodner, 1987; Eysenck & Keane, 1990).

In summary, problem space refers to the individual’s understanding between the goal and the present situation. Old knowledge and experience builds the foundation of the construction process of a problem space. Problem representation is helpful in the classification of a problem. When problem representation is formed, problem solvers are able to utilize the rule of problem solving, at the same time promoting the result of the solution. Moreover, troubleshooting process is a continual course of minimizing the problem space, from big space to small space, from big system to diagnosis of small components. The demonstration of strategy in minimizing a problem space
will affect the success or failure of a troubleshooting process. Problem representation is the first step in troubleshooting process. If the troubleshooters can grasp the correct problem representation and have a better understanding of the system, they are able to make use of the strategy in minimizing the problem space and expedite the process of achieving the goal.

4. Result and Discussion
This research first carries on the literature analysis by the researcher and reflect Polya (1945) proposal on the four stages problem solving strategy table, Schoenfeld (1985) proposal of problem solving stages and its correlated problem, as well as proposal on problem solving behavior and method, and analytical table by many local scholars like Lin Bi Zhen (1990), Yu Jing Tang (1999), Zhong Rui Guo (1997), Liu Xi Lin (1989). The spirit of problem solving construction, and its related troubleshooting theory and information (Johnson, 1993), takes the reference of this research.

This research is divided into 2 measures, quality and quantity. The quality experiment adopted Thinking Aloud with clinical investigation observation law. The result shows that the second year students from the Institute Of Technology Electrical Engineering Department were more superior. 15 students carried out the experiment. Only 6 students completed the troubleshooting process. Thus, these 6 students were taken as sample for the analysis of the original case. In quantity research, another group of 48 students was selected by the researcher. They were divided into Experimental Group and Control Group based on their semester “PLC practice” results. Every group consist of 24 students, the Experimental Group has to undergo 6 hours of troubleshooting training before the actual experiment. After that, the researcher will designate the water level control circuit and automatic valve control circuit, 2 breakdown spots were set up in each control circuit respectively, which two groups of students will carry out the troubleshooting experiment separately. This draws up the PLC breakdown tree analysis and troubleshooting strategy. The result of experiment on quality and quantity are as follows:

(1) Drawing up the analysis on the breakdown of PLC diagnosis strategy
This portion is proposed by the researcher based on their PLC teaching experiences and the breakdown tree analytical method, and inviting experienced teacher who have PLC teaching experience to participate in this discussion for the draw up. The method is: when the PLC troubleshooting process was carried out, the first thing to do is to list out the possibilities of the breakdown, characteristic of this analysis strategy does not require all the breakdown spots, but first judging the lamp signal of Y output, then draws up the partial breakdown tree analysis chart. If Y has no output, then check the current input of X. In addition, the calculation principle is derived from the judgment of the X-Y lamp signal shown in the chart. This calculation principle, under the correct operation, can highly achieve an accurate result for a specific goal. The utilization of this algorithm helps to expedite the process of troubleshooting. The input portion of the OR Gate in the chart helps to train the students to think of all possible breakdown reasons, thus raising the ability to solve a problem. In Chart 1, when a motor is unable to start, the troubleshooter could visually judge the PLC Y lamp signal, if the lamp signal is bright, then possibilities of the breakdown are wiring, connection, motor etc. If it is a wiring problem, then the possible reason may be the motor
and breakdown of the COM terminal or short-circuit, motor and power supply breakdown or short circuit, Y terminal and power supply breakdown or short-circuit. If Y lamp does not light up, look at X lamp. If X lamp does not light up, the possibilities may be the sensor, object, wiring, connections etc. This research institute proposed the following troubleshooting strategies: (1) The troubleshooter must understand the operating sequence, (2) The troubleshooter must understand the PLC wiring circuit diagram, (3) Troubleshooting tree analysis carried out using the Y-X judgment law helps to minimize the problem space.

Chart 1: PLC Control Circuit Troubleshooting Tree Analysis Diagram
(2) *Quality Research Experiment Result*

Table 1 shows the comparison between water level control circuit and automatic valve electric circuit troubleshooting analysis. This statistical table was obtained from the troubleshooting diagnosis performed by the 6 students using Thinking Aloud experiment, and inviting 2 teachers who have PLC teaching experience to complete the analysis of the original case. Table 1 indicates the number of times the diagnosis behavior appear: searching (16.0%), the question or asking a question (14.0%), survey (13.1%), visual evaluation (10.5%), repair execution (7.6%); As for utilizing strategy aspect, open-ended method (6.1%), comparison test (5.2%), short-circuit law (4.4%), trial and error (3.2%), replacement method (2.3%) etc.

Data from the table shows that searching and questioning is helpful in minimizing the problem space. Searching plays an important role in PLC troubleshooting process. Questioning can confirm problem representation, assisting in the classification of problem. Questioning is an important behavior in problem solving. Survey is also an indispensable method in completing troubleshooting work when coordinating and implementing it with visual evaluation.

Open ended method stands the majority in PLC troubleshooting strategy, whether this is the same as other electric circuits, there is still room for further exploration. The frequency of comparison test and short-circuit laws in the common electric circuit troubleshooting strategy is quite high. Trial and error is also one of the commonly used solution strategy. Replacement method is seldom used, as it is time-consuming.

(3) *Quantity Research Experiment Result*

This research is in line with the proposal by the institute to conduct the experimental study using the troubleshooting tree analytical method. The result of the experiment conducted by the experimental group and the control group are as follow:

Table 1: Water Level Control and Automatic Valve Troubleshooting Comparison Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diagnosis Strategy</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Search</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visual Evaluation</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calculation Principle</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trial &amp; Error</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short-Circuits Law</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Ended Method</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replacement Method</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparison Test</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repair Execution</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question Repair</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmation Result</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Comparison of Mean time $t$ taken by Experimental & Control Group for Water Level Control Circuit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group(s)</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>$t$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Experimental Group</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>34.20</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>4.08★</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control Group</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>38.62</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

★ P<.05

When $\alpha=.05$, the mean time calculation in Table 2 indicated: 19 students from the Experimental Group that uses FTA diagnosis strategy completed the troubleshooting but only 13 students from the Control Group completed the test. On the other hand, the mean time taken to complete the troubleshooting test: Experimental Group took $M=32.40$ while Control Group took $M=38.62$. Both groups took $t=4.08$, exceeding the standard value of 2.042, therefore reaching the predefined standard. This table clearly demonstrated the difference in the mean time taken by the Experimental Group and the Control Group in performing the troubleshooting test for Water Level Control Circuit.

Table 3: Comparison of Mean time $t$ taken by Experimental & Control Group for Automatic Valve Control Circuit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group(s)</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>$t$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Experimental Group</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>35.41</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.43★</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control Group</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39.05</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

★ P<.05

When $\alpha=.05$, the mean time calculation in Table 3 indicated: 13 students from the Experimental Group that uses FTA diagnosis strategy completed the troubleshooting but only 9 students from the Control Group completed the test. On the other hand, the mean time taken to complete the troubleshooting test: Experimental Group took $M=35.41$ while Control Group took $M=39.05$. Both groups took $t=3.43$, exceeding the standard value of 2.086, therefore reaching the given standard. This table clearly demonstrated the difference in the mean time taken by the Experimental Group and the Control Group in performing the troubleshooting test for Automatic Valve Control Circuit. Regardless whether it is a troubleshooting test for Water Level Control Circuit or Automatic Valve Control Circuit, Table 2 and Table 3 has clearly showed that the number of students from the Experimental Group is greater than the Control Group (Table 2: 19>13, Table 3: 13>9). Speaking of the mean time taken for the troubleshooting test, Experimental Group takes shorter time as compared to Control Group. (Table 2: 34.20<38.62, Table 3: 35.41<39.05), revealing a significant difference. The experiment result shows that it is more efficient to use the troubleshooting tree analysis method to carry out PLC control circuit and troubleshooting analysis.
Through discussion and experiment, it is discovered that the troubleshooting tree analysis method has greatly reduces the time spent in troubleshooting. PLC X-Y lamp signal judgment law blends in with the troubleshooting tree analysis, this method trains the students in the ability in troubleshooting and problem solving and to think within the problem space, and shaping the possibilities that causes the breakdown, therefore making troubleshooting process more efficient.

5. Result of Experiment
The result and achievement for this experiment are as follow:

1. Discussion of PLC circuit troubleshooting behavior and strategy, promulgating the difficulty in the PLC troubleshooting process and leading to the development of troubleshooting principles.
2. Discussion on the troubleshooting behavior of successful group of student, using it as reference to implement troubleshooting teaching in the school.
3. Save troubleshooting time by providing PLC troubleshooting tree analysis strategy, improving the efficiency in troubleshooting, using it as a reference for troubleshooting of local automatic equipments.
4. Comparing the result of troubleshooting between the Experimental Group and the Control Group in the teaching experiment, and confirms the PLC troubleshooting tree analysis strategy.
5. Using Thinking Aloud with analysis of the original case and clinical investigation in the teaching experiment to produce the technical and research literature.
6. Providing scholars references of valuable ideas from these experiments, which can be used as guidelines for future project education.

6. Bibliography


Proceedings Submission

1. **Title of the submission:** Political Access and Anti-Sinicism in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand

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6. **Abstract:**

   Southeast Asia has seen a proliferation of anti-Sinicism over the last century, especially during political and economic crisis. Such anti-Sinicism is often accompanied by mob violence, whose victims ironically are not only the Chinese minority. Repeatedly in Southeast Asian history, we have seen tragedies caused by anti-Sinicism, the institutional cause of which, however, has been insufficiently addressed. I argue that the limited within-system political access leads the Chinese minority to seek extra-system avenues to become successful economically, which leads to resentment by the majority. Such frustration can generate a backlash against the Chinese minority, especially in times of crisis. Due to fears of such a backlash, the Chinese minority is motivated to secure its interests, oftentimes using extra-system avenues because of the limited within-system political access. This is a vicious cycle that feeds on itself. I will use comparative analysis through employing the most similar systems case study methodology. My paper will focus on the political access of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand, finding out why we see different degrees of anti-Sinicism during the Asian financial crisis. I chose the three cases because these countries vary in terms of political access enjoyed by the Chinese minority. The findings of this study reveal a negative correlation between political access and anti-Sinicism. This study will hopefully encourage policymakers to promote more political access for the Chinese minority in Southeast Asia in order to minimize violence caused by anti-Sinicism.
How Journalists and Public Relations practitioners in China view each other

Yu Shuting

Background

With the rapid growth of the economy in China has come the increasing demand for public relations in various industries. The function of public relations varies from initially focusing on “guest relations, translation, and guiding of tours” (Chen N. & Culberson H.M., 1992) to helping clients to expand market share, managing brand and building relationships with governments (Hung & Chen, 2004).

Among the various relations that public relations practitioners are to handle, media relations dominates a central position in public relations because the media serves as gatekeepers, controlling the information flow to other publics (Grunig&Hunt,1984).
Since media bridges corporations with the public, relations with the mass media is so
critical that many public relations practitioners believe that public relations is nothing
more than media relations (Grunig&Hunt1984).

Public relations practitioner’s daily work, indeed, is preoccupied with media relations.
“Employers and clients come and go,” Cutlip and Center claim, “but the press and its
gatekeepers are here forever.” (Cutlip, S.M. & Center, A.H., 1982)  Journalists’
perception of and confidence in a corporation is a valuable asset, helpful to build a
favorable corporate image. To capture the essence of how journalists perceive the
images of corporations can be a key to excellence in media relations building.

Information dissemination significantly influences the public opinion. Journalists,
because of the long tradition as leaders in mass media, are considered as key role in
information flow. Consequently, the relationship between journalists and public relations
practitioners would have effect on information dissemination. Disagreeable relation
influences the mass communication process or the writing of the news. On the contrary,
for practitioners, cooperative relations contribute to building favorable image of clients.

Attitude toward public relations will be investigated in this study. Also, perception and
cross-perception of news values are researched in an attempt to test the difference
between journalists and practitioners.

**Purpose of the research**

Public relations plays a key role in building corporate images, promoting products,
addressing internal conflicts and managing crises. Excellent public relations can promote
and protect the reputation of the corporation. Excellent relations can motivate customers and help the organization to generate more market share. Excellent public relations can also reduce the cost of conflict management and advance harmony between organizations and publics.

Central to practicing public relations and the process of creating the media’s news agenda is a productive working relationship between journalists and public relations professionals. Journalists and public relations professionals play distinct roles. At times, their interests come into conflict and their relationship becomes stressed. Past research results, however, suggest that journalists tend to hold a negative, often antagonistic, attitude toward the practice of public relations and public relations practitioners (Spicer, C.H., 1993).

Whether journalists’ attitude toward public relations and assessment of news value provided by practitioners have changed or can change remains to be an interesting and important question. If journalists and public relations practitioners do misperceive each other, information flow would be affected greatly. A journalist who will not use information from a public relations person because he or she does not trust any practitioner may miss out on some good stories or include incomplete, unclear or inaccurate information in articles. A practitioner who finds he or she are not trusted simply because of the position he or she holds will find it harder to do job and may feel forced to use unethical means to get a message to the public. Neither situation benefits
the news media, public relations or society. As a result, it is significantly important to investigate the perception and cross perception between journalists and practitioners.

Taking up China as a case for inquiry, this study will, first, identify if journalists in print media and practitioners may have different perception toward public relations practice in general; and second, whether journalists and practitioners viewed news values differently. Answers to these questions will shed new light on how public relations can build and maintain good relations with media. Journalists use more public relations-supplied information today than ever before. To effectively disseminate news about a client or an organization, one must always provide accurate, timely, and comprehensive information. Only in this way can any medium adequately inform its readers, listeners, or viewer about matters affecting them. (Wlicox D.L. & Nolte L.W., 1990). If the type of information that certain newspaper departments want and are offered by public relations sources is different, public relations professionals should devise tailored contact strategies. By doing so, customers receive complete, accurate, and balanced information via mass media. (Wlicox D.L. & Nolte L.W., 1990)

This project will entail academic implications to interpret the research findings. Other public relations and communication theories, including the coorientation model, agenda-setting and agenda-building theories, symmetrical versus asymmetrical public relations and, will also be involved.

**Outline of the thesis**
This study has journalists and public relations practitioners to evaluate their attitude
toward public relations professionalism. Subsequently, journalists and public relations
practitioners were also required to assess the news values on their own and of each other.

**Literature review**

Growth in mass communication has been phenomenal in the last three decades.
Newspaper journalists have been cited as emerging professionals of communication
industry (McLeod, 1964; Linehan, 1970; Lattimore, 1974; Johnstone, 1973; Janowitz,
1975). But public relations, which has advanced considerably in size and status since the
days of Ivy Lee, has been often overlooked.

Most of the past literature center on the routines and values of the reporter.
Communication scholars ignored the attribution of professionalism of public relations to
the various communication-related occupations (Cutlip & Center 1971). Public relations
sets the agenda for media because the source in source-reporter interaction is often either
a public relations practitioner or a practitioner’s client.

Since it is impossible for journalists to cover all events and issues, public relations
practitioners serve as a useful role for news media. Consequently, probability that an
event or issue will be covered increases, thereby achieving communication goal for
organization.

**Journalists/public relations practitioners relationship**
Mutual assessment

Given the importance of public relations to the formation of news content and news agenda, the impact and role of public relations have been extensively studied since 1960s. These studies spanned both qualitative and quantitative methods and look at topics ranging from effective “story pitching” to hegemonic role of public relations sources in the information economy, from the ethics of public relations to power dynamics in source-reporter relationship (Cameron, G. T., Sallot L. M. & Curtin P. A., 1997).

Aronoff (1975) through a systematical investigation of the perceived status of practitioners and journalists, asserted that “journalist have negative attitudes toward public relations practitioners and perceive heterphilous (opposite) news value orientations and occupational status as compared to public relations”. When the subjects are asked to rank 16 occupations, including practitioner, journalist, architect, artist, banker, farmer, politician, and professor etc, journalists rank themselves first and practitioners last contrary to practitioners who ranked journalists third and themselves fourth, indicating perceptions of almost equal status.

Jeffers (1977) investigated what he called the “apparent bi-level nature of status and perceptions of cooperation in the journalist/practitioner relationship.” He found that journalists have higher expectations for their own occupation than public relations practitioners when practitioners are undifferentiated. Also, Jeffers found that journalists had more respect for and rated higher those practitioners with whom they had worked than for other practitioners.
Swartz (1983) noted that though journalists and practitioners have much in common, the main difference based less upon the skills that each group uses than how each occupation is perceived by others. Brody (1984) found that antipathy between journalists and practitioners was exaggerated. Although his finding indicates that practitioners’ perception are more positive than that of gatekeepers, ratings of their counterparts on items like ethical behavior, writing skills were high for both groups.

In a survey of newspaper journalists, Kopenhaver (1985) found that the journalists disagreed that public relations was a profession equal to journalists. Ryan, M., & Martinson, D.L. (1988) claimed that the antagonism journalists feel toward public relations is firmly rooted in journalistic culture and influence the mass communication process.

Stegall and Sanders (1986) used a Q-sort technique of 50 statements to replicate Kopenhaver’s (1984) coorientation study. This study identified two distinct public relations practitioner profiles. First are those long-time practitioners who are idealistic, altruistic, and see themselves as journalists or communicators; second are those who see themselves as businessmen first, with first loyalty to the institution, and a marketing orientation.

Two replications of Aronoff’s work have drawn similar conclusions. Sallot (1990b) argued that low valuation by journalists of practitioners’ news values contributes to the
low credibility journalists assign to practitioners. Carroll (1994) found the reporters held negative opinions toward practitioners, ranking themselves higher status and did not perceive the same news value orientations for practitioners as for themselves.

Another study in 90’s has attempted to verify if the journalists’ views have grown more positive or more negative. Pinus, J.D., Rimmer T., Rayfield R. & Cropp F. (1993), for example, studied newspaper editor’s perceptions of public relations and compared the difference between business, news, and sports editors. Their study shows that journalists and public relations practitioners are doubtful of each other’s roles in influencing the news agenda. Journalists complain that public relations people do not understand news and block the media’ access to organizational sources. Public relations practitioners argue that media people are biased against them.

These mutual assessment studies share an interesting pattern. Distrust and low esteem for practitioners are more profound in the abstract than in the specific experience of journalists. Perhaps “it is hard to hate up close” or may be a stereotype exists. Further evidence also suggests that college courses in journalism are anti-public relations. Another replication of Aronoff’s work by Habermann, Kopenhaver, and Martinson (1988) found that news-editorial faculty held only slightly less negative attitude toward public relations than their professional counterparts.

Cline (1982) reviewed mass communication textbooks’ treatment of public relations and concluded that journalists’ negative attitude about public relations practitioners is
perpetuated by their education received. In sum, education apparently has an impact on subsequent professional values. Textbooks and course content may be sources of generalized negative assessments of public relations.

Turk (1985, 1986a, 1986b) offers an explanation of journalists’ negative assessments of public relations that journalists biased practitioners engaged in puffery and manipulation of information, and indeed practitioners themselves are indoctrinated to expect that attitude of distrust from journalists (Turk, 1986a).

This summary of journalistic folklore is supported by evidence from a study investigating why such attitudes are held. Ryan and Martinson (1988) sought to analyze some of the reasons for the state of this relationship. Blind prejudice and unprofessional practices contribute to negative reporter attitude.

Ryan and Martinson’s subjects were all practitioners. Sallot (1990b) replicated their work but surveyed journalists as well as practitioners. The two groups are consistent that journalists believe their work is more important to society than is public relations, which may account for some of the journalists’ antagonism. The journalists also believed that practitioners bear part of the responsibility for journalists’ negative attitudes because they are responsible for “policing the peripheral bad apples”. But the practitioners attributed journalists’ negative attitudes toward public relations to the journalists’ inflated views of their own status and their negative experiences with few “bad apples”.

The practitioners also believed that journalists’ dim view of public relations is not fair. The journalists blamed practitioners for being unprofessional and insufficiently concerned about journalists’ needs for clear, concise, accurate information and believed their negative attitudes were justified.

Using a role theory perspective, Belz, Talbott, and Starck (1989) applied Q-methodology to four categories of roles—personal characteristics, rights, duties, and skills—to study cross-perceptions of journalists and practitioners. Attitudes between the two groups differed sharply about the role of public relations as well as specific issues such as freedom of the press, balance, objectivity, aggressiveness, protection of the public interest, withholding of information, diplomacy, previous experience, and ability to construct interesting messages. The journalists viewed public relations practitioners negatively for their role as advocates and for having hidden agendas, withholding information, and compromising ethics.

Based on these prior studies, we propose the research question of this study:

Research question: how journalists and practitioner in china view each other?

In China, as mass media is increasingly becoming attractive to audience, audiences rely on mass media to access information. Therefore, organizations play further emphasis on mass media to disseminate information. Many organizations blindly believe coverage of news would promote the sale of products. On the other hand, those organizations try all
means to increase reports taking into consideration that news releases save more money than advertising (www.bbstday.com).

Grounded on the belief that widening coverage of news will enhance products sale, practitioners on behalf of their clients have to push journalists to fill in the news. Thus, journalists are often bothered by practitioners with their purpose of persuading journalists to publicize news.

Compared with public relations practitioners, journalists think highly of their own profession and consider practitioners to be low-credibility resource. Is public relations misinterpreted? According to media voice, it is widely accepted that the terminologies concerned with Public relations are described as abbreviations of pleas and cheat. Media reports scarcely relate the organizational positive events with public relations. Although public relations agencies on behalf of their clients have done certain good job worthy of public support, the articles and book praising the contribution of public relations are not popular.

Having reviewed the western studies on attitude toward public relations and practice in china, hypothesis 1 is given.

Hypotheses 1: journalists in china have antagonistic attitude toward public relations profession and public relations practitioners.
Contrary to practitioners, journalists in China are more important in information dissemination because the development of news media in China entail the journalists’ powerful status.

Economic reform in 80’s has rendered China’s media system more liberalized than ever before (Chu, 1994; Hong, 1998; Zhao, 1998) within the effect that the system becomes more commercialized, depoliticized, and internationalized (Hong, 1998; Swartz, 2002b). Although the fundamental structure and content of the media is still under control, the media is permitted by the government to maximize their commercial gains and increase newspaper circulation and advertising revenues. (Swartz, 2002b; Zhao, 1998). As a result, the main goal for Chinese journalists and media professionals is to successfully solicit mass subscriptions and advertising revenue from organizations.

With the growth of purchasing power, audience is becoming large and diverse. Increasing audience are not satisfied with the similar style and content of mass media. In order to attract audience, media is growing to be varied and appealing. In the past couple of years both the number of media and style of media have changed so as to adapt the new trend. In turn, more and more audience is attracted by mass media and show loyalty toward certain medias. Accompanying with growing readers, news media is empowered to communicate with publics directly and efficiently. Therefore, mass media gradually gained importance in Mainland China.
Given the importance of news media in China, the newspaper institutions, which have broad circulation, are more likely to occupy important status in this industry and are considered as the first targets of persuasion. Journalists from newspapers having large publication show less respect to public relations profession than those from newspapers having small publication in that they highly praise themselves more. Location of the newspaper is another factor inducing different attitude because public relations in metropolitans and smaller cities developed differently and thus the extent of journalists’ understanding PR varied.

Before serving as journalists, some of them carry out the role of practitioners, the prior experience attributes to another attitude toward PR. It is possible that these journalists feel more sympathy to public relations professions than others. Moreover, past studies suggest that journalists hate to be pushed by practitioners for obtaining report exposure. Frequency of contact with practitioners is likely to be a cause of the contempt.

Hypothesis 2 aims to look into whether the attitude of journalists towards public relations will be influenced by the variables like education of journalists and circulation size of the newspapers etc.

Hypothesis 2: circulation size and location of the newspapers, prior public relations experience and frequency of contact with public relations practitioners influence journalists’ attitude toward public relations.
When more international business operational models are introduced into China market, public relations agencies become to be known as building image for those successful foreign corporations. One of the successful experiences of foreign corporations is that the public relations of these organizations is operated by professional PR agency. Being aware of this experience, local companies increase needs for more public relations agencies. Besides, with the consciousness that public relations play a significant role in building organizational image, boosting company and changing crisis to opportunities, local companies are also eager for increasing public relations agencies.

Local PR agencies mainly provide the service such as writing news releases, holding news conferences, marketing promotional activities, and building relationships with local governments (Hung & Chen, 2004). With regard to foreign PR agencies, their service are mainly to expand the markets for their multinational clients, helping their clients build businesses in China, and opening new accounts with local organizations. (Hung & Chen, 2004)

Contrary to local public relations agencies concentrating on integrated marketing communication, multinational public relations agencies stress brand management practices (Hung & Chen, 2004). In a survey of public relations agencies conducted by CIPRA (China International Public Relations Association, which was founded in April 1991 in Beijing, is the most influential public relations association), IT (information technology), health communication, and consumer products are the main service areas in China. While local public relations agencies emphasize execution ability, service quality
and creativity, multinational public relations agencies give more attention to agency quality, expertise in furthering corporate reputation, and public relations know-how in their services. (Hung & Chen, 2004)

According to Chen (2002), corporations of different size have different communication characteristics. Small corporations tend to help firms with image building through publicity and the practitioners are more like technicians. In the medium-sized organizations, public relations involves facilitating communication between managers and employees and also bridging channel between client and external publics. Larger corporations tend to place emphasis on strategic planning and corporate-culture cultivation.

Viewing the public relations function of various agencies, international agency perform advanced function compared with local company. The practitioners in international agencies gain more training and satisfaction instead of those working in local agencies. Likewise, practitioners in larger agencies fulfill superior function and achieve better opportunities than those in small agencies. All in all, the size and type of the agency could be facets constituting the different views of practitioners.

Hypothesis 3 is designed to address this problem.

Hypothesis 3: size of the agency and type of the agency make difference of practitioners’ attitude towards their own profession.
**News value**

Public relations practitioners and journalists share some common values while at the same time differ on others. To some extent, public relations practitioner and journalists are dependent on each other. Journalists use public relations as a main channel to get news material. By the same token, practitioners depend on journalists to publish information. However, such dependence is not widely recognized in previous literature.

Gaining editors’ respect and admiration is vital to public relations success. Practitioners rely on news media to convey and publish the information relevant to their clients. As a result, it is especially important for practitioners to provide newsworthy material to the mass media.

Practitioners’ understanding of journalists’ views of the news is a key to a successful journalist-public relations relationship. A prolific research examines how editors, as gatekeepers, determine which news to print (Breed, 1955; Shaw & McCombs, 1977; White, 1950) and how public relations practitioners persuade editors. (Cutlip, Center & Bromm, 1985; Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Aconoff, 1976; Boorstin, 1961; Schabacker, 1963).

Agenda-setting is a process that mass media influence the public’s perception by determining which issues to be discussed and thus positioning these issues. The information which is most likely to be considered as news shares certain characteristics like conflict, progress, disaster, consequence, eminence, novelty, human interest, timeliness, and proximity (Graber, 1984; Harris & Johnson, 1965). The efficiency of these
criteria was reinforced by Turk (1988), in which she found that editors’ decision to use public information was based on relevance, timeliness, oddity, and subject prominence.

A corollary to agenda-setting is agenda building, which places the media in the role of audience or receiver in the agenda-setting process (Rogers, Dearing, & Chang, 1991). Agenda building focuses on who sets the media’s agenda. Public relations practitioners play a role in the agenda-building process by supplying editors with newsworthy materials or ideas.

Aronoff (1975) found that practitioners’ perceptions of journalists’ news values were accurate and correlated highly with journalists’ reported values, whereas journalists’ perceptions of PR practitioners’ reported values were highly inaccurate.

By examining press releases in 1984 and 1985, Turk (1988) found that about half of the information provided by public information officers was used in subsequently published stories and that most topics identified by public information officers as salient to their agencies were the same topics salient to media coverage. Press release supplied by public relations can influence which stories would be in the news, but they did not necessarily influence the content of those stories.

Many journalists use the information provided by practitioners to contact sources and to fill space, but are often bothered by practitioners intending to persuade them. Brody (1984) found that, although editors and practitioners differed significantly on four of
eight ethical factors, they differed on only one of four factors related to news quality. Two groups agreed substantially on what constitutes good news stories while they failed to agree what constitutes fairness and public interest.

Despite the antagonism, some research has applied the Chaffee-Mcleod (1968) coorientation model and has indicated surprising similarities of news values between journalists and public relations practitioners. Kopenhaver (1985) found that practitioners rated news values similarly with journalists but journalists’ perceptions are not consistent with that of practitioners. Journalists intended to believe that practitioners were more likely to mislead the public than was actually reported to be the case.

In term of coorientation model, this model is particularly vital in the present study because the research will base on this model to compare the evaluation of journalists and public relations practitioners toward public relations professionalism and to assess the perception and cross-perception of each other on news values.

Coorientational analysis permits comparison of attitudes toward an object among two or more groups of people, analysis of communication effects, and measurement of relationships. Such coorientation measures have been found to be effective in explaining dimensions of pluralistic ignorance or false consensus, i.e., overestimations or underestimations of others’ views. The projections of estimations of the other’s perceptions are useful determinants to measure whether two groups are conflicting or not.
This study employs coorientation to examine the perceived conflict of public relations practitioners and journalists in terms of agreement, congruency, and accuracy.

Congruency is to the extent that person thinks the other’s opinion resemble his own is Agreement is to the extent that person’s evaluation resemble other’s. Accuracy is to the extent that one person’s perception of the other’s evaluation resembles the other’s true evaluation. Accuracy, agreement and congruency are not functionally independent of one another, since each is based in two measures that from part of the basis for the other two concepts. Thus, if agreement is low and congruency is high, accuracy is necessarily low; if agreement and congruency are both high or both low, accuracy is high.

In this study, the agreement stemming from comparing the attitude of journalists and practitioners towards public relations and the congruency and accuracy occurred in evaluating perception and cross-perception of news values between these two groups will be calculated.

Hypotheses 4 and 5 are attempting to explore the perception and cross-perception of journalists and practitioners on news values.

Hypotheses 4: public relations practitioners in china will perceive the journalists’ evaluation of news values as more congruent to their own than the converse.

Hypotheses 5: public relations practitioners will predict the journalists’ actual value of news values more accurately than the converse.
How to improve media relationship

Good media relations contribute to effectiveness by building quality, long-term relationships with mass media. Grunig introduced four models of public relations. These four models describe the practice of public relations and are accepted widely in the world.

These four models are called press agentry/publicity, public information, two-way symmetrical, and two-way asymmetrical. Press agentry/publicity and public information are both one-way models. Practitioners of press agentry try any possible means to gain attention for their organization, whereas public information practitioners are journalists-in-residence who disseminate correct, but usually only favorable, information about their organizations. Practitioners with the two-way asymmetrical model, conduct research to determine how to convince publics to behave like what the organization wished. With the two-way symmetrical model, practitioners using research and dialogue produce mutual changes in the ideas, attitudes, and behaviors of both the organization and its publics. This model is viewed as the best effective one to contribute to organizational effectiveness.

For media relation to be excellent, organizations should build up two-way and symmetrical relationships with journalists. Using press agentry or public information model will be more likely to inefficiently communicate with journalist because practitioners often present only the good side of the story. Intentions of persuading journalists are often characterized as obstructions in the journalists parth to the truth. By
using the two-way symmetrical model practitioners position themselves from the point of journalists. The more valuable news practitioners provide, the more respect they gain from journalists.

Summary

As the media’s gatekeepers, journalists decide which information to use in building their newspaper’s agenda. Public relations practitioners attempt to position themselves in journalists’ eyes for the sake of obtaining favorable publicity for their clients. Previous research has consistently identified the mistrust and conflict in the journalist-public relations relationship, particularly from the journalist’s perspective. Generally, journalists have unfavorable attitude toward public relations practitioners. Previous studies also suggest that journalists do not have great respect for practitioners and they consider themselves superior in many ways to practitioners.

Since perception is so important in mass communication, we thought it would be useful to replicate the part of the earlier work, using different population. The research will imply Aronoff’s study to investigate how journalists and practitioners in china view each other. If the results of the China study duplicated those of earlier research, the probability would be high that public relations practitioners face serious negative attitudes of journalists. The antagonism between journalists and practitioners may prevent new comer entering this field. Besides, it is more likely that journalists miss important information because of their mistrust of public relations practitioners.
Two content analyses demonstrate a convergence of academic and journalistic stereotypes of public relations. In an analysis of the terms “public relations and PR” in 84 published press references, Spicer (1993) found that more than 80% of the time the terms were embedded in negative contexts. Bishop (1988) concluded that journalists view public relations as equivalent to publicity while publicity is only one of many functions performed by public relations practitioners.

**Research questions and hypotheses:**

This study will be guided by the following general research questions and research hypotheses:

Research question: *how journalists and practitioner in china view each other?*

Hypothesis 1: *journalists in china have antagonistic attitude toward public relations profession and public relations practitioners.*

Hypothesis 2: *circulation size of the newspapers, location of the newspaper, prior public relations experience and frequency of contact with public relations practitioners influence journalists’ attitude toward public relations.*

Hypothesis 3: *size of the agency and type of the agency make difference of practitioners’ attitude towards their own profession.*

Hypothesis 4: *public relations practitioners in china will perceive the journalists’ evaluation of news values as more congruent to their own than the converse.*
Hypothesis 5: public relations practitioners will predict the journalists’ actual value of news values more accurately than the converse.

Research methods

Design

With regard to the research question and research hypotheses, independent variable and dependent variable are developed to conduct the research.

Independent variable

Two groups: journalists and public relations practitioners.

Prior studies indicate journalists and practitioners have different attitude toward public relations and different perception of news values. The conflict derives from the difference between these two professions. Besides, other independent variables, which are in an estimation to be the reasons causing conflict, will be tested in the current study. These potential variables which may affect journalists’ attitude include circulation size and location of the newspapers, prior public relations experience and frequency of contact with public relations practitioners. Conversely, the latent variables probably influencing practitioners’ attitude are size and type of agency.

Dependent variable

Attitude toward public relations and perception and cross-perception of news values

Subjects

Questionnaires will be mailed to both journalists and practitioners. 200 print news media, including daily newspaper, weekly newspaper and monthly magazine, are selected from
the list of All-China Journalists Association web (http://www.acja.org.cn) and china post web (http://www.chinapostnews.com.cn). Also, these news media are chosen from six cities, Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Hangzhou and Chengdu. They varied in circulation-size and industry. The questionnaire will be mailed to two journalists of each news media.

Public relations practitioners are selected from 70 public relations agencies covering these six cities. A purposive sample was selected from lists of China Public Relations Association (www.chinapr.com.cn). Moreover, other samples of PR agencies will be accessed by using Internet. 70 public relations agencies are identified as research sample and the questionnaires will be mailed to two practitioners of each agency.

**Measurement**

Two questionnaires are designed to explain the research questions and hypotheses. The questionnaires are divided into three sections and sent to journalists and practitioners separately. These two questionnaires share the same first two sections except the last section. The first section explores the attitudes of journalist and practitioners toward public relations. To measure attitudes toward public relations, we incorporated 22 statements cited from Florida study and Aronoff’s study. Respondents indicate their agreement/disagreement by checking the appropriate blank on a five-point scale.

1/ journalists and PR practitioners are partners.

2/PR competes with advertising.
3/PR information helps the quality of reporting.
4/PR has an equal professional status with journalism.
5/PR practitioners are obstructionists.
6/PR promotes undeserving products.
7/PR is promotion disguised as news.
8/PR practitioners provide useful information.
9/PR practitioners push trivial events.
10/PR practitioners are extensions of news staff.
11/PR practitioners are errand boys.
12/PR practitioners are good people.
13/It is a shame that press depends on PR information.
14/PR practitioners understand deadlines.
15/Journalists’ do not trust PR practitioners.
16/Journalists and PR practitioners battle
17/PR practitioners are frank and honest
18/PR practitioners help editors get good information.
19/PR uses shield of words as cover
20/PR is needed to produce newspapers
21/PR releases have high news value
22/PR main goal is to get free advertising.

Concerning the second section, eight news values scales (Sallot L.M., Steinfatt T.M. & Salwen M.B. 1998) will be measured. The items were designed to enable coorientational
analysis of perception and cross-perception of practitioners’ and journalists. Respondents will be asked to rank news values twice, first based on their personal views, and second based on how they perceived the values would be preferred by their public relations/journalist counterparts. (That is, public relations practitioners are asked how they think journalists would rank them, and journalists are asked how they think practitioners will rank them).

1/factual values
2/interest to readers
3/usefulness to readers
4/completeness
5/prompt, timely publication
6/depicts subject in favorable light
7/mechanical/grammatical accuracy
8/fairness to different views

The final section is to address demographic questions and descriptive information. Regarding to questionnaire designed for journalists, questions involve gender, education, circulation size of the newspapers, prior public relations experience and frequency of contact with public relations practitioners. As far as questionnaires for practitioners are concerned, the questions are relevant with gender, education, position in the organization, size of agency as well as type of agency etc.
Three phases helps to address the research question and research hypothesis.

Phase 1
Before disseminating these questionnaires, the questionnaires involving the above statements will be translated into Chinese. Two journalists and practitioners will be employed to proofread the questions in order to eliminate any ambiguous statements.

Phase 2:
A practitioner working in Mainland China who has been trained to appropriately conduct survey step by step will be responsible for collecting the surveys. From 1 April on, the survey will be sent by email to the journalists and practitioners. The responses will be collected within one week. After one week, respondents who do not respond are sent the survey again. Also, the responses in this turn will be collected within one week. Finally, the survey will be emailed to those others who do not respond at third time.

Data analysis techniques:
Data analyses will be done using SPSS. Research question and hypothesis 1 are discussed using descriptive statistics and cross-tabulations. To resolve hypotheses 2 and 3, an attitude toward public relations index is developed, using factor analysis techniques. The PR index will be tested for reliability with Cronbach’s alpha, and it is used as a dependent Variable in two and three-way cross-tabulations and in developing a multiple regression model incorporating the predictors identified in the research question. Hypotheses 4 and 5 will be analyzed using a Spearman rho test.
Phase 3

Besides survey, in-depth interviews will be conducted to elicit candid opinions. Employing different research methods in examining the same subject assists to strengthen the reliability and validity of the findings. Qualitative method is significant in understanding human actions and their social context. This study will conduct in-depth interviews with 20 journalists and 10 practitioners in Beijing to identify possible variables that interpret the findings. Information from the depth interviews served both as insight and elaboration of survey data. The interviewees will be selected by convenience sampling using one public relations practitioner’s network. Snowball sampling also will be used as some participants will recommend others for interview.

**Anticipated findings**

The negative attitude of journalists towards public relations professions is foreseen. In addition to anticipating circulation size and location of newspaper as cause of antagonism, prior PR experience and frequency of contact with practitioners have impact on the attitude. Regarding to the attitude of practitioners toward their own profession, the chance is that both size and type of agency affect practitioners’ perception.

It was predicted that the two groups would show similar news values but perceive different news values in the other group. If these hypotheses are correct, then the two groups are misperceiving each other and have more common similarity actually. It was predicted that both groups would believe that public relations exert a powerful influence in shaping news agenda.
Selected reference


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Foreign Borrowing and Economic Fluctuations-Banks’ Role in Transmitting Shocks

Abstract

There is considerable research being developed to explain why the Asian crisis occurred. However, less attention has been paid to the transmission mechanism that acts as the intermediary between the external financial shock and the local economy of the countries in crisis.

In this paper, I examined the effects of the external financial shock (in the form of an unanticipated reduction of foreign loans due to contagion) on the real economic activities, focusing on the role of domestic commercial banks in the transmission mechanism.

In the model, the representative domestic bank finances its funds through both domestic deposits and foreign borrowing. The representative household needs use demand deposit to carry out transactions and the representative firm has to borrow from the bank to pay its wage bill prior to the production. Banking is costly in this economy; the cost of providing banking services depends on the size of bank credits, demand deposits as well as the bank’s foreign loans. In this economy, the effects of an external shock of capital outflow on the economy are two-fold: firstly, it decreases the available banking credits directly; secondly, it increases the banking cost, thus causing a decline of consumption and deposits through the increase in deposit spread, therefore leading an additional reduction of the available bank credits to the firm. This reduction of bank credits to the firm drives down the output, wage rate and employment. Therefore the commercial bank spreads the external financial shock to both the demand and the supply side through its central role in the economy.

In the empirical part of the paper, I presented estimates of a VAR model including the bank lending spread, lending rate, real claim to private sectors, employment, industrial output and
foreign loans. Using generalized impulse response functions, I showed that a shock of increased foreign loan led to a decrease in lending rate and domestic spreads and a rise in the credits, employment and output, which are consistent with the analytical results derived before.
Title of the submission:

From Networks to Influence: China’s Think Tanks in Policy Process

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From Networks to Influence:
China’s Think Tanks in Policy Process

Abstract:

This paper engages in analyzing the factors that determine the influence of China’s Think Tanks in policy process. According to a survey about 301 China's think tanks, this article argues that social capital is the most important factor, and the structure of networks performs as a significant role. In the model of this paper, two kinds of think tanks networks are deduced to analyze the functions of structure of networks. The regression result shows that strong ties have more significance to the realization of think tanks’ influence than weak ties, according to communicative action theory. And another result tell us that it's most beneficial for think tanks' heads to know the officials at the bureau director levels to increase think tanks’ influence.

Keywords:
China’s Think Tanks, Influence, Social Capital Networks, Policy Process

Introduction: The policy process and think tanks networks

In China, think tanks are stable and independently running organizations that research and consult policy issues to influence the policy process. It is a pity that only a few scholars paid attention to China’s think tanks in the areas of politics and sociology. (Chen 2000; Tanner 2002; Shambaugh 2002, Glaser and Saunders 2002; Gill and Mulvenon 2002; Naughton 2002). The researches found that in China, as one of the countries of Confucianism, the traditional patron-client relationship of guanxi (social connection) is an important determinant of the relationship between intellectuals and researchers, and state officials (Chen 2000). In this paper, I will not only strongly validate this argument by quantitative analysis, but also discuss the impact from the nature of guanxi and the structure of networks on the performance of China’s think tanks.

As policy actors, think tanks not only need to make research on the policy problems but also have to keep close ties in society to influence the policy making. The social ties of think tanks consist of their peers, the press, government and bureaucracy institutes, foundations, universities and so on. (Stone, 1996. p127) In establish and maintain these relationships, think tanks experts have to invest a lot of time and energy to attend social activities and to advocate their policy beliefs and
persuade the policy decision makers to accept their ideas. Because of these consistent efforts, think tanks experts can develop stable social networks.

Domhoff implemented the concept of close ties in the social networks theory to finding out the means these elite influences the policymaking (Domhoff 1983). After he made a wide research on the elite’ social background, he found that those elite has similar family and education background, same races and genders and they join the same clubs and go to vacation in the same place, all of which disclose the close ties between them. These elite has found a better way to influence through the network communications rather than the formal presentations. On the one hand, think tanks scholars try to keep a close tie with the influential to receive funding, and on the other hand, their ideas could better influence the policy making though those ties. (Abelson 2002)

The idea of the policy subsystems cannot be ignored in the study about how think tanks participate in the policy process. The policy subsystem is an aggregation of certain policy programs, the actors and organizations. Many scholars point out that the precise analysis unit should be policy subsystem instead of the government or the policy programs. For example, there usually exist about ten different policy programs in the sectors such as air pollution controls or telecommunication policies and these programs are related with different levels of government bodies. A policy subsystem consists of actors from either public or private institutions who are concerned with policy problems, including officials in the traditional ‘iron triangle” (e.g. the administrative institute, the legislative committee and the interest groups), the government professional networks, journalists, research groups and policy analyzers. There always involved overlapped groups of actors since these programs deal with related topics in a certain area. (Ostrom 1983; Jordan 1990) Think tanks participate in the policy subsystems and do make great influence on the policy creation, diffusion and revolution. Empirically, these subsystems either could be led by a single interest group or could be in the struggle of several interest groups or they can be broken after some time. And they may have their own independence which is different from other subsystems.  

In policy subsystems, there is a “closed loops” among policy community and policy research institutes. This loop develops step by step: firstly, a think tank establishes communication and influence channel through administration relation and some other occasional opportunities; secondly, some suggestions are debriefed and accepted; thirdly, government starts to trust in this think tank and their valuable research outcome; fourthly, some research projects from government are allocated to those think tanks government trusts in, which means funding community has primarily formed; fifthly, think tanks submits internal report as research outcome, which means policy community has become to work; sixthly, influence networks are consolidated, therefore, this step-by-step loop is closed and repeated. We can see the figure as follow.
The influence of China’s think tanks

The study of think tank’s influence on the policy is as difficult as any other study related with the issues of the policy process. However, fortunately, the practices of Chinese government make it easier for us to obtain more obvious indicator for think tanks’ influence, especially their direct influence. Based on the analysis framework of social structure, we find a three-dimension method to measure think tanks’ influence: the decision making nuclear, the center and the periphery °. (Galtung 1965) At the same time, we divided think tanks’ influence into ‘from words’ or ‘from activities’ according to their origins.

As mentioned before, it’s hard to find indicators applicable to all the countries to measure think tanks’ influence on policy making since different countries take different approaches in handling their policy making issues and adopting the experts’ suggestions. The government practices are a decisive factor on how think tanks influence the government and are of importance for us to set up think tanks’ influence indicators. So first of all, we’d like to talk about the approaches Chinese government accept the experts’ thoughts before we set up think tanks’ influence indicators.

In China, most of think tanks’ research papers that are turned to government bodies are called ‘internal reports’. However, the number of papers cannot reflect the
exact chances to influence the policy. It’s Chinese characteristic that the ‘leader’s remark’ plays a uniquely important role in the decision-making. When the government leaders read some selected papers from certain research institutes in his busy work and find their policy advice worthwhile, he would write his remarks in the reports. In China, those comments would expedite the policy action such as ‘acceptance’, or ‘execution’. So obtaining the leaders’ remarks for think tanks’ internal research papers is the most direct and most effective way to influence the policy making. This Chinese characteristic has solved the biggest challenge in our study on how to measure think tanks’ influence. That is, we can tell explicitly that a certain policy is implemented because a research paper by a certain institute won the leader’s remarks.

Now The Chinese government has become more and more willing to listen to the experts’ advice. The central government often invite experts at seminars or hire them as consultants and the ministries and the local governments follow these common practices. That’s why the number of the ‘remarks’ from the Chinese government leaders can be regarded as one of the indicators of China’s think tanks’ influence on the policy making process.

Chinese government is constantly innovating and enriching their approaches to obtain think tanks’ thoughts. Since the 16th National Congress of Communist Party of China at the end of 2002, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, which is the nuclear core of the Communist Party, has hold more than ten group studies. In addition, they attended the seminars every month to listen to the experts’ advice in certain areas. Because of their exemplary behavior, the local governments also began to invite think tanks experts to organize seminars and group study for the officials. However, this has not become common practices nationwide so we didn’t count the number of “seminars for officials” as an indicator of think tanks’ influence. But we can add this indicator in our later research if this government practices are widely spread out.

To sum it up, we will introduce two indicators as think tanks’ influence on the policymaking, “leaders’ remarks” and “invitations to the government seminars” which will represent the influence from their origins of “words” and “activities”.

Think tank elites’ influence come from its academic credit whose most important symbol is the number of published papers. But firstly, we must guarantee that the readers of the published papers are social elite that’s why the papers from the popular mass media cannot be counted. Secondly, more emphasis should be put on the influence of the papers than the absolute numbers. Since so far we cannot get the indicator of think tanks’ influence in China from publishing the papers (the paper citation frequency is used internationally as the influence), we will introduce the number of papers published on “the Chinese Core Journal” as indicator of their social elites’ influence. This criterion is widely used and authoritative in China because in order to be selected into the Chinese Core Journal a paper has to meet a comprehensive indexed standard based on seven indicators. They are the overall indexes counts, overall digests counts, overall citations, overall indirect citations, the digested frequency, the influence factor and winning the national award or being
selected by the large searching engines in China or abroad. So we choose the indicator of “Chinese core journal papers” to reflect their influence in China.

As for the indicators for think tanks’ other influences, we chose “invitations to academic conferences” as indicator for the elite influence in the “activities” criteria and selected “press reports” and “press interviews” as indicators for think tank’s influence on the public. (Zhu and Su 2004)

So far, all the indicators for the Chinese think tanks’ influence have been set up and are shown in the table 1 below.

Table 1. The indicator matrices for China’s think tanks’ influence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy influence</th>
<th>Elite influence</th>
<th>Public influence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Words</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government leaders’ remarks</td>
<td>Core journal papers</td>
<td>Press reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
<td>Invitations to the government conferences</td>
<td>Invitations to national academic conferences</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From table 2 we can see the statistical regression analysis about the above-mentioned indicators and the matrices in table 3. From table 3, we can find some features of Chinese think tanks. The press influence is related with all kinds of think tank’s actions while the government’s influence is independent from the academic influence. The influence from the origins of words and activities decreases as they move far from the policy core. It demonstrates that the more peripheral the information is, the more public it will be.
### Table 2. Descriptive Statistics of Think Tanks’ influence indicators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicators</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard deviation</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Missing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Remarks (^a)</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>3.707</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Core Journal papers (^b)</td>
<td>5.90</td>
<td>20.939</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Press reports (^a)</td>
<td>6.52</td>
<td>15.902</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Invitations to government conferences (^ac)</td>
<td>6.21</td>
<td>7.173</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Invitations to academic conferences (^ac)</td>
<td>5.28</td>
<td>5.417</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Press interviews (^ac)</td>
<td>6.02</td>
<td>10.159</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\): data in 2003;  
\(^b\): Sum up in 2000 and 2003  
\(^c\): the overall attendance by think tanks’ heads.

### Table 3. The Matrices table about the influence indicators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Remarks (^a)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Core Journal papers (^b)</td>
<td>.094</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Press reports (^a)</td>
<td>.146***</td>
<td>.146***</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Invitations to government conferences (^ac)</td>
<td>.100*</td>
<td>.095</td>
<td>.260***</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Invitations to academic conferences (^ac)</td>
<td>.132*</td>
<td>.160**</td>
<td>.111*</td>
<td>.533***</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Press interviews (^ac)</td>
<td>.075</td>
<td>.093</td>
<td>.400***</td>
<td>.411***</td>
<td>.420***</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\): data in 2003;  
\(^b\): Sum up in 2000 and 2003  
\(^c\): the overall attendance number of think tanks’ heads.  
\(^*\): P<0.05; \(^**\): P<0.01; \(^***\): P<0.001( one-tailed test)
We combine these six influence indicators through the Method of Factor Analysis step by step. Firstly we get the influence factors about all social stratum and then the influence factors for each institute. Then we chose Varimax Orthogonal Transformation as the rotation method and the Principal Components Method to extract the factors, based on the correlation matrix of the independent variables.

Since in the measure unit of independent variables varies).

A. Policy making (nuclear) influence factor distribution
B. Elite (center) influence factor distribution
C. Public (periphery) influence factor distribution
D. Think tanks influence factor distribution

Chart 2. The influence factor distribution for Chinese think tanks

From calculating think tanks’ influence factor, we get separate influence factors which indicate both think tanks’ influence on different social stratum and the overall influence factor. The mean value of the overall influence factor of all think tanks is 0 with a stand deviation of 1, a minimum of -0.97 and a maximum of 4.792. We can categorize think tanks into five groups according to their influence factor: very weak influence with a factor below -0.5, semi-weak influence between –0.5 and 0,
semi-strong influence between 0 and 1, strong influence between 1 and 2 and very strong influence above 2. We can see from Chart 1 that the statistical distribution inclined to the low value area, showing that about 65 percent of think tanks have semi-weak influence.

**Social capital of China’s think tanks**

The analysis of the networks of think tanks is important when we make research about think tanks’ influence. We will apply the concept in the Social Capital Theory to find out the relationship between the social networks and think tanks’ influence since the theory regard the social networks as the observance objective.


We can simply note that social capital is the scarce resources captured through social relations. The scarce resources include power, status, fortune, funds, knowledge, chance, information, etc. When these resources become scarce under a certain social environment, people can get from two kinds of social ties. One is a stable relationship between a person and his affiliated social group or institute and an individual can obtain the scarce resources from these groups or institutes. The second is the social network which doesn’t require any membership qualification or any physical groups or institutes and starts and develops by people’s contact, communication, exchange and other interactions.

In order to estimate social capital, we take the procedure below.

Firstly, we take the personal social network of think tanks’ heads representing the institute’s social capital. The former study cases show that since China’s think tanks are still at a preliminary stage, their head’s charisma characterizes the social activities of most think tanks. The heads represent their institutes to attend all kinds of activities and also bear the responsibility to spread out their ideas and promote the institute image. That’s why we regard that social capital of the head can represent that of think tanks. It’s true that there is not only one renowned expert in some institutes. But only head is counted can simply and standardize our statistical calibers, which is quite practical in this study.

Secondly, two kinds of the social networks of the heads are counted to measure their social capital.

The head try to maintain their reputation among the social elite through all kinds
of social activities. The social activities could be attending various academic or social groups or accepting some part-time academic positions. These can both stable their social network in some circle. So we can find out the number of organizations that the head attends representing his stable social network. We designed two indicators, one is “how many social or academic part-time positions that you hold besides your present job?” and the other is “how many social groups you join besides the present institute?” The difference between the two indicators is that there is strong tie in the social part-time job with more commitment of participation while there is weak tie in the social groups with less participation.

We can observe the size of his social network, that is, the approximate number of people he knows, as his personal unstable social ties. This method is rather objective with an explicit question so the interviewees won’t make conjectures and make the data biased. We categorized the social ties of the head into several groups including officials at or above the governor and minister levels, officials at the bureau director levels, ordinary officials from other government bodies and the heads of private and state-owned companies, and People from the press and media areas, the numbers of which would be counted if think tanks head at least have met them twice. Their social network is categorized into five groups from less than 10 people, 10 to 50 people, 50 to 100 people, 100 and 200 people and above 200 which are defined as 1 to 5.

We get social capital factor in the similar way that we obtain think tanks’ influence factor. We get the respective contribution rate of two kinds of social tie factor though the Factor Analysis Method. Then we chose Varimax Orthogonal Transformation as the rotation method and the Principal Components Method to extract the factor, based on the correlation matrix of the independent variables. (Since the difference in the measurement unit of independent variables). The mean value of overall social capital factor of all think tanks is 0 with a stand deviation of 1, a minimum of -1.894 and a maximum of 5.440. We categorize social capital of think tanks into four groups: coefficient less than -1 is regarded as very low level of social capital; from -1 to 0, low level; from 0 to 1, high level and very high level if above 1. We can see that there is a normal distribution in social capital from the chart below with 55 percent of think tanks in the area of low level of social capital. We can see the statistical distribution for social capital of think tanks from the chart below.
About other independent variables

The economy cost of think tanks: cost of policy research of think tanks (unit: 10,000 Yuan)

Labor capital of think tanks: We define labor capital by the number of the researchers in the institute. The researchers are divided into full-time and part-time ones. We regard the part-time researchers as half unit of a labor. Then we can get:

\[ \text{The number of researchers} = \text{the number of full-time researchers} + (0.5)\times \text{the number of part-time researchers} \]

Social Capital and the Structure of Networks

Contribution of Social Capital

Capital investment always expects some returns. Economists have kept developing the definition of capital since Carl Marx began his research on capital. The production activities such as the industry production can be explained by a function with economic capital and labor capital. Social capital also becomes useful when the sociologists begin to pay attention to the value of social network which is a ladder for both the individual and the institute upward. As a special institute to produce the public products of “thoughts”, think tanks’ value lies in their influence. And we would set up a model with the independent variables of economic capital, labor capital and social capital, which are indicators of think tanks’ influence.

The China’s government since assumed that the strength of the research institutes
is determined by labor capital and the research cost which are then described as indicators of the overall research strength. (China’s Soft Science Survey and Statistics Team 1996) However, based on the theory exploration on the policy process, think tanks’ networks and social capital, we can estimate that the most influential factor is social capital, not their economy or labor input. That’s why we make the hypothesis on social capital.

**Hypothesis 1:** The contribution of economic capital and labor capital is much lower to think tanks’ influence than that of social capital.

**Functions of Structure of Networks**

*Communicative action and strong ties proposition*

There are instrumental action and expressive action in the theories on action. (Lin 2001, p.58) For instrumental action, the sociologists once believe that “weak ties” are more useful than “strong ties” towards success. In the famous Weak Ties Theory of Granovetter, weak ties would provide more useful information than strong ties (people who are more familiar with us) since strong ties are usually homogenous while weak ties are often heterogeneous. (Granovetter 1973; 1982) The proposition of social capital believes that the success probability of instrumental action has a positive correlation with social capital and the usage of weak ties has a positive correlation with social resources. (Lin 1982; 1990) However, Researchers used to find counter examples in weak tie hypothesis in China or other Chinese communities. (Bian 1997a; 1997b) So we would like to know that what kind of influence weak and strong ties could have on think tanks’ influence?

We believe that think tanks’ behaviors for their influence have fundamental differences from the above theories. The action they take belongs to neither instrumental action nor expressive action but communicative action. Communicative action is an interaction between the participants via the media of languages. They use language or non-language codes as tools to understand each other’s situation and purpose. That’s why each other’s understanding becomes the core of communications so the language plays a very important role in communication. (Habermas 1984; 1987) The difference between communicative action and instrumental action lies in the failure of instrumental action can be concluded as “having contradiction” between certain “disappointing” reality and our expectation while the failure of communicative action derives from the contradiction between different forms of “objective spirits” in our life. The actors then began to object a kind of distinct objectivity - the objection from the actors of the same organization due to their different values, moral beliefs and traditions in their life. The difference between communicative action and expressive action lies in that communicative action is a two-direction interaction which doesn’t need special efforts from the action makers and need the responses from the action receivers while the expressive action is a one-direction positive action. Since the research products of think tanks have to be accepted, agreed and adopted by
others to make influence, that is, to be agreed by the policy makers on the value, beliefs and ideas of think tanks’ products. This agreement stands for the success of think tanks in campaigning their policy ideas. So we can see that the efforts that think tanks have been making to have their influence and to make others’ "objective spirits" accord with them. And these efforts are "communicative action".

There are different mechanisms of social ties’ impact on communicative action and on instrumental action. (Chris 1995; Kihlsrtom 2002) Social ties make contributions to instrumental action in making it easier for actors to obtain more useful information and more help while they contribute to communicative action in the way that actors find it easier to accept each other's values through social ties. Therefore, there exists a positive correlation between whether to accept each other's values and their social background, the similarity of their experiences and the intimacy of their contacts. That is to say, strong ties are more helpful to the success of communicative action than weak ties. During think tanks' efforts to realize their influence, think tanks’ experts try to increase the reputation of their own institutes and social networks by attending all kinds of organizations so the communicative action can be realized. Moreover, the more they participate in these organizations, the closer ties they will have with the other members, and then it is easier to realize their influence.

Therefore, we have "strong ties proposition" below on think tanks' influence:

Hypothesis 2: Strong ties have a positive correlation with the success of communicative action.

Hypothesis 2 a: In think tanks' networks, strong ties set up during the participation in external organizations have more significance to the realization of think tanks’ efforts.

Among the indicators of social capital, the two indicators of think tanks' "part-time jobs in other societies or academic institutes" and "memberships in other social organizations" can be interpreted as strong ties and weak ties respectively. This is because that the part-time positions in the society clarify more explicitly between the rights and the responsibilities, while the relationships between the members of the social organizations are looser and the benchmark of the membership is quite low. In this way, we can reinterpret the proposition 8 as below:

Hypothesis 2 b: The more part-time positions the heads of think tanks hold in other societies or academic organizations, the more influence they will have; while the number of their other memberships won't help to increase their influence much.

In addition, communicative action is an interaction between actors so there is the spiral effects for think tanks experts to participate frequently in the external organizations--the more part-time positions they have, the more reputable they will are and more organizations are willing to invite them for the social activities. But reactive effects of the influence on think tanks’ networks is not the topic we are discussing in this paper.
The ladder of networks

This topic comes from the theories of policy process and social resources. The main features of China’s policymaking process can be summarized as "the democratic centered system". That is, each official in the government can express their opinions when discussing the policies while the high-level officials have the final decision rights. So the ladder of China’s policy decision making under democratic centered system means that the higher administrative positions the leaders have, the bigger controls they have over the policy making while the lower level officials can only make advices. Moreover, the theory of social resources believes that the social resources distribute in the shape of the pyramid. (Lin 1982) That is, the higher position the person has in the networks, the more social resources he would obtain. (Lin 2001)

From the above conclusion, we may deduce that the higher administrative position the government officials in think tanks networks hold, the greater contribution they will make to think tanks' influence, while officials with lower positions will make less contribution to think tanks' influence.

Is that right? We should re-observe policy process in China. We used to think that the officials of higher administrative rankings in the government has more power over the decision making so it’s more helpful for think tanks to get to know the higher level officials to make their research ideas influential than to know the lower level officials. But we statistical analysis shows the conclusion is that only the officials at the bureau director levels play the most influential roles in think tanks’ influence. This phenomenon makes it necessary for us to reconsider the administrative operation and policymaking process of Chinese government.

In Chinese government, especially in the central ministries, the officials at the bureau director levels play the role of “bridge” in connecting the upper and lower level, and internal and external relationships during China’s policy decision making process, and therefore, they have the direct controls over the policy making. The officials at the minister levels are the namely superintendents over the policy drafting but they usually don’t attend the policy making seminars but are handed in the reports by the officials at the bureau director levels or attend the work report meetings. When the meetings are over, the officials at the minister level will make a summary about the previous work performance and most of the time they will make compliments and will not make comments on the specific policy rules. But the officials at the bureau director levels directly participated in the policy making process and are in charge of many government policy seminars where many policy ideas are initiated and then approved by the department head of the ministry. Then the officials at the bureau director levels will hand in policy drafts to the minister-level officials at the ministry meeting for approval. While other officials in government in lower levels are the executors of the specific project from drafting the plans, organizing the seminars to inviting think tanks’ experts and officials from other government bodies. Think tanks’ good relationships with the officials at the bureau director levels would open a channel to communicate with the most key persons who directly make the policy rules.
Our statistics analysis strongly supports this Chinese characteristic.

So we may draw the proposition of China's networks ladder. This ladder is not based on administrative ranks but on the resources over policy making (including the decision making information, the collection of draft plans, the preliminary selection and the bridge connecting both the upper with the lower officials and internal and external.)

We may conclude the propositions that the contribution of the members in China's think tanks' networks will goes down with the decrease of the decision making resources the members control, and that in China, it's most beneficial for think tanks' heads to know the officials at the bureau director levels to increase think tanks’ influence.

Hypothesis 3a: The contribution of the members in China's think tanks' networks will goes down with the decrease of the decision making resources the members control.

Hypothesis 3b: In China, it's most beneficial for think tanks' heads to know the officials at the bureau director levels to increase think tanks’ influence.

We categorize the indicators of the networks’ size into three different government administrative rankings: the number of officials at or above the governor and minister levels, those officials at the bureau director levels, and ordinary officials from other government bodies and the heads of private and state-owned companies. The three indicators can be regarded as three levels in think tanks' networks ladder.

### Data and findings

From table 4, there is a very strong correlation between economic capital and labor capital while social capital is not interchangeable with either economic capital or labor capital. Social capital is a constant item for think tanks and has nothing to do with the institute's economic and labor input.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Economic capital</th>
<th>Labor capital</th>
<th>Social capital</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic capital</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor capital</td>
<td>.623***</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social capital</td>
<td>.011</td>
<td>.075</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*: P<0.05; **: P<0.01; ***: P<0.001 (one-tailed test)

Then we make regression on the independent variables of economic capital, labor capital and social capital to reflect the influence factor as the table 5 below.
Table 5. Regressions on economic, labor and social capital (2004 survey) a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic capital</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy research cost</td>
<td>192.45 / (700.39)</td>
<td>.000*/ (.142)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.000 / (.114)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor capital</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F/T researchers</td>
<td>36.537 / (65.807)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.004** / (.183)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.001 / (.036)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social capital</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social capital factor</td>
<td>0.000 / (1.000)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.496*** / (.496)</td>
<td>.490*** / (.498)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other variables</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-.020</td>
<td>-.115</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>-.051</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>.020</td>
<td>.033</td>
<td>.246</td>
<td>.271</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F value</td>
<td>5.135*</td>
<td>9.374**</td>
<td>89.381***</td>
<td>30.496***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case number</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>301</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a: The dependent variable is think tanks’ influence factor

*: P<0.05; **: P<0.01; ***: P<0.001 (one-tailed test)

From the multiple linear regressions above we can see that economic capital and labor capital (Model I & II) both contribute to think tanks’ influence when we make a regression on them respectively. (P <0.05 and P<0.01 respectively, and the standardized coefficients are 0.142 and 0.183 respectively.) This reflects that the increase of the research cost and the labor cost can really improve the institute influence. But the single contribution of social capital is more significant to think tanks’ influence than that of economic and labor capital (Model III: P <0.001 and the standardized coefficient is 0.496). While we make regression on the three independent variables, we can see that economic and labor capital input become insignificant.

Chinese government thinks that they should make those weak think tanks “bigger and stronger” through implementation of policies since economy capital and labor capital physically reflect the sheer size of think tanks. Our model and test shows this thought is not totally right. Furthermore, it will not become very effective to merge think tanks to improve their influence either.

Since the determination factor of think tanks’ influence comes from social capital so we put the economic and the labor capital aside and try to find the relationship between social capital and think tanks’ influence. We already know that social capital of think tanks can be explained by the characteristics of its existing networks, so we
would like to discuss the mechanism of the structure of networks.

### Table 6. Regression of social capital on think tanks' influence (2004 survey) *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Model I</th>
<th>Model II</th>
<th>Model III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-standardized/</td>
<td>Non-standardized/</td>
<td>Non-standardized/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Standardized)</td>
<td>(Standardized)</td>
<td>(Standardized)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership in the social organizations or institutes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time positions in Other societies or academic institutes</td>
<td>.156***/(.484)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.124***/(.384)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership in other organizations</td>
<td>-.022/(-.060)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-.032/(-.087)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The networks size</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officials at or above the governor- and minister levels</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.069/(.041)</td>
<td>-.018/(-.011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officials at the bureau director levels</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.349***/(.312)</td>
<td>.264**/(.236)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary officials from other government bodies and the heads of private and state-owned companies</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.022/(.028)</td>
<td>.025/(.031)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People from the press and media areas</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.194**/(.184)</td>
<td>.179**/(.169)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other items</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-.529***</td>
<td>-1.325***</td>
<td>-1.367***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>.205</td>
<td>.213</td>
<td>.315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F value</td>
<td>35.562***</td>
<td>18.585***</td>
<td>20.892***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of cases</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a: The dependent variable is think tanks’ influence factor

*: P<0.05; **: P<0.01; ***: P<0.001 (one-tailed test)

The model I in the table 6 strongly supports the strong ties topic. The part-time social or academic positions of the heads of think tanks as strong ties have a strong positive correlation with think tanks' influence (p<0.001, with a standardized coefficient of 0.484). After comparing Model I with Model II, we can see that a more stable social network (model I) has more contribution than an unstable one. (F = 35.56 and 18.585 respectively.)

When we include the two kinds of social networks of think tanks' head into model III, although the standardized coefficients of each indicator goes down, but overall speaking, the model III supports the same conclusion in model I and model II. But the interpretations becomes more powerful in model III since the R square value increases from 0.205% and 21.3% respectively in model I and model II to the 31.5% in model III.

However, the emphasis we have to discuss about here is that model II and model III both showed a result which is different from our hypothesis of networks ladder.
That is, the benefits for think tanks' heads from knowing government officials don't decrease as their administrative rank drops. On the contrary, it doesn't benefit their institutes a lot if they know the officials at the governor- and ministry levels, while it's most helpful to get to know those officials at the bureau director levels. This phenomenon really drew out attention and needs our interpretation.

**Conclusions**

Think tanks’ influence is difficult to make sure. There are several reasons have been concerned by researchers. (Stone, Maxell and Keating 2001) But this paper heuristically develops an index to measure think tanks’ influence according to framework of social structure. In this framework, think tanks’ influence on policy does no longer act only on the policy decision maker. The individuals who take part in policy process and concern policy problems throughout the social structure are all those think tanks want to influence, therefore, a three-dimension-index is the more convenient method to compare different behavior effort by different think tanks.

To establish a channel or connection to policy process actors is the first step for a think tank to make research into policy. Chinese culture and bureaucracy are dominated by Confucianism, therefore, *guanxi* becomes the absolutely most important factor for decision maker in bureaucracy to accept policy advice from research institutes. Furthermore, this paper point out that not all connections is equally efficient for think tanks to get influence channel. We have the conclusion that the structure of think tanks networks has quite complicated function for think tanks to realize their influence.

**Acknowledgement**

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**Appendix A. The survey about the heads of China’s think tanks**

**Data Collection**

With the help of the Ministry of Science and Technology of P. R. China (MOST), we handed out the questionnaires to the heads of China’s think tanks to get the data. Based on the registered information at the MOST in 2003, we mailed the questionnaires to 1,124 qualified institutes and received 301 valid responses from 25
provinces (cities or municipalities).

**Test of Sample Representativeness and Other Selection Bias**

According to the list of China’s soft science research institutes (policy and decision research institutes including think tanks and official policy research branch, in Chinese term) from the statistical result of 2001-2002 by the MOST, there are 1634 soft science research institutes in China, which means the think tanks we have surveyed cover with 18.4% official statistics.

We test the data distribution from each province for two indexes, such as the number of think tanks and the average researcher size of think tanks to analyze the sample representativeness.

Firstly, we observe whether the number of samples can represent the actual distribution from each province. According to table A-1, the callback rate of Beijing is higher than others’, probably because of sufficient institutes information and also because author lives in Beijing so that it is convenient to contact with these surveyed institutes of Beijing. There are several frontier provinces that no institutes responded, such as Gansu, Hainan, Inner-mongolia, and Ningxia. But we don’t know the reason why there are no institutes in Jilin, which is not frontier province.

Secondly, considering that different attention may be paid by heads of think tanks because of the different researcher size of institutes, we observe the institutional size characteristics from each province. From table A-1, the two average sizes of total tank tanks all over the country from official data and survey data are so close, respectively 29.74 and 29.89, which means that the average size of the responded institutes can represent that of all the institutes of China. Besides, we compare the average size from each province. The data of each province are quit equal, so we can conclude that there is no bias from the feedback province in terms of the average researcher size of the responded institutes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provinces</th>
<th>The distribution from Official Data</th>
<th>The distribution from Survey Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The number of Think tanks</td>
<td>Total researchers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beijing</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>6532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chongqing</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>2065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gansu</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>2098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangxi</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guizhou</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hainan</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heibei</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>3791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heilongjiang</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>1719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubei</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>2081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner-Mongolia</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilin</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>2835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>3445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liaoning</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ningxia</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qinghai</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>2395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaanxi</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>3168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sichuan</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>1219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tianjin</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>2710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibet</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinjiang</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1634</td>
<td>48589</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After that, we randomly sampled 62 institution heads who didn’t respond to the questionnaire and inquired about the reasons. Among those respondents who didn’t filled in the questionnaires, respectively, there are 10 people whose addresses were not registered properly, 10 who changed telephone numbers and 17 who didn’t answer the phones, 8 who changed the jobs or retired, 13 didn’t receive the mails, 2 who didn’t get the mails personally, 1 whose letter was taken care of by others and 1 whose response didn’t arrive us. This sample group shows that nobody intentionally declines to answer the questionnaire and the reasons causing not to respond are mostly because of force majeure or unconscious behaviors.

In conclusion, the data from this wide-range survey are strongly representative and are believable and effective.

Appendix B. Structure of Chinese government

Table B-1. Levels of officials in Chinese government or Communist Party of China (CPC) sectors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Government</th>
<th></th>
<th>CPC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top level</td>
<td>Prime minister</td>
<td>Secretary-general</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The governor and minister levels</td>
<td>Minister</td>
<td>Governor of province</td>
<td>Head of Department of CPC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The bureau director levels</td>
<td>Bureau director</td>
<td>District head</td>
<td>Bureau director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The branch director levels</td>
<td>Branch director</td>
<td>County head</td>
<td>Branch director</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes
2. Related evidences in America and British can be seen in Meier (1985), Sabatier (1987), and Browne’s (1995) work.
3. Johan Galtung classified the social structure into Decision-making Nuclear, Center and Periphery based on the relationship between the social strata and the policy making.
4. All the local governments have websites for administration transparency. The information about the government policy seminars can also be found on the government websites.
5. Http://www.chinajournal.net.cn/index.htm
6. Habermas categorized the action into: Teleological or instrumental action, Normative action, Dramaturgical action and Communicative action.

References
Gill, Bates and James Mulvenon. "Chinese Military-Related Think Tanks and Research


Submissions for Hawaii International Conference on Social Science

Title of Submission: The definition and measurement of weak tie in job seeking

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The definition and measurement of weak tie in job seeking

Granovetter’s (1973) hypothesis of the strength of weak tie has stimulated a great deal of research in the study of the effect of social ties in the job seeking process. Though these important empirical results let us have more understanding about the different effect of weak tie and strong tie in the labor market, few of them pay enough attention to a key question—how to measure tie strength.

In “The Strength of weak tie”, Granovetter (1973) give us the definition of “the strength of weak tie”, which is “a (probably linear) combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie”.

Granovetter (1983) argue that “individuals with few weak ties will be deprived of information from distant parts of the social system and will be confined to the provincial news and views of their close friends. This deprivation will not insulate them from the latest ideas and fashions but may put them in a disadvantaged position in the labor market, where advancement can depend”.

Though the argument of “the strength of weak ties” is creative, the definition is so rough that Granovetter can not give us an accurate measurement of tie strength.

Granovetter (1973) use two principles to describe how one tie is stronger than another one. The first principle is “the overlap of social network”, which means “the stronger the tie between A and B, the larger the proportion of individuals in S to whom they will both be tied, that is, connected by a weak or strong tie. This overlap in their friendship circles is predicted to be least when they tie is absent, most when it
is strong, and intermediate when it is weak”.

The second principle is “the level of similarity”, which means the stronger the tie connecting two individuals, the more similar they are, in various ways. Thus, if strong ties connect A to B and A to C, both C and B, being similar to A, are probably similar to one another, increasing the likelihood of a friendship once they have met”

These two principal are more helpful than four elements in the definition for us to understand the character of tie strength, nevertheless these principal are also hard to operationalize.

As Granovetter (1973) mentioned, “discussion of operational measures of and weights attaching to each of the four elements is postponed to future empirical studies. It is sufficient for the present purpose if most of us can agree, on a rough intuitive basis, whether a given tie is strong, weak, or absent”.

So, in his own research, Granovetter (1974) use a very simply variable “the amount of time spent together by the two people” to measure tie strength. He asked respondents how often they saw their personal contact around the time that he pass on job information to them, and use the following categories for frequency of contact: “often”—at least twice a week; “occasionally”—more than once a year but less than twice a week; “rarely”—once a year or less.

Of 54 people who found their job through contacts, 16.7% reported that they were seeing their contact “often”, 55.6% “occasionally”, while 27.8% saw him “rarely”. Additionally, those who found their job through weak ties reported much more often that their contacts “put in a good word” from them, as well as telling them about the
Following Granovetter’s study, more and more studies use different research data in different area to verify Granovetter’s “strength of weak tie” hypothesis. Unfortunately, most of these studies develop their own measurement of tie strength based on their research need, and none of these measurements are totally accepted by other researches. In this chapter, I will review most typical measurements of tie strength, and then give my own comment on these measurements.

Friedkin (1980) used mailed questionnaire to study the network among faculty members in seven biological science departments of a single university. In this research, he asked respondents their relation between other faculty members. To describe the relation, the respondent was asked six questions:

1. I know something of person’s work;
2. I have read or heard person present his/her work;
3. I have talked with person about his/her work;
4. I know something of person’s current work;
5. I have read or heard person present his/her current work;
6. I have talked with person about his/her current work.

According Friedkin (1980)’s design, he use two method to convert the answers of these six questions to tie strength.

The first method is use scale, “the measure, is constructed by adding together the number of different relationships each member of a dyad reports having with other member.” By this method, the tie strength is treated as a interval variable.
The second method is more convenient, which measure tie strength as a dummy variable. “Strong tie are defined as those in which both faculty member’s current research activity has been discussed, and weak ties as those in which only one of the faculty member’s current research has been discussed.” Friedkin (1980) explained this measure is consistent with Granovetter (1973) that treats asymmetrical contact as a weak tie and reciprocal contact as a strong tie.

In the study of how 299 scientists in one Canada and one U.S university get the information about their current and earlier positions, Murray, Rankin and Magill (1981) used two different methods to measure the tie strength.

The question of the first method is similar to what Friedkin (1980) used. Respondents are asked 1) did that person know your work well? 2) Did that person know you well personally? Ties are coded “strong” if the job informer knows both the job candidate’s professional work and the job candidate himself well. If the job informer knows only the candidate or his work well, the tie is code “intermediate”. “Weak tie” constituted those responses in which the job informer knew neither the job candidate nor his work well. Murray, Rankin and Magill (1981) named this method “strength of tie”.

At the same time, the respondents are also asked “How often were you and the job informer in contact at that time”. This method is similar to what Granovetter (1973) used, and Murray, Rankin and Magill (1981) named it “frequency of contact”.

Comparing the result from two different method, Murray, Rankin and Magill (1981) find “strength of tie” is positively related to “frequency of contact” (gamma =0.71).
But Murray, Rankin and Magill (1981) also pointed that the frequency of contact with their job informers was greater at times other than when they were applying for jobs. So Murray, Rankin and Magill (1981) argue that strength of tie is probably a better measure of the job informer-job applicant relationship, since it is less affected by temporary variance in the frequency of interaction. But I think that this bias is only cause by the question focusing on “that time (the information was transmitted)”, so if we improve the question about “frequency of contact”, focusing on the interaction in a long term, this bias may be avoided.

Another important question I should point is the inconsistent classification between the two methods. If we use Granovetter (1973)’s classification, which treat “often”—at least twice a week as stronger tie, “occasionally”—more than once a year but less than twice a week as intermediated tie; “rarely”—once a year or less as weak tie, then some of intermediate ties (9.1%) according to Murray, Rankin and Magill (1981)’s first method will become strong tie, at the same time, some of strong tie (18.1%) and intermediate tie (5.6%) according to Murray, Rankin and Magill (1981) ’s first method will become weak tie.? As Murray, Rankin and Magill (1981) do not show us the result using “the frequency of contact” measurement, we don’t know whether the different results from these two classifications will cause huge difference in the result of tie strength effect on job seeking. However, the inconsistence of tie strength caused by the different classification should arouse our enough notice.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1 Frequency of contact by Strength of tie</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Contact</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Based on Friedkin (1980)’s measurement, Murray and Poolman (1982) added “frequency of interaction” variable used by Granovetter (1973) and develop their own new method to measure tie strength.

In their study, Murray and Poolman (1982) ask person in biological and social science to report how they had first learned of the existence of each work they cited in a recent publication. If someone had told them this information, respondents were asked:

1. Is this someone with whom you have discussed your research?
2. Is this someone with whom you have discussed his/her research?
3. Is this someone with whom you converse weekly (or more often)?

If exactly one of the first two questions was answered “yes”, the relation was treated as “weak tie”. If the third of these questions was answered “yes”, the relation was treated as “strong tie”.

Ericksen and Yancey (1980) studied 1780 adults aged sixty-five and under living in the Philadephia area in 1975. If respondents received help from another person in finding their current job, they will classify as having used ties. If the person providing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strong</th>
<th>Intermediate</th>
<th>Weak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2+ times a week</td>
<td>49.3%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-51 times a year</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-4 times a year</td>
<td>24.0%</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than once a year</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>18.1%</td>
<td>85.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Murray, Rankin and Magill (1981) Table 1

Based on Friedkin (1980)’s measurement, Murray and Poolman (1982) added “frequency of interaction” variable used by Granovetter (1973) and develop their own new method to measure tie strength.
help was a relative or friend of the respondent, the tie was considered strong. If the person was classified as an acquaintance, the tie was considered weak.\(^1\)

In Nan Lin, Ensel and Vaughn (1981), they use the similar measurement, weak tie is acquaintances and indirect ties; and strong tie is relatives, friends and neighbors. Compared to Ericksen and Yancey (1980), Nan lin, Ensel and Vaughn (1981) add a new catalog “neighbors”, and call them strong ties. In the note of this paper, they mentioned that neighbors are classified as weak ties in Wellman (1979), but because less than 3% of all individuals in the sample used neighbors to attain jobs, so Nan lin, Ensel and Vaughn (1981) think this classificatory difference does not appear very significant. But in my opinion, the importance of the classification of “neighbors” is not only the statistical significant, but also the understanding of the concept of tie strength. Without detailed explain or data support, classifying “neighbors” as neither “weak tie” nor “strong tie” is rough and opinionated.

Five years later, in another paper whose first author is also Nan Lin, Nan Lin and Mary Dumin (1986) back to the measurement used by Ericksen and Yancey (1980), in which only relatives and friends are strong tie, the catalog “neighbors” used in Nan lin, Ensel and Vaughn (1981) disappears. When authors use this study to verify “the strength of weak tie” hypothesis, they get some disappointed result. Only when they treat friends as weak tie and relatives as strong tie, “the strength of weak tie” hypothesis can be confirmed. But if acquaintances are added, the result is inconsistent. The effect of friends is stronger than acquaintances, and the effect of acquaintances is

\(^1\) Because Ericksen and Yancey (1980) is an unpublished manuscript, the detail of the measurement of tie strength is cited from Granovetter (1983)
stronger than relatives. That means some strong ties are better than weak ties, and the other strong ties are worse than weak tie. Nan Lin and Mary Dumin (1986) think this inconsistent result may be caused by the underestimation of the significance of acquaintances, which is due to recall and definition problems. Despite the possible underestimations of the strength of weak ties, Nan Lin and Mary Dumin (1986) also agree that when one uses relatives, friends and acquaintances as classifications, it is wise not to automatically lump relatives and friends into a single category.

Weimann (1983) study the flow of information and influence in the network of conversational ties in a kibbutz community. When measuring ties strength, he uses three scales: the importance he/she attaches to the tie, the frequency of contact and the duration of the tie. Different from former studies only asking one respondent about his/her relation with another person, every tie in Weimann (1983) was rated by two respondents, and then summed the scores given by each member of the dyad to the same tie, thus adding the element of mutuality. In the end, the variable used to describe ties strength is a continuous variable, which is ranged from 1 (weak) to 18 (strong).

In the same paper, Weimann (1983) also mention the problem of multiplexity, finds that weak tie have an average of 1.62 forms of interaction while the average for strong tie is 3.64 forms of interaction, so he believe weak ties and strong ties have difference in multiplexity, and multiplex relations are strong relation.

In the study of weak ties and the integration of peer friendships, Hansel (1984) use a very simple method to measure tie strength. Students were asked to indicate their
liking for each student by checking one of three faces. The first face had a big smile and the label “a lot”, the second face had a moderate smile and the label “some”, and the third face had no smile and the label “not much”. Liking a lot was considering a strong friendship tie, and liking some was treated as a weak friendship tie. Liking not much was assumed to indicate the absence of a friendship tie. In the note of Hansel (1984), he mentioned that this measure may have some disadvantages. Ratings of the degree of liking may not be equivalent to nominations of friends or best friends.

In the same year, Bridges and Villemez (1986) also publish a paper about contacts used in labor market. The method they used to distinguish weak tie and strong tie was based on Nan Lin, Ensel and Vaughn (1981), which uses “acquaintance, relatives, friends and neighbors” four catalog, but Bridges and Villemez (1986) consider more special situation, and use a complex classification tree to do the measurement.

From Table 2, when contact is relative, whether they live in same household will be considered, and if they do not live in same household, the frequency they meet each other should be considered. This consideration can help to avoid the problem that some relative contacts have little intercourse with the respondent, but they are classified as strong tie. When contacts are neighbor, whether they grew up or attended school will be considered. This consideration can solve the problem Ensel and Vaughn (1981) faced and is better than Ensel and Vaughn (1981) treat neighbor as strong tie roughly and arbitrarily. However, there is also a new problem Bridges and Villemez (1986) never explain in their paper: why use daily or 3+ times/week to distinguish strong tie and weak tie in friends or acquaintance contacts. This frequency
is different from Granovetter (1974) -- at least twice a week, and also different from Murray and Poolman (1982) -- converse weekly. Why 3+ times/week can be a scale of classification? If there is not enough research to support this classification, it is also rough and arbitrary.

**Table 2 classification tree for weak and strong ties**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Friend or Acquaintance</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>relative</th>
<th>no</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>See daily or 3+ times/week</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>Live in same household</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neighbor</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>See daily or 3+ times/week</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grew up or attended school together</td>
<td>Weak tie</td>
<td>Strong tie</td>
<td>Weak tie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong tie</td>
<td>Strong tie</td>
<td>Weak tie</td>
<td>Weak tie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bridges and Villemez (1986)

Besides weak and strong tie, Bridges and Villemez (1986) also use another way to classify social contact—work related and communal ties. According their definition, work-related ties were defined as job informants who were known to the respondent because they were either past or present employers, supervisors, or co-workers. Communal ties were defined as relatives, neighbors, or friends and acquaintances made in school, childhood, voluntary associations (except unions and business associations), church, or recreation groups. If an individual qualified for both the work-related tie and communal categories, preference was given to the work-related
In their research, they find that the distinction between work-related and communal ties retains more of its power than does the contrast between weak and strong tie, so they argue strong-weak dimension of ties is not the only, or even the most important, attribute of personal relationships in the labor market.

The concept of work-related tie is interesting, but I won’t think work-related is a new dimension of social contact, instead I prefer to treat work-related tie as a new measurement of strong tie and weak tie. In the latter part of this chapter, I will pay more attention to this problem.

Wegener (1991) is a very important literature in the development of tie strength measurement. In this study, Wegener (1991) use very complex method to measure tie strength and divide tie strength into three different focuses.

Six indicators are used in this study: (1) a classification of contact persons into “types”: father, mother, sibling, spouse, other relative, friend, superior or teacher, colleague of father or mother, neighbor, colleague at an earlier work place, someone from vocational training, someone from responder’s club, close acquaintance, distant acquaintance, accidental acquaintance. (2) A ten-point social distance scale ranging from “distant” to “very close”; respondents were asked how close they felt to the contact person at the time they were looking for the job. (3) Length of time the respondent had known the contact person at the time of contact (in weeks). (4) Frequency of contact with the contact person, ranging from “daily” to “less then once a year” (six categories). (5) A list of seven items describing activities the respondent
did or could imaging doing with the contact person (adapted form Fischer 1982a). (6) Interest on the part of the contact person in the respondent getting the job; a ten-point rating scale from “not at all interested” to “very interested”.

After collecting so much information, Wegener (1991) didn’t combine them into a single variable, whatever a dummy variable (strong/weak) or an interval variable (degree of the strength). He thinks the common practice of inferring strength of ties from kinship bonds leads to imprecise result, so he use factor analysis to convert six variable into three dimensions: intimate focus of social tie, formal focus of social tie and leisure focus of social tie. He argues that “It is misleading, therefore, to classify strength of social tie according to the types of persons with whom ties are maintained. It is also difficult to determine for which dimension a particular tie should be considered weak or strong; tie are weak or strong depending on which of the three dimensions is considered.” In his data analyze part, Wegener (1991) found there is a nonlinear influence of social ties on job mobility, but this influence is restricted to the intimacy (negative effect) and formality foci (positive effect) and depends on the prestige of prior jobs. So in the conclusion part, Wegener (1991) repeats his argument about tie strength measurement, that “tie strength, the central independent variable underlying Heider’s (1958) and Granovetter (1973) “strength of weak ties” theory, was replaced by variables describing the multidimensional structure of social ties. Social relations with others are not just “weak” or “strong”, they differ on a broad range of qualities (Feld 1981). More research is needed to confirm that the foci of intimacy, formality and leisure are valid dimensions of social ties. It is unlikely that
these dimensions are an exhaustive description of social ties.”

After summarizing some typical measurement used by former studies, I will express some principals I used to judge these measurements. I believe using these principals will help us to know more about the advantage and the disadvantage of these measurements, and develop better measurements of ties strength.

1. Subjective or objective. When we measure the tie strength between two persons, we will ask he/she some questions. Some of these questions are objective, such as “Is he/she your relative?” even the respondent does not answer the question, we can also find the answer from other source, for example, asking his/her relative or friends whether these two person are relative. So we need not afraid of the answers’ accuracy. But, other questions are subjective, such as “how close between you and him/her?” Only the respondents can give us answers, but their answers are not equal to the true fact, there may be bias. As Wellman (1983) mentioned, ties often are asymmetrically reciprocal, differing in content and intensity. In Shulman (1972, 1976)’s study, “only 36 percent of those named as close friends and kin feel symmetrically close in return to the persons who had named them. Their own close ties are with others; they have weak asymmetric ties to those who name them”. This is a big problem Ericksen and Yancey (1980), Nan Lin, Ensel and Vaughn (1981) and other studies that use such as “close friends” and “acquaintance” catalog to classify weak tie and strong tie have to face, that when A tell us he/she and B are close friends, they may be only acquaintances in fact and vice versa. The actual factor that affects
the inflow of information between two people is the actual tie strength between them, not the feeling of any of them. The method asking both sides of the tie to describe the tie strength in Weimann (1983) is a good way to reduce the bias caused by the problem of asymmetrical tie, but I don't think this method can totally avoid the bias, as both sides of the tie may have different direction and degree of bias when they describe the tie strength, but the actual tie strength not necessarily equals to the average of two respondents’ description.

Another problem of the subjective measurement is the importance of involuntary ties, which is also mentioned in Wellman (1983). The involuntary ties are “with network members whom one does not like and with whom one would not voluntarily form a twosome…..they maybe be ties to persons who must be dealt with at work or in the neighborhood.” Wellman (1983) argued that despite their involuntary nature, such ties are often important in terms of the time spent on them, the resources that flow through them, the ways in which they constrain other network members’ activities, and the indirect access they give to the resources of third parties. Though involuntary ties can be very important, because of their involuntary nature, the respondent may underestimate the tie strength of involuntary ties. This problem is also hard to avoid when subjective measurements are used.

So the better way is using objective question to measure the tie strength. Though objective questions may ignore many details of the tie, especially the dimension of emotion, I think this ignoring will affect our understanding of the
influence between two sides of the tie more than the inflow of information. As
“the strength of weak tie” is a hypothesis about the inflow of information, so
this ignoring may be not a big problem.

2. Information-centered or tie-centered. Granovetter (1974) believe the advantage
of weak tie is that they can bring us more information we don’t know, and this
new information can help us in many area such as the process of job seeking or
the spread of ideas. So the core logic of “the strength of weak tie” hypothesis is
‘weak tie’ \(\rightarrow\) more information \(\rightarrow\) benefit.

Comparing different measurement of tie strength, we can find some
measurements (Friedkin 1980, 1982, Murray and Poolman 1982) are
information based. They directly ask the respondents how many they know
each other, and treat the dyad which is reciprocal or know each other and
detailedly as strong tie, while treat the dyad which is not reciprocal or know
each other superficially as weak tie. Because these measurement are
information based, which directly focus on the step two of the logic “more
information \(\rightarrow\) benefit”, those information-based weak tie should be bring the
respondent much more information.

On the contrary, most measurements are tie based. They directly ask the
respondents about the tie strength, such as whether they are close friends or
acquaintance or the frequency of they meet each other. They believe those ties
which are weak according to their measure standard should lead to receiving
more information. But none of those study use data to confirm whether these
tie-based weak tie actually bring the respondent more information. Because the lack of this confirmation, even when we find tie-based weak tie $\rightarrow$ benefit, we can not said we have confirm “the strength of weak tie” hypothesis, as the benefit may be caused by other fact except for more information.

So in the future, a good study about the tie strength and the inflow of information should pay more attention to each step of the logic “weak tie $\rightarrow$ more information $\rightarrow$ benefit”. If someone does not use information-base tie strength measurement, they should remember to prove that the weak tie they believe actually can bring more information.

3. Indicators or predictors. Marsden and Campbell (1984) pointed that there is two type of variables used in the measurement of tie strength: indicators and predictors. According their definition, indicators are actual components of tie strength, and predictors are aspects of relationships that are related to, but not components of, tie strength. For example, the duration of the relation is an indicator of tie strength, which focuses on the time spent in a tie, the first element Granovetter (1974) used to define “the strength of weak tie”; on the contrary, “whether the contact is your relative” is a predictor of tie strength, though it does not measure any of four elements used by Granovetter(1974) -- amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie, studies using “whether the contact is your relative” as a variable believe that the relative contact is stronger. But without enough data support, we don’t know whether a strong tie which is
your relative must be stronger than other ties in all of four elements, or they only must be stronger than other ties in most of four elements. Besides this uncertainty, we even do not know whether all of relative ties are stronger than other ties, or relative ties only have the higher probability than other ties to be strong ties. Using indicator instead of predictor is a good way to avoid such uncertainty, but indicators also have their own problem. From different indicators, we can know more details of a social tie, but each indicator can only show us about one element of a social tie. How to covert several indicators to one variable, which can show us the whole of a tie, is an easy task. Even we agree that the tie strength is only compose of amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services, but nobody know whether the tie strength is a linear combination—Granovetter (1974) only said “probably”. Even it is a linear combination, how much is the proportion of each element. So we can find most studies using indicators to measure tie strength used only one indicator to measure only one element of a social tie, and treat it as the whole, which also will cause measure bias. Marsden and Campbell (1984) found, the use of frequency as a measure of strength will tend systematically to overestimate the strength of ties between persons who are neighbors or co-workers; while the use of duration as a measure of strength will overestimate the strength of ties between relatives. Indicators and predictors have their own advantage and disadvantage, so using which one to measure tie strength should be considered carefully.
4. Ordinal or continuous. In most of studies focusing on the strength of weak tie, the tie strength is a dummy variable, which means a social tie should be a strong tie or a weak tie. When using predictors such as “relative” to measure tie strength, this is not a problem--relative tie can be treat as strong tie naturally. But when using some indicators, such as the frequency of meeting each other or the duration of the social tie, it is not proper to divide a continuous variable into a dummy variable. For example, Bridges and Vellmeze (1986) use “See daily or 3+ times/week” as an important dividing line of weak tie and strong tie. But why the dividing line is 3+ times/week, not 2+ times/week or 4+ times/week? Comparing different studies which use the frequency of meeting each other as a measurement of tie strength, we can find Granovetter (1974) used “twice a week”, and “once a year” as dividing line; Murray and Poolman (1982) used “weekly” as dividing line, all of these dividing lines are totally different, and none of these studies explain why choose these frequencies as dividing lines. So when using indicators as measurement of tie strength, keeping their continuous characteristic, like Weimann (1983), may be a better way than divided them into a dummy variable arbitrarily.

Another advantage of continuous variable is that we can test whether tie strength has nonlinear effect. According to Granovetter’s “the strength of weak tie” hypothesis, weak tie is better than strong tie for they providing more new information. But this hypothesis is plausible, whether the tie strength is the weaker the better, or only the middle strength tie is better than stronger ties. In
Nan Lin and Mary Dumin (1986), when relative ties treated as strong tie, close friends as weaker tie, and acquaintances as weakest ties, the close friends is better than stronger relative tie and weaker acquaintance. Whether this result means the effect of tie strength is nonlinear is an important problem need future studies, and treating tie strength as a continuous variable will have some advantage in regression analyze.

The Table 3 is a summary of tie strength measurement in all studies mentioned above. We can find when they measure the same thing—tie strength, the measurement is so different. Without the common agreement of how to measure tie strength, it is hard to compare results from different studies, as the bias caused by the measurement is hard to avoid.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3 Summary of tie strength measurement in major studies</th>
<th>Subjective or objective</th>
<th>Information based or tie based</th>
<th>Indicators or predictors</th>
<th>Ordinal or continuous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Granovetter (1974)</td>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>Tie based</td>
<td>Indicators</td>
<td>Ordinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friedkin (1980)</td>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>Information based</td>
<td>Indicators</td>
<td>Ordinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray, Rankin and Magill (1981)</td>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>Information based</td>
<td>Indicators</td>
<td>Ordinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray and</td>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Indicators</td>
<td>Ordinal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This row only summarizes the first method used by Murray, Rankin and Magill (1981), the summary of the second method is same as Granovetter (1974)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Subjective or Objective</th>
<th>Information Based or Tie Based</th>
<th>Indicators or Predictors</th>
<th>Ordinal or Continuous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poolman (1982)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ericksen and Yancey (1980)</td>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>Tie based</td>
<td>Predictor</td>
<td>Ordinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nan Lin, Ensel and Vaughn (1981)</td>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>Tie based</td>
<td>Predictor</td>
<td>Ordinal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nan Lin, Nan Lin and Mary Dumin (1986)</td>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>Tie based</td>
<td>Predictor</td>
<td>Ordinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weimann (1983)</td>
<td>both&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Tie based</td>
<td>Indicators</td>
<td>Continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridges and Villemez (1986)</td>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>Tie based</td>
<td>Both&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Ordinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wegener (1991)</td>
<td>Both&lt;sup&gt;5&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Tie based</td>
<td>Both&lt;sup&gt;6&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Continuous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before expressing my measurement of tie strength, I should pay additional attention to another important principal: “role-centered tie or person-centered tie”. This principal emphasizes the importance of the context and the content of social ties, which means that same content social ties will have different benefits when used in

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<sup>3</sup> “The importance he/she attaches to the tie” is a subjective measurement. “The frequency of contact” and “the duration of the tie” are objective measurements.

<sup>4</sup> “See daily or 3+ times/week” is an indicator measurement about the frequency. And questions such as “Grew up or attended school together”, “Live in same household” and “relative” are predictors.

<sup>5</sup> The ten-point social distance scale and “Interest on the part of the contact person in the respondent getting the job” are subjective measurements. “A list of seven items describing activities the respondent did or could imaging doing with the contact person” can be treated as either subjective measurement or objective measurement, depending on whether respondent answers “did” or “could imaging doing”.

<sup>6</sup> “a classification of contact persons” is a predicator, and other questions are indicators.
different context, and different content of social tie also will have different benefit in same context.

To study the strength of weak ties in the flow of information, Weimann (1983) divides information into three categories: “gossip”, “general news” and “consumer information”. According to Weimann (1983)’s definition, “gossip” is the information such as a rumor about the impending divorce of two member, “general news” is the information such as the arrival of a new physician at the community, and “consumer information” is the information such as a new product being offered to the members. To measure the efficiency of the flow, three variables are used: accuracy (how many accurate details the respondent knows), speed (when he/she first heard about it) and credibility (how strongly he/she believes the “news”).

In the result of the data, weak ties and strong ties behave different effect on the flow of different information. From Table 4, focusing on the speed of the flow of information, weak ties have advantage in all of six contexts. But focusing on “accuracy” or “credibility”, weak ties only have advantage in both two of six contexts. This is a good support of the hypothesis that social ties will have different benefits when used in different context.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tie more efficient in</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accuracy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gossip in intra groups</td>
<td>Weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gossip in inter groups</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General news in intra groups</td>
<td>Weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>General news in inter groups</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer in intra groups information</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer information in inter groups</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n.s. = no significant difference, p <0.01

Source: converted from Weimann (1983) Table 4

Podolny and Baron (1997) examine how the content of individual’s networks in the workplace affects introorganizational mobility. Podolny and Baron (1997) argue that some type of information exchanges through a specific network tie. “Formal position is especially likely to circumscribe and structure network ties that transmit task-related information and resources. After all, the task-related information that ego can provide and that ego needs is largely determined by formal position, and the alters best situated to provide ego with task advice also depend on ego’s formal role. In contrast, informal ties of friendship and social support are likely to be discretionairy, reflecting interpersonal attraction and trust, and therefore are less rigidly circumscribed by formal position”. Based on this belief, Podolny and Baron (1997) emphasize that “the distinction between ties that are “position-centered” or induced by organizational structure versus those that are “person-centered” or induced by interpersonal attraction and trust should not be overstated, as it is more a matter of degree than of kind” About this problem, Podolny and Baron (1997) give us some example. “Some type of strategic information conveyed in the workplace depend, almost by definition, on ego’s and alter’s formal positions, whereas other type of
When studying the social support networks in urban Shanghai, Gina Lai (2001) also get the similar finding. In his study, the social support was divided into six areas: (1) emotional problem; (2) financial problem; (3) marital problem, (4) interpersonal
problem at the workplace, (5) domestic services; (6) major life decisions. Sources of support are categorized by role relationship. A total of 17 sources are listed in the questionnaire, including spouse/partner, father, mother, son, daughter, sister, brother, father-in-law, mother-in-law, other kin, neighbor, classmate, person from the same hometown, friends, colleague, supervisor, and other source. Then these 17 sources are re-grouped into eight types: (1) spouse/partner; (2) parent/parent-in-law; (3) child; (4) sibling; (5) other kin; (6) coworker(colleague and supervisor); (7) friend; and (8) others(neighbor, classmate, person from the same hometown and other sources.

Gina Lai (2001) finds that the type of support may vary according to the nature of problems. Family ties, which include spouse/partner, immediate kin, and extended kin, are important sources of help in all areas except interpersonal problems at work. On the contrary, help from coworker is most frequently used, particularly for interpersonal problem at work. So Gina Lai (2001) argues that work-related ties tend to be specialized in help for relational problems at the workplace.

If we all agree with the hypothesis that information used in different context flows through different and special content of social ties, it seems that we should also bring “the content and context of social ties” into our measurement of tie strength, and develop a new role-centered tie strength measurement.

One individual always plays different roles in their daily life. What role he/she will play depends on with who he/she is interacting, and in what context he/she is interacting. What information will flow from the interaction also depends what roles they are playing.
For example, A is the son of B, and they work in the same company. When they are at home, A plays the “son” role, and B plays the “father” role. They are relative relation, so they may be talk about their own personal life, their personal friends and their relatives. On the contrary, when they are at office, A plays “one employee” role, and B plays “another employee” role. In that time, they are colleague relation, so they may be talk more about their company, their colleague, and the competitor of their company.

Another example, C is also the son of D, and they work in the different companies in different industries. When they are at home, they are similar to A and B, C plays the “son” role, and D plays the “father” role. They are relative relation, so they may be also talk about their own personal life, their personal friends and their relatives. On the contrary, when they are at office, C plays “the employee of one company” role, and D plays “the employee of another company” role, they are not colleague relation, they are not in the same company, they won’t receive similar work task, they don’t have same colleague, so they may seldom chat about their own work, especially in office time.

Let’s imagine what will happened if both A and C plan to change their job and hope to get more job information from their father.

If we use person-centered method to measure the tie strength, no matter relative/close friends/acquaintance three catalogs, or frequency of they meeting each other, B will be treat as A’s strong tie, and D will be treat as C’s strong tie. According to Granovetter (1974) “the strength of weak tie” hypothesis, strong ties are similar in
ego self and their network, so strong ties (both B and D) can provide few new
information than other weak tie.

But is this the reality? When we use role-centered method to measure these two ties,
we can get totally different result.

First tie, A and B is composed of two role relation, relative relation and colleague
relation. Because A and B are in the same company, they will have more probability
to know similar colleague in the company and other outside contact from the
work-related interaction, their networks are highly overlapped and provide similar
information, so B can not provide much new information that A never heard. Based on
role-centered measurement, A and B are strong tie all the same.

Second tie, C and D is mainly composed of only one role relation, relative relation.
C and D are not in the same company, even not in same industry, so they won’t have
common colleague and have less probability to know similar outside contact from the
work-related interaction. Their networks are lowly overlapped, so D can provide
much new information to C. Based on role-centered measurement, C and D are
weaker tie, different from person-centered measurement.

From this example, we can see clearly that role-centered tie strength measurement
focus on the context and content of social ties, so they can describe the real effect of
social ties in the special situation better and more truly. That's why in this paper I will
use work-related tie/communal catalog, a new and role-centered method to measure
the tie strength.

Another important thing should to explain is my classification about work-related
tie/ communal catalog. I treated work-related tie as strong tie, and communal catalog as weak tie. This classification will contradict most other measurement, in which most weak ties are work-related tie.\(^7\)

Why work-related tie should be treated as strong tie? Let's back to the two principal used by Granovetter (1973) to explain why one tie is stronger than another one. If ego and his contact are work-related tie, which means they were either past or present employers, supervisors, or co-workers, as I mentioned in the example above, they will have more probability to know similar colleague in the company and other outside contact from the work-related interaction, “the overlap of social network” is high.

In the same time, as they are work-related tie, they are work in the same industry, in the same area, and may be in the same occupation. The knowledge, skill, experience and other characteristic needed by their work may be more similar, which means “the level of similarity” is also very high.

Now that work-related tie seems stronger based on both “the overlap of social network” principal and “the level of similarity” principal, why not treat them as strong tie?

Besides expressing the reason why I treat work-related tie as strong tie theoretically, in the future chapter, I will also use empirical data to support this classification.

In the end of this chapter, I will say more about the advantage and disadvantage of work-related/communal measurement according the four principal I point in this chapter.

\(^7\) For example, Ericksen and Yancey (1980) noted that in their study, most acquaintances(treated as weak tie) were work-related tie, and about two thirds of the strong ties were relative.
Firstly, work-related/communal measurement is objective. Even the respondent does not answer the question, we can also find the answer from other source, and the result won’t be different from their own answer. This measurement does not have the asymmetrical problem like close friend/acquaintance catalog.

Secondly, work-related/communal measurement can be seen as both information-centered and tie-centered. Whether the contact is work-related is a direct measurement about the tie self, but in the same time, it also include some measurement of information. As I mention above, if two persons are work-related tie, especially they are in same company, they should know each other clearly about their work-related information, even their some work-related information are totally same (such as work industry, work company and so on).

Finally, work-related/communal measurement is a predictor and a dummy variable. This may be a big weakness, and can’t test whether tie strength has nonlinear effect. In the future study, I think there are two different directions to improve the work-related/communal measurement.

One direction is to combine work-related/communal catalog with other indicator of ties strength, such as frequency or duration. The other direction is to divide work-related catalog in different dimension. For example, we can use industry (manufacturing, retailing, banking and so on), company name, department (marketing department, human resource department, finance department and so on) and occupation these four dimension to measure the role-centered tie strength. The more homology in these four dimensions, the stronger the tie is.
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Abstract:
This research investigates walkable neighborhood environment and its role in strengthening the children-school-neighborhood nexus in the context of enhancing neighborhood sense of community and livability. Its significance drives from school construction standards and funding policies that encourage large new schools in sprawling locations, alternative educational facilities that focus on magnet schools, and programmatic imperatives such as busing. I argue that these changes are increasingly displacing the community of schools from the community of place, thus fragmenting the relationship between children, family, school, and neighborhood. By restoring the connection between communities of school and communities of place, my goal is to illuminate salient issues for urban design and planning in inner city revitalization.

The concept of ‘school as a center for community’ is now increasingly shared by educators, policy makers, and civic organizations, calling for a collaborative approach in building new schools. This renewed interest in the children-school-neighborhood nexus embodies a shared understanding that the quality of urban public education cannot be improved without enhancing the capability and livability of the inner city neighborhoods. However, the revitalization of inner city neighborhoods by focusing on the children-school-community nexus has received less attention within planning and design discourses. No conceptual or policy framework is available now to define the nature and scope of planning and urban design concerning the children-school-neighborhood nexus. This research proposes a child-friendly walkable neighborhood model by examining; (1) elements of walkable neighborhood, (2) factors that affect children’s travel to school, especially by walking or bicycling, and (3) relationship between walkable neighborhood and the children-school-neighborhood nexus.
MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN ATTITUDES AND IMPRESSIONS ON PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IN MALUSO

A Thesis
Presented to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
University of Perpetual Help System Laguna
Sto. Nino, Binan, Laguna

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in Education major in Administration and Supervision

By
Maria Sheila Balosbalos- Arado
April 2004
RECOMMENDATION FOR ORAL EXAMINATION

This thesis entitled "MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN ATTITUDES AND IMPRESSIONS ON PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IN MALUSO" prepared and submitted by MRS. MARIA SHEILA BALOS BALOS-ARADO in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS IN EDUCATION MAJOR IN ADMINISTRATION AND SUPERVISION, has been examined and is recommended for Oral Examination.

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ABSTRACT

TITLE: MUSLIM–CHRISTIAN ATTITUDES AND IMPRESSIONS ON PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IN MALUSO

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Overview of the Study

This research was undertaken to determine the kind of attitudes the Muslims and Christians have for each other. One hundred respondents living in Maluso Basilan province were selected using the stratified random quota design.

The study had the following research problems:

1. How much exposure to each other are reported by Muslim and Christian respondents?

2. What attitudes do they have for one another?

3. Is there significant difference between the attitudes of Muslims and Christians for one another when data are grouped according to:
   a. gender
   b. age
   c. civil status
   d. occupation
   e. highest educational attainment and
   g. ethnicity

4. What are the impressions of Muslims and Christians toward the peace and development initiatives in Maluso?

Mean, T-test and ANOVA were the statistical treatment applied to know the difference in the responses of the sampled population and to identify the selected socio-economic variables, like ethnicity, age, gender, civil status, occupation and highest educational attainment that affected the attitudes of the respondents as measured through their responses in the data gathering instrument.
FINDINGS

The findings may be summarized as follows:

EXPERIENCE/EXPOSURE WITH MUSLIMS/CHRISTIANS

1. Majority of Muslim and Christian respondents admitted having high exposure for each other. Fifty two percent (52%) of Christians have average, polite and casual encounters of the other religion in contrast to Muslims thirty four percent (34%).

2. Only two percent (2%) of the Muslim respondents have indifferent, apathetic, detached encounters in contrast to the Christian’s eight percent (8%).

3. Majority of both religion have had Muslim neighbors (54%), Christian neighbors(72%); Muslim playmates (64%), Christian playmates (80%); Muslim classmates (74%), Christian classmates (92%); and Muslim friends (76%), Christian friends (84%). Three (3) out of ten (10) Christian respondents have boyfriend/girlfriend relations in contrast to six (6) out of ten (10) Muslims.

4. Almost one hundred percent (100%) of the respondents experienced visiting Muslim homes/ Christian homes (90% & 86 % respectively). Sleeping in Muslim homes were attempted by forty eight percent (48%) of Christians as compared to fifty four percent (54%) by the Muslims.

5. Majority of both religion currently have special Muslim/Christian friends ( Muslim 74% and Christian 68%). Five (5) out of ten (10) Christians admitted having conflict with Muslims. Some of such circumstances included conflicts over sports competitions, religious differences, and, at the most extreme, violent cases of kidnapping and killing of family members. Thirty four percent (34%) of Muslims figured in conflict with Christians. Religious differences were cited as the main cause.
THE MUSLIM/CHRISTIAN IMAGE

1. On the potency component of the scale, the Muslim respondents scored very high (x=5.4) where most of the Christian respondents (41.2%) said that Muslims are "aggressive", "ambitious", "powerful", and "confident".

2. Muslim respondents also rated highly on the activity component of the scale. Christians perceived them to be "strong", "quick", "dynamic" and "active". On the downside, they were also perceived to be "lazy" and moderately "stimulating".

3. Muslims scored poorest in the evaluative component of the scale. Less than ten percent (>10%) of the sample gave them highest marks for the traits of being "helpful", "good", "fair", "honorable" and "clean".

4. Shifting to positive configurations, Christian respondents said that Muslims possess cohesiveness and solidarity, strong family ties, and unity. They appear deeply religious although they do not practice and apply their religious faith to real, every day life situation.

5. The study also revealed that Muslims perceived Christians to be good, friendly, pleasant, helpful, and hospitable.

SOCIAL DISTANCE

1. An overwhelming majority of the Muslims appeared tolerant of Christians living within the town. Exactly the same percentage (98%) would allow Christians to live within the barangay, a little lesser proportion (78%) to live within the house, while only half agreed to share his/her room to Christians. These figures took a sharp turnaround with the Christians attitudes toward Muslims. While a little more than half (52%) would allow Muslims to live in the town, and half (50%) to live within the barangay, a drastic drop is noted on the subject of accommodating Muslims to their house (10%), and into their rooms (6%).
2. There is a great amount of reservation on Muslims ascendancy to power. Christians are equally split, five (5) out of ten (10), on the issue of allowing Muslim leadership at the barangay level, almost half of the respondents were inclined to allow Muslims to become mayor, and legislator, while a narrow one fifth (1/5) would allow a Muslim to assume the highest position of the land, the presidency. These figures jumped dramatically with the Muslims more tolerable attitude in granting authority and power to Christians. Interestingly, nine (9) out of ten (10) were willing to have Christians as Barangay Captain, in the same way as Mayor; eight (8) out of ten (10) would allow Christian legislator, and more than one third (1/3) agreed to have a Christian President.

3. The study also revealed that both respondents tolerate relationships characterized by lower degrees of intimacy like, for instance, having Muslim and Christian classmates and friends. Beyond that, only three (3) out of ten (10) Christians would allow their kin/close relatives to have relations with Muslim boyfriend/girlfriend, while just a little over one (1) out of ten (10) agreed to taking a Muslim spouse. The figures otherwise revealed that Muslims were more tolerant in terms of allowing their kin and close relatives to establish more intimate relationships, that of having Christian boyfriend/girlfriend (64%), and spouse (44%).

**DIFFERENCE IN ATTITUDE OF MUSLIMS AND CHRISTIANS IN TERMS OF GENDER, AGE, CIVIL STATUS, OCCUPATION, HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND ETHNICITY**

1. In terms of gender, there is no significant difference between the attitudes of male and female Christians toward Muslims when the subject involve closeness and intimacy (sig. 485). The difference appears significant on the issue of allowing Muslims to occupy power and authority (sig. 024).

2. A high frequency (F-7.22.) is noted on how Christian male and female look at Muslims at the potency level. Both genders differ significantly (sig.010). Potency component includes "aggressive", "powerful", "confident" and "ambitious". No significant difference exists on the evaluative and activity component.
3. There is a great difference (F-7.394) between the responses of male and female Muslims on the aspect of granting power to Christians. Muslim males dominate in terms of not allowing power and authority to be granted to Christians while no significant difference is noted between the responses of male and female Christians.

4. No significant difference exists between the attitude of both male and female Muslims towards Christians as to closeness and intimacy.

5. Looking at the Muslims’ image of Christians, no significant difference is noted between genders.

6. On the issue of closeness, a significant difference (alpha.040) between Christian age groups is evident. No significant difference is noted for Muslims between age group.

7. In terms of power (alpha.321) and intimacy (alpha.149), ages between groups showed no significant difference. A similar findings on the image scale is noted.

8. No significant difference is noted as to image and social distance between Muslims and Christians for both married and those who are not.

9. In both issues of social distance and image towards Muslims, no significant difference is noted between groups. Muslims registered a significant difference in the evaluative component. The Muslim professionals and students have quite significant margins as against the rest of the respondents when they said that Christians are unconcerned, bad, unfair, dishonorable and dirty. No significant difference is noted for Muslims toward Christians in terms of potency and activity component.

10. There is no significant difference between the attitudes of Muslims in view of their educational attainment.
11. By ethnicity, for both Muslims and Christians there is no significant difference on the issue of social distance and image. Muslims between groups registered a significant difference (alpha.053) in terms of closeness. Muslims tend to distance as compared to Christians.

**IMPRESSIONS ON PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT**

1. When asked about their notions of peace, majority of both religion agreed that peace means freedom from war, total harmony between Muslims and Christians, a feeling of joy and love, good livelihood, enough food to eat.

2. Whether peace is important to them, ninety percent 90%) of the Christians acknowledged its extreme importance and seventy six percent (76%) for the Muslims.

3. On the issue why they considered peace as extremely important, both religion shared the same view when they said peace would bring about progress and development in Maluso, to enjoy glorious life, that students can pursue and complete their studies, and to have peace of mind.

4. Majority of the Christians answered “Fiesta Celebration”, “Christmas Season”, and for Muslims, “Hariraya” and “Ramadan” are among the cultural tradition that they practice in observance of their group’s concept of peace.

5. When they were asked to describe the state of peace in Mindanao in the area of education, the Christian respondents said that teachers are committed to teach regardless of tribal affiliations and financial conditions of their students; that education should inculcate issues on peace and justice; that teachers should not carry guns; that it is easier to educate Christians than the Muslims; that Muslims are taught to hate Christians in their religion classes; that there can only be peace if there is no more kidnapping of teachers; that language barrier is a problem; and for teachers- respondents, they said they feel helpless because they run out of ways to educate the Muslims.
6. For the Muslim respondents, they described the state of peace in education as: that Christian teachers should treat Muslim students fairly; students; that Islam religion should be incorporated in the curricula; that the educational system should be Islamic; that the teacher should teach human rights. In the extreme, few respondents said that education is the source of conflict.

7. As to the state of peace in terms of Inter-ethnic relationships, both religion agreed that there is a conflict between Muslims and Christians and that there is a need for understanding and respect for each other’s belief. A few Muslim respondents said, “we have to co-exist.”

8. Both religion describe politics as dirty where massive vote buying is rampant during election; that politics is the root cause of the problem. Some Christian respondents said that Muslim leaders do not make good leaders; that politics in Maluso is not intended for Christians but purely for Muslims, and that an ex-rebel leader should not be given the chance to hold power.

9. In describing the state of peace in terms of History, Muslims said that before they live in peace but now it is gone; that they have a rich culture but very few people are aware of it; that the Spaniards conversion of the natives is hard to forget; that historical teachings must be rectified because they are anti-Muslims. The Christians, on the other hand, said that history is the basis why Muslims are seeking for autonomy; that since time immemorial Muslims are fighters; that history should instead teach us that we are brothers, therefore, we should not fight and kill each other but love, honor, and respect one another, and that tragic events in the past should be a challenge for improvement.

10. As to Religion, Christians said that there can only be peace if both Muslims and Christians follow the teachings of God or Allah because both religion worshipped only one God; that real Muslims will have unity with Christians; that religion is the root cause of Muslim–Christian conflict; that Muslim religious leaders should not teach Muslims to hate Christians. The Muslim respondents believed that Islam teaches peace and therefore religion should be Islamic; that Christians should respect their belief and should not discriminate them.
11. When asked whether peace is still attainable, eighty six percent (86%) of the Muslims said yes while only sixty six percent (66%) of the Christians agreed.

12. Among the reasons cited by Muslims why they believed that peace is still attainable are: we still have laws; presence of the military; that the conflicts are mostly family conflict; that students can still go to school and that it would entirely be dependent upon the leaders. Fourteen percent (14%) cited kidnapping, war, indifference between Muslims and Christians, graft and corruption by government leaders, the Abu Sayyaf and the rule of guns as reasons why peace remains elusive.

13. For the sixty six percent (66%) of the Christians, peace is attainable with the active involvement of the Church and the Non Government Organization, if there is a change of mind and heart, when there are no prejudices and suspicions, and when there is representation from the different sectors of the community. More than one third of the Christian respondents cited loose firearms, killings, kidnapping, extortion, tribal conflict, weak and corrupt officials, Christians bitter experience with Muslims as among the reasons why peace is not attainable.

14. When asked what possible contributions or compromise should the various communities undertake in order to resolve the conflict, correct the historical injustices and bring about solidarity among the various peoples of Mindanao, more than half of the Muslims proposed for dialogue between Muslims and Christians, other Muslim respondents mentioned equal sharing of bounty and the need to understand and respect each other’s beliefs. Christians echoed similarly a solution of dialogue and the need to respect each other’s beliefs. Of significance to the Christians is the role played by leaders of faith in influencing the minds of their followers. Others would like to include the participation of both civil and military authorities in the full development of the communities in Mindanao; national leadership should prioritize the agriculture and fishing industries in Mindanao to improve the living condition of the people; conflicts should be brought to proper authorities; literacy; training skills, and employment for the jobless. Some negative reactions include: Muslims are powerful, they always prevail; dialogue may be useless because they are traitors.
15. On the question whether they are aware of the peace and development initiatives by government and non-government organizations in Maluso, ninety percent (90%) of the Muslims agreed and for the Christians only sixty four per cent (64%). Of these figures, both respondents agreed that the initiatives come mostly from the Christian Children Fund (CCF), a Non Government Organization.

16. Both Muslims and Christians agreed that CCF provided housing, health services, education, medicines, educational supplies and children’s playground. Mentioned likewise by both Muslims and Christians is the role of the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) in providing livelihood assistance and support for the educational needs of their children.

17. When asked about the initiatives undertaken by the Government, particularly the Local Government Unit (LGU), both Muslims and Christians said that the unfinished road construction is the only project done by the LGU. They also said that the LGU is corrupt.

18. The top three (3) local prominent Christian leaders chosen by the Muslim respondents were: Liza del Puerto, Project Manager of the Christian Children Fund; John Francisco, former Municipal Councilor of Maluso; and Aurellano Laping alias Kumander Leleleng, present Vice Mayor and former Ilaga Kumander during the 70’s.

19. The top three (3) local prominent Muslim leaders chosen by the Christian respondents were Jojo Camlian, Abdua Abubakar and Hadji Yacub “Spider” Sahidulla.

CONCLUSIONS

The attitudes of Muslims and Christians reflect a lingering, systematic prejudice, and discrimination against each other. The Christians having the greater bias against the Muslims. However, both religion proposed for dialogue and recognized the need to understand and respect each other’s beliefs.

The impressions of both Muslims and Christians towards peace and development initiatives typified the lack of conscious effort on the part of the local government unit to address even the basic needs of the
population. At the core of administrative leadership, it is a disturbing commentary to find out how the most immediate and primary of all institutions in a supposedly functioning society could have crumbled and degenerated so abnormally low in the consciousness of the people. The statistics will bear the cold infamy: both respondents recognized that only a Non-Government Organization, specifically the Christian Children’s Fund helped them in terms of education, housing, health and sanitation. What makes for a resemblance of government is seen and felt from the external, outside of the political apparatus. The local government has remained a fatal failure, a dubious identity, that has long been increasingly short in its ability for governance. When the people of Maluso are most vulnerable to acquire their basic needs, the impulse is to resort to outside help in the hope of efficient delivery. Taken at a depreciated value by the people, the case of how a formal organ, equipped with so much legal investitures and compulsive authority plunged itself to such anomalous depths may helped to explain the recurrence of dearth in initiatives which severely indicts on the search for peace and development. In as much as government is relegated to the sidelines, the vacuum in authority and leadership is often provided by external forces with vested interests, each having their exclusive agenda imposed on the people.

It is noteworthy to acknowledge the important role played by the Catholic church in forging peace and better relations between Muslims and Christians in Maluso.

The church through the efforts of the Claretian Missionary Fathers remains active in the areas of education, and peace advocacy in Maluso. It also established a foundation to help the Samal, a sea faring Moro tribe in Mindanao. One of its projects already implemented was the free housing given to Samal beneficiaries. The Claret School of Maluso, until now, continues to provide education for both Muslims and Christians. The church also built and provided the town’s main water facility. All these were left unnoticed by respondents because many of the church frontline activities were initiated through the Claret Community Extension Services (CCES), now known as the Christian Children’s Fund.
RECOMMENDATIONS

To forge better understanding between Muslims and Christians and properly address their concerns, especially in the full enjoyment of their basic human rights, the following recommendations are posited:

1. Establishment of more Non Government Organization with excellent track records to assist the Local Government Unit in Maluso;

2. The DSWD as a welfare agency should strengthen its services to both Muslim and Christian communities by offering livelihood programs that answers the needs of both religion in Maluso;

3. Adequate medical and health facilities and medical personnel to fully operationalize the abandoned medical building in Port Holland, Maluso, Basilan;

4. Fair and accurate media reportage on issues involving both religion through the creation of media advocacy group for anti-discriminatory media practices with support from the academe and media;

5. Strict monitoring of government programs intended for Muslims and Christians;

6. Review of selection criteria for beneficiaries of government programs;

7. Subjects on peace, cultural diversity, and respect for human rights should be incorporated in elementary and secondary classroom discussion;

8. Researches on conflict resolution or peaceful settlement of disputes by indigenous communities, or indigenous notions of justice; strategies and tactics available to less empowered groups which are more likely to lead to a productive rather than destructive process of conflict resolution.
9. Rewriting or writing of history or textbook which reflects the true Muslim moral character and historic accomplishment to rectify the distorted image of the Muslims; and

10. Adequate provision must be made in the laws of the Republic to protect the Muslims in their cultural, economic and geographical patrimony.
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We would like to thank all those who attended the 2005 Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences. We look forward to seeing you at the 5th Annual Conference to be held May 31 – June 3, 2006. Please check the website this fall for further details.

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